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THE
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ARTICLE I.

THE COMPOSITION AND DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

BY THE REV. T. S. POTWIN, HARTFORD, CONN.

IN attempting a study of Deuteronomy, I shall aim to make it as independently of the other books of the Hexateuch as possible. No books of the Bible have a more distinct individuality than these first six. But the tendency of much recent criticism has been to throw them all into one confused mass.

I first inquire what is said in the book itself of the "writing" of the whole or any part of it; then what is said otherwise of its source or sources; next I shall examine any social conditions indicated as existing at the time of its writing, together with any historical and geographical allusions; and lastly I shall draw conclusions as to its date in its present form.

The first that is said of writing any part of the book is: "Thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaster them with plaster: and thou shalt write upon them *all the words of this law*" (chap. xxvii. 2, 3). But they are few, we presume, who suppose that this could refer to the whole preceding twenty-six chapters of Deuteronomy. Some summary must be intended, just as that written upon the two tables

of stone was a summary of the Sinai legislation. And still the language is: "all the words of this law."

"Book of this law," which implies writing, is used in chap. xxviii. 58, 61. But it would seem, from the peculiar emphasis laid here upon obedience, that "this law" must stand here for a collection of ethical precepts, and not for the great variety of minor matters which have gone before in the book of Deuteronomy. The same remark applies to chap. xxix. 20, 21, 27. In chap. xxx. 10 the context following certainly is applicable only to what is in "thy heart that thou mayest do it." From chap. xxxi. 9, 24, it is apparent that Moses wrote the "words of this law in a book." And from chap. xxix. 21 we learn that this "book of the law" was regarded as being, or as containing, a "covenant," although the phrase "book of the covenant," which is freely used by some writers, does not occur in Deuteronomy. The only other writing of any part of the book which is spoken of is the song in chap. xxxii. The book of the law which Moses wrote was given to the Levites to be kept with the ark for a witness to future times.

The next question is: Was this probably identical with the book of Deuteronomy preceding the song, i. e., its first thirty-one chapters? It is asked here, however, only that it may be kept in mind in connection with the progress of other parts of the discussion.

Deuteronomy presents itself as first spoken and afterwards written. If the speaking can be located, we shall advance a great way towards understanding the circumstances of the writing. The book opens with a short geographical introduction of two verses. This is followed by a sub-introduction of three verses (3-5). These two introductions are quite distinct, and refer, evidently, the former to the book of Deuteronomy as a whole of Mosaic instruction, and the latter to a declaration of "this law" in the land of Moab. Of course no one will say that "the Arabah over

against Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab" was in the land of Moab. Kadesh Barnea is also referred to in a parenthetical manner, apparently to bring the reader quite back to the spot where it was decided that Israel was not to go directly to the promised land, but to be kept in the wilderness for a generation under training in preparation for the conquest. This preface, therefore, brings before us the whole of the thirty-eight years during which the Mosaic instruction went on, and it spreads "these words which Moses spake" *over the whole period*, the words which are gathered together in the book thus introduced, i. e., the book of Deuteronomy.

The occurrence of some names here which are not found in Numbers, or elsewhere in the Pentateuch, is of considerable consequence in determining, at least negatively, when this preface was written. They do not correspond with the names in the itinerary of Numbers (chap. xxxiii.). It is difficult, however, to suppose that the author of the book of Numbers, if he also wrote Deuteronomy soon after, would have departed from the nomenclature there used. For of course whoever wrote these names in the preface to Deuteronomy wrote them for the purpose of identification of the locality as known to the first readers. It will seem, therefore, quite certain that, at the time of the writing of this preface, some of the original names had been forgotten and replaced by others. This would be likely to occur only with the lapse of centuries. This introduction may possibly have been added long after the composition of the book itself. We cannot avoid, however, the conclusion that, at the time it was penned, the author understood that the Mosaic instruction he was opening to his readers had extended over the whole time and circuit of the wilderness life.

The second preface, therefore (ver. 3-5), must be understood, as indeed its form implies, as the introduction to the

portion of the previously indicated whole, which was delivered in the land of Moab shortly before the crossing of Jordan, the author thus beginning his narrative in a reverse geographical order, although the subject-matter was a *resumé* of what had occurred first in the order of time.

But, as we look for the end of the instruction given near the Jordan, and the beginnings of that at the various parts of the Arabah and the wilderness of Paran, we find rather an approach to the form of a continuous address, with occasional parentheses, extending nearly through the book. This has led many critics to regard the form of a Mosaic address as merely a rhetorical figure into which the author threw the material he wished to present. But it must be held as certain that Moses gave farewell instruction to the children of Israel before his death as that he existed their leader from Egypt to the Jordan, and was the author of the Sinai legislation.

He was human, and it would have been impossible, even without special divine direction, for him to see that, from the unfitness of his age or other causes, he could not go on and lead the conquest of the promised land, but must end his life before the war began, and not have many last words of counsel and injunction for his tenderly loved and led people. And we do not need to be told that these words would be preserved as sacredly as those of the Sinai legislation itself. And I might as well say here, that of course their style would be different. At Sinai he was girding himself, still in strength of manhood, for a mighty task. In the field of Moab he was an old man; and though "his natural force was not abated," yet his thoughts were now reminiscent of the past, and anxious for the future. To take an illustration from our own time; the Gladstone of the nineties is not the Gladstone of the fifties.

But when we look through the contents of the book we find much not suitable or natural to such a farewell. After the eighteenth chapter especially, much is taken up with

ritual or details of administration, quite unfit to make a part of a solemn parting address; e. g., the treatment of birds' nests, the ploughing with an ox and ass together, the building of a battlement on the roof, and the first verse of chap. xxiii. The central part of the book to chap. xxvii. is largely taken up with these details.

The conviction is forced upon the mind that it is in these matters that we have the leisurely instruction of the wilderness preserved and combined, according to the first introduction, along with the final teaching at the Jordan. It did not suit the plan of the author, or of the prophetic or priestly commission of authors, to divide locally the matter of the book. It was the obvious intention to give a unity to the whole as a "book of the law," and, having given at the outset information of the variety of the local sources, no farther distinct clues were given. The book, however, is not without traces of its composite character. Part of the material can be traced elsewhere. Certain clauses are obviously introductory, and conclusive of particular portions; as, iv. 44 and xxvi. 16-19. It is noticeable, too, that after chap. xxvi. "the elders" and "priests" are associated with Moses as a source of speech and authority. It has often been said that Deuteronomy was made up of three addresses of Moses. But the book does not speak of *three* addresses, and it can be divided into a dozen or more just about as naturally as into three; and, if we are to follow the first introduction, we find good reason for supposing that there were quite a large number of constituent monographs incorporated into it.

The Mosaic character and origin of this material has been sufficiently demonstrated by others, notably, in this country, by Professor E. C. Bissell in his volume on the Pentateuch; but whether we now have it in the form in which Moses left it is quite a different question. Recently Professor Klostermann, of Kiel, after exposing the weaknesses of what we may call the alphabetical critics, has advanced the theory

that a previously existing form of the book of Numbers was the source of a large portion of Deuteronomy, the compilation of which, i. e., Deuteronomy, he places in the reign of Josiah, after the discovery of the law book narrated in 2 Kings xxii.¹ And our conclusions respecting the source of the material will be so dependent upon our ideas of the date of compilation, that it is necessary to turn aside at this point to consider the proofs adduced of this or other late date for Deuteronomy. Driver and Briggs in English, and Klostermann in German, shall represent the advocates of such date.

In the first place, it is admitted on all sides that there is nothing in the style of the Hebrew of Deuteronomy which compels us to place it after the period of the classical language. The peculiarities it presents are no more than can be accounted for by the personal tastes and habits of a single author, or the predominating influence of a master mind in a commission of authors. It is very curious how the criticism of Deuteronomy has revolved about a single incident, and that one not mentioned in the book itself, and one for which there is no positive testimony that it had any connection whatever with the book. I mean the discovery, in the time of Josiah, of a "book of the law" (2 Kings xxii.), and there are reasons for holding that this has been a much-misunderstood and much-abused incident. The argument seems about this: "The book of the law" was discovered. Deuteronomy seems often to be referred to as the book of the law. Therefore the book found was Deuteronomy. Everything else called the book of the law is for the time lost sight of. Klostermann shows much more historical insight, however, and supposes that the newly found book was a copy of a Mosaic original which Deuteronomy says was prepared by Moses and intrusted to the keeping of the priests (xxx. 9). He then goes on, and reasons that Deuteronomy was made up at that time from this original

¹ Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 1892.

set in a frame from the book of Numbers. Thus, though his scheme has many plausible points, he belongs to those who assign a very late date to Deuteronomy.

The advocates of such late date claim:—

1. That the first part of Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos “show no certain traces of the influence of Deuteronomy,” although Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel show it plainly. But this is much too confidently said. In Isaiah we will confine our notice to the first part, but call attention to the fact that they who refuse testimony from the latter part support one hypothesis by a second, instead of by known fact. We will exclude, also, the apparent references to the song of Moses (chap. xxxii.), for which some claim a date different from the rest of the book.

It remains true that Isaiah opens thoroughly in the spirit of Deuteronomy. Compare especially i. 19–24 with Deut. xxviii. 58–68. Where can “the mouth of the Lord has spoken it” (Isa. i. 20) be found more plainly than in the threatenings of the Deuteronomist? Compare, also, Isa. i. 7 with Deut. xxviii. 50, 51; also Isa. ii. 6 with Deut. xviii. 14, where וַיִּשְׁמַע is used in both cases, although differently rendered by the translators. The warning against “silver and gold” in Deut. xvii. 17 is changed into a charge of disobedience in Isa. ii. 7. Compare, also, Deut. xxix. 23 with the language of Isa. xxx. 33, and xxxiv. 9.

Hosea opens (i. 2; ii. 5), according to the prediction of Deut. xxxi. 16, under the figure of harlotry (זְנוּת). Hos. viii. 13–ix. 3 is entirely in the spirit of Deut. xxviii. 64–68.

In Amos compare iv. 6–10 with Deut. xxviii. 27 and 60; especially iv. 9 with Deut. xxviii. 22, where “blasting and mildew” (בְּשָׂרְפָן וּבִיבִרְקָן) occur in both.

But it is of great importance to observe, that, while some regard it difficult to see reproductions of the language of Deuteronomy in these prophets, it is still more difficult to

find in them reproductions of the Sinai legislation, the existence of which at the time in some form none deny. The truth is that the prophets moved on a high spiritual plane, and not in the legal methods of "touch not, taste not, handle not," of the legal books. It is very interesting to see, in looking over a table of biblical references, how much oftener students have found parallels to prophetic sentences in the New Testament than in the Old, excepting the Psalms. For them to go back to the old law was like an apostle's "laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward God." If, therefore, we find a general recognition of the precepts and forms of the law, we should not look for more. There is a reason, however, in Jeremiah's case, aside from what may have been entirely personal to him, why he should show the impress of the Deuteronomic law. The great upturning in Josiah's time in connection with its renewed attention to the letter of the law would naturally affect Jeremiah's style. It could hardly be otherwise, and so of any prophet who felt the force of that movement.

2. "The prophetic teaching of Deuteronomy, the point of view from which the laws are presented, the principles from which conduct is estimated, presuppose a relatively advanced stage of theological reflection, and they approximate to what is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel." This statement does not go to the root of the matter. The fact is that in the doctrine of spiritual love toward God and man Deuteronomy surpasses Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and all the prophets late and early, indeed the whole Old Testament, save the Psalms. There is nothing in the declining ages of the monarchy which can account for it. But the keynote of it is found in the second command from Sinai: "*Showing mercy unto thousands of generations of them that love me, and keep my commandments.*" There is not a line in the later prophets to compare with it. And the heart through which it had throbbled forty years before must have been fully capable of

all the sweetness of Deuteronomy. And as to the matter of style, again, the lofty eloquence of passages may as well have preceded Isaiah as followed him. Isaiah did not spring up, a miracle of rhetorical power, with no antecedent preparation in the history of the Jewish nation. We are not denying that Deuteronomy "may bear a relation to previous Mosaic material, like that of the Gospel of John to the Synoptics." But as the keynote of John was the words and spirit of Jesus, so that of Deuteronomy was the words and spirit of Moses.

3. "In Deut. xvi. 22 we read: 'Thou shalt not set thee up a *mazzébah* (obelisk or pillar), which the Lord thy God hateth.' Had Isaiah known of this law he would hardly have adopted the *mazzébah* (xix. 19) as a symbol of the conversion of Egypt to the true faith." But did not Isaiah know of the Sinai legislation? And therein Moses twice ordered the destruction of the heathen *mazzéboth* (Ex. xxiii. 24 and xxxiv. 13). But we read also (Ex. xxiv. 4) that Moses set up twelve *mazzéboth* for the twelve tribes of Israel. So that we see, in the colloquialism of our time, there were *mazzéboth* and *mazzéboth*. Now Isaiah, predicting the final prevalence of the knowledge of Jehovah in Egypt, falls into language natural to the associations of the country. Egypt has always been a land of obelisks. It is so now, but must have been immeasurably more so in the time of Isaiah. Obelisks stood for her history and for her worship. Nothing, then, was more natural or more fit than for Isaiah, under lofty poetic inspiration, to say that Jehovah, the true God, shall yet have his obelisk in Egypt.

4. Much is made of the fact that Deuteronomy calls for a central place of worship, while the history shows that worship to Jehovah was allowed at many altars or "high places" through the land, until very late in the times of the monarchy. From this, some insist that the law of Deuteronomy could not have been in existence. But this is inferring

the non-existence of a law from disobedience to it—a very slippery kind of argument. In the first place, it does not appear that Deuteronomy required the establishment of the central sanctuary till the consolidation of the monarchy.

The words are (xii. 10, 11): “But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God causeth you to inherit, *and he giveth you rest from your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety*; then it shall come to pass that the place which the Lord shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you; . . . Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest: but in the place which the Lord shall choose *in one of thy tribes*,” etc.

This “rest and safety” was not reached until the empire of David, and no place can be said to have been chosen as a permanency “in one of thy tribes” until Jerusalem, in the tribe of Judah, was the capital of the empire and the seat of the temple.

But four centuries had passed from the conquest before David reigned in peace in Jerusalem. During this time, the law was merely anticipatory. There was no reason why Samuel and others should not do as they did. From the establishment of the monarchy, however, we find an ever-recurring consciousness of wrong in not centralizing worship at Jerusalem, and every attempt at reform included a breaking down of high places, and an effort to bring all worship to the temple. The beginning of this consciousness of irregularity we see in 1 Kings iii. 2, of the reign of Solomon: “Only the people sacrificed in the high places, *because there was no house built for the name of the Lord until those days*,” and in the next verses the same is said of Solomon himself, and that the Lord appeared to him in the high place of Gibeon. But the temple was not built, and the author of the book of Kings evidently has it in mind that the law of

the central sanctuary was not yet, i. e., in the beginning of Solomon's reign, operative.

After the building of the temple, however, we find nothing to indicate the approval of the high places by God and the best men, but a continual tone of apology, as of Asa and Jehoshaphat. The conditions are not hard to imagine. Worship at various places had been practised for centuries without objection. They must have acquired a certain sanctity in the eyes of the people. God had met his people in them. On the building of the temple, a divided sentiment naturally arose. Many good old conservatives must have been ready to contend that "God never intended to restrict the *entire worship* of the people to one place; that it would as good as annihilate nine-tenths of the worship of the people to attempt any such thing—there must be some mistake about it—some misinterpretation of the law." A better chance for getting up a new "denomination" never occurred, even in our Christian days. Especially, after the secession of the ten tribes, all the forces which resisted religious consolidation were strengthened by the example of the northern people, where there were still many adherents to Jehovah. The children of Judah and Benjamin might say with some plausibility: "Shall we in these circumstances, which Moses did not foresee, insist upon a style of worship which will virtually exclude ten-twelfths of our nation?" But the conflict went on till at last the "literalists" prevailed. But the history, properly viewed, does not give a feather's weight to the idea that the law of Deuteronomy was unknown. Indeed, we might as well infer the non-existence of the New Testament from the condition of the Gallic church during the Merovingian period as the non-existence of Deuteronomy from the irregularities of the Jewish church.

The claim that a central place of judgment was not known till the time of Jehoshaphat hardly requires a separate argument. The judging eldership goes back to the Sinai legislation.

5. It is said that the discovery of a copy of the law could not have made such a sensation in Josiah's time if Deuteronomy had been long in existence and known. This brings us around to our examination of this incident. And the first necessity is to understand thoroughly what this sensation was. In the first place, it is clear that it was not any difference between the precepts of the Deuteronomic law and the Sinai legislation that caught the attention of the king. The book of the covenant in Exodus is just as emphatic against idolatry as Deuteronomy (see Ex. xxiii. and also Ex. xxxiv.). The reform which the king set on foot, or rather pursued with new zeal, was against this worship of Canaanitish gods. The prophetess says: "I will bring evil upon this place, because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods." And as to Josiah's work in destroying "the high places," it was only somewhat more thorough than what other reforming kings had done when there had been no finding a law book. Josiah had begun to reign when eight years old, and we are told: "He did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord." Of course at this age what he did was under the guidance of others. In the fuller account in 2 Chron. xxxiv., when he was twenty years old, we have an account of an attempted general reformation which not only applied to Jerusalem, but was carried through a large part of the remains of the people among the ten tribes; so that it is said that he "returned to Jerusalem, *having purged the land.*" We are surprised, therefore, to find the extent of the abominations remaining to be rooted out, and actually rooted out, after the finding of the law book (2 Kings xxiii. 5-15). (Even if we should admit that Chronicles and Kings do not fit in quite harmoniously in the present texts, the general facts seem to be the same.)

Now it is just possible, to say the least, that king, scribe, and prophetess were looking about for the source of a new impulse to complete the work which they well knew

was still incomplete. Josiah was now twenty-six years old, in his new vigor of manhood, and he must have burned with restless impatience to find that still, even according to the chronicler, there were "abominations in the countries that pertained to the children of Israel," and that there was yet need of a "covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and keep his commandments." And it is just possible that "Hilkiah the priest found a book of the law of the Lord by Moses" because he knew just where to look for it, and considered that the time was ripe for producing it. It may be, also, that the king and the scribe were of the same opinion. They had not done what they had done already without abundant authority, as I have shown. What new help could they lay hold of which should strike forcefully upon the hearts of the people? What, if not a *Mosaic original* upon the like of which their sacred books had long ago been framed? The narrative speaks of it as something easily read through at once, first in the presence of the king, and then by the king in the presence of the elders. Its force seems to have lain in its threatenings of dire judgments. These features agree with portions of Deuteronomy, but not with the book as a whole. It appears, therefore, much more probable that the newly found book was a monograph of law and penalty in a condensed style, and adapted to impress the hearts of the people.

For the time being, let us suppose that the book which Moses wrote out and left with the priests, according to Deuteronomy, was such a monograph, or contained such a monograph. It is then possible that but a single copy of such a writing had been preserved to Josiah's time, and that it had been so carefully laid away in the temple that it had passed from the knowledge of all the officials until the matter of the repair of the temple brought it to light. The arrangement made to keep the law in the minds of the people strikes us in our literary age as strangely inadequate. *Once in*

seven years, at the feast of tabernacles, the law was to be read before all Israel in the year of release. But we know that the year of release was not regularly observed before the exile, and of course the reading of the law would be correspondingly neglected. Then each king was to have a copy, "and to read therein all the days of his life." But of course the idolatrous kings would not do this, and perhaps their vicious example would cause all kings more or less to neglect it. Beyond this there was the "Song of Moses" which was to be taught to the people, and with this the provisions for keeping a knowledge of the law in the minds of the people seemed to have ended.

Still we cannot suppose that prophets, priests, and scribes were in ignorance of the sacred writings of the nation. Hence it was much less likely that a book like Deuteronomy, of both moral precepts and details of administration, would be lost sight of than some of the ancient authorities. When we recall the historic conditions of the Hebrew monarchy, we find the greatest improbability of the absolute loss of any of their literature, which had the sacredness to them of being a witness to their history. Every king had his secretary (scribe) and his recorder (chronicler). In addition there were the priestly scribes to look after the law as the foundation of their religion. And also the "schools of the prophets" must have concerned themselves with the same.

The reform of Jehoshaphat was stimulated by sending around among the people the "book of the law." And, by the way, the Pentateuch as a whole is not specifically a book of the law, nor any book of it, except Deuteronomy. Hezekiah's reform rested upon the Mosaic law, for we read (2 Kings xviii. 6) that he kept the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses. It was but fifty-seven years from the close of Hezekiah's reign to the beginning of Josiah's. Moreover, there is no evidence that any of the wicked kings made war upon the existence of the religious historical liter-

ature. In such circumstances there would be about the same likelihood of the actual loss from the knowledge of all of any book of the law as there would be at present of the loss of the original of the Constitution of the United States.

In short, we conclude that the incident of the discovery is no evidence against the long previous existence of Deuteronomy any more than against the 'previous existence of the Sinai legislation, which nobody denies. And, also, that, while we would not say that it is impossible that the writing discovered was the book of Deuteronomy, we regard it as much more likely to have been what we have called a Mosaic legal monograph which had long before entered into the composition of Deuteronomy.

We have now disposed of the principal arguments brought forward for the date of Deuteronomy late in the regal period. We find them entirely insufficient, and the way is therefore open for us to consider the probable manner of the rise of the book at a much earlier date.

But, in order to advance in a safe and sure way, we must next consider the limits of time in the other direction, i. e., determine what there is in the book itself, or in Hebrew history, to fix a time before which it cannot have arisen.

First, Deuteronomy indicates, with a good deal of clearness, different social and, in modern phrase, ecclesiastical conditions from those of the Sinai legislation.

1. It shows a different position of woman and condition of the family. This begins to appear in the treatment of Hebrew female servants. In Deut. xv. 17, after directing the treatment of men-servants, it is added: "And also unto thy maid-servant thou shalt do likewise." But in Ex. xxi. 7 we read: "If a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, *she shall not go out as the men-servants do,*" and from what follows we find that such a servant was a concubine of the master, if not a wife of his son. It appears again in a law of divorce. In the Sinai legislation there was no restriction

upon personal divorce. Deuteronomy requires a regular proceeding called the giving a "bill of divorcement." Also, the regulation that a newly married man should not be taken from his home for one year by war or business is peculiar to Deuteronomy. Concubinage is not allowed in Deuteronomy, even with captive maidens. This is strongly put in chap. xxi. 10-14. How different this was from the ideas of Moses near the close of the wilderness life can be seen in Num. xxxi. 18. An equally great advance appears in Deut. xxii. 13-21, in the case of a suspected wife, over the regulations in Num. v. 12-31, where for the woman there was only the ordeal of the bitter water, with no responsibility for the husband. When Deuteronomy was composed there had evidently been a great advance, in respect to marriage, beyond the Sinai legislation, much more than could have been made in a single generation of the secluded, monotonous life of the desert.

2. Again, the matters covered by the law of the sabbatical year show a great change from the primitive time of Ex. xxiii. 10, 11. And the change appears to have been made as a compensation for the loss of the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv.). I say loss of the year of jubilee because there is no biblical, and very little traditional, evidence that the jubilee was ever actually observed. The reason of this is not far to seek. During the turbulent period of the judges, when all were engaged in war and often in subjection to their enemies, there was little opportunity for such a joyful and generous celebration. And the length of this period—twelve generations of men—was such as greatly to fix the habits of the people. Of course the whole system of sabbatical years, with generous provisions for the laborer, set itself squarely against the natural avarice, timidity, and want of faith in God of the prosperous among the people. Second Chronicles xxxvi. 21 is sufficient proof that the land "had not enjoyed her sabbaths." And if it required a captivity of seventy years

to cover the arrears of land sabbaths, they must have been omitted at least four hundred and ninety years, which would have more than equalled the whole period of the kings. And from no more being exacted we may perhaps infer that the Lord made allowance for the distressed period of the judges. And so the jubilee seems to have remained but an ideal, and the whole system of sabbatical release to have been interrupted. There have been those who have thought that the year of jubilee was an attempt at a late development of the sabbatical principle, because it is found in Leviticus, and not in Exodus, and that Deuteronomy represents an intermediate stage. But we are confident that this would reverse the actual history, and that the advance of Deuteronomy beyond Exodus was designed as a compensation for the loss of the jubilee. The evidence of this is the incorporation of some of the features of the jubilee in the seventh year of release in Deuteronomy.

A comparison of Ex. xxi. 2-6 and Ex. xxiii. 10, 11 with Lev. xxv. and Deut. xv. 1-13 makes this matter clear. The law at Sinai simply required that the land should rest, and the poor and the beast of the field be allowed to eat its spontaneous products, and all Hebrews *purchased for servants* liberated. In Leviticus the liberation is extended at the jubilee to *all the poor who had sold themselves to their rich neighbors*. That these were a different class from the purchased servants appears from comparison of Ex. xxi. 2-3 with Lev. xxv. 39, 40 (see the Hebrew). Then the redemption of the land is provided for.

Turning to Deut. xv., we find that the "manner of the release" begins, first of all, with the treatment by the creditor of the poor debtor, but it is the law of the seventh year, and not of a jubilee. In verse 9 a treatment is required which is the equivalent of the jubilee redemption, for the "giving" contemplates landed security at least, else the words, "the seventh year, the year of release, is at hand" would be with-

out meaning. In a word, we have an extension of the Sinai law to accomplish the main features of the Levitical jubilee. We must therefore suppose that prophetic authority, perhaps that of Samuel, had readjusted the matter through extending somewhat the functions of the shorter period.

A confirmation of this opinion appears incidentally in the ordinances of Nehemiah (x. 31) where he says that they agreed to obey the law which required them to "forego the seventh year and the *exaction of every debt.*" We may be very sure the people would not have released their debtors in the seventh year if the law only required it in the fiftieth (a good passage when one has to discuss the late origin of the book of Leviticus).

In the prophets all the allusions to the year of liberty, etc., can be properly understood of the seventh year of release as it stands in Deuteronomy unless Isa. xxxvii. 30 be an exception, which seems to be a reminiscence of the jubilee law.

3. More striking still is the difference of light in which the priests and Levites appear in Deuteronomy from that in the Sinai legislation. In the latter the priests are the "sons of Aaron." In Deuteronomy they are never called "sons of Aaron." In Num. xvi., xvii., and xviii. Jehovah in a most fearful manner rebuked those who would claim the equality of the Levites with the sons of Aaron in respect to the priesthood. But in the book of Joshua it is said (chap. xviii. 7): "The priesthood of the Lord is their inheritance," and what is expressed in Joshua is implied all through Deuteronomy. Thus the phrase the "priests the Levites" occurs in our version four times, and the "priests the sons of Levi" twice. This has led some to claim that all Levites were at this time priests; but we think that the form "priests the sons of Levi" contains the key of the situation. Such changes, which we shall consider presently, had passed over the people that the designation of the priests as of the

family of Aaron had lost its importance, and instead they were simply designated by their tribal names. For in the reorganization under David, the author of First Chronicles (chap. xxiv.) is precise in showing that the priesthood was retained in the family of Aaron, and "the rest of the sons of Levi" had their separate duties assigned them. The change, therefore, was merely one of nomenclature which events in a sufficient lapse of time had occasioned.

4. There are other features of Deuteronomy which point to a long lapse of time from the days of Moses, which are of a less positive value as evidence, but strengthen the impression which we gain from what has been adduced above. It is difficult to see how any one can think that the preface to the second section of the book (iv. 44-49) was written by Moses. The whole form of these verses is that of an historical and geographical note of the remote past. "When they came forth out of Egypt" twice occurring here, does not distinguish the beginning and the end of the wandering, but projects all into a distant age. The reference so frequently to "thy gates" (thirty-three times, *שערי*) seems difficult to reconcile with address to those who had known nothing but a wilderness life, and also the law of landmarks so strange to a nomadic life (xix. 14 and xxvii. 17).

Thus we narrow down our field of inquiry by cutting off some centuries subsequent to Moses on the one hand, and some centuries preceding Josiah on the other.

[*To be concluded.*]

ARTICLE II.

JOHN FOSTER.

BY MR. D. E. SNOW, BOSTON, MASS.

EVERY great and original mind is the property of the world. Such men as have lived before us, and have now gone to adorn other spheres, have left behind them influences which we feel to-day. By personal impressions made on their contemporaries which have been transmitted to us; by the printed page, on which lie coiled up their great thoughts, and over which their emotions still glow, they live and act upon us, and their life circulates through our being. Age and country are of no account, if so be he was a man of great mind and heart, and with far-seeing vision; he is for us, for he had what we want, and saw what we want to see.

The subject of this article did not draw crowds by his eloquence, like Robert Hall and Thomas Chalmers; he was not a voluminous and brilliant talker like Coleridge; he had not an attractive and fascinating style of writing like Macaulay or Gibbon. But he was a full and ready talker in social life; his written sentences are weighty with thought; he had a strong imagination, and a native and highly cultivated taste; and a massiveness of character which impresses and ennobles. His essays and letters, and critical and miscellaneous writings, have an effect to broaden and deepen the mind, and act as a tonic to every mind put into communication with his. This author shows his greatness in part by making the reader feel his own greatness as an immortal being, the greatness of God, and of the universe, of which each man is an integral part; and he invests every object in

nature, and every event in history which has a bearing upon our present and future well-being, with an importance commensurate with the destiny of the individual man.

John Foster was born in the parish of Halifax, England, September 17th, 1770. His parents were of strong understanding, strict integrity, and deep piety. His father followed the joint occupation of a farmer and a weaver. The son in his early years was employed at home a portion of the time in weaving; but his thoughts and imagination were so active that the manufacturer complained of the quality of his work, and threatened to employ him no more.

He was naturally reserved, and at twelve years of age his manners were as awkward as his observations of men and things were profound and mature. He had an extremely sensitive nature, overflowing with sentiment and emotion, yet held in by timidity and shyness. His imagination tyrannized over him, peopling the house with objects which his mind gathered in his reading, making the time of going to bed an "awful season of each day." He was very fond of natural scenery, and the very words "woods and forests" held for him a charm. He was fond of reading, and Young's "Night Thoughts" was a favorite book. His tastes were towards what is great in nature and in man, and the heroic in history affected him deeply, so that the very names of great heroes had a peculiar fascination to his forming mind.

His own aspirations and his father's ambition pointed to study and a profession. When his son was only five years old, the father would put his hand on his head and say, "This head will some day learn Greek." Although the advanced age of his parents, and the want of older brothers and sisters, fostered his natural reserve, yet the religious atmosphere of his home was very salutary. A neighborhood meeting was held weekly at his father's house, which deeply impressed his mind. At the age of fourteen he passed through a period of great anxiety on account of sin, and found

peace in trusting alone in Jesus. At seventeen he became a member of a Baptist church at Hebden Bridge. Rev. Dr. Fawcett, his pastor, and others, observing his decided talents, urged him to study for the ministry, and he was "set apart" by special religious services to the work of the ministry.

Up to this time his studies had been pursued at home. He now entered Brearley Hall, and enjoyed the instruction of Dr. Fawcett. Part of each day was spent in assisting his parents, and the rest devoted to diligent study. He acquired slowly and with labor, but thus early showed the care in composition which was afterward rewarded with such distinguished success. One method employed was to take paragraphs from different authors, and put them into as many forms as he possibly could. He read favorite authors with great care and attention. In general literature, voyages and travels delighted him most, as they afforded full play for his lively imagination. He loved through life to review such books for the press, and admitted a weakness for such works expensively illustrated, and chided himself for yielding so much to his love of the romantic and marvellous.

While at Brearley Hall almost his only recreation was rambling in the surrounding woodlands. This harmonized with his peculiar temperament. He once persuaded a friend to walk with him by the river-side all night that he might see the evening change into night, and the night into morn. He once went off in a heavy shower to see a waterfall in the neighborhood, saying in his rapture, "I now understand the thing, and have got some ideas on the subject with which I should not like to part."

His habitual characteristic was that of decision, and thus he was from early youth being qualified to write so powerfully in his famous essay "On Decision of Character." His spiritual graces were largely quickened by his frequent visits to the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, with whom he conversed and prayed.

He entered the Baptist College at Bristol, under the presidency of Rev. Joseph Hughes, the founder and secretary of the "British and Foreign Bible Society." He was nearly of the same age as Foster, and the relation of teacher and pupil soon merged into that of intimate friends, who during life were congenial spirits, each enjoying and improving the other.

It was Foster's ambition to associate as much as possible with those who were superior to himself. A day spent with Hannah More, who lived with her four sisters about two miles from Bristol, he very much enjoyed. Her piety and beneficence outshone even her poetical abilities. Her time was mostly spent in devising and executing plans of doing good, some of which were so remarkable as to have the air of romance.

Foster spent, at this period, the first two hours and a half in the morning in devotional reading and prayer. He thought a diligent and pious frame of mind the best preparation for an understanding of the Bible. With all his dignity of mind, and aspirations after the great and sublime in character and attainment, he was eminently democratic and humble.

After leaving Bristol, he was first engaged as a preacher to a small Baptist congregation at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He afterwards preached in Dublin. In both instances the congregations were small, and of such a character as not to inspire any enthusiasm in the new work of stated preaching. His mind and temperament seemed much more adapted to authorship, and plans began to form for writing, that usefulness might be reached in a way more congenial to him than public utterances.

Being himself so self-dependent, and feeling little the need of uniting with others in order to kindle the fire on his altar, which his own thoughts lighted and fed, he undervalued the relations of church-membership, and felt averse to any-

thing institutional in religion, except public worship and the Lord's Supper. This feeling was strengthened by observing the clashing of parties in contests and divisions within the local churches, and different divisions of the great church at large. While not lacking the highest qualities of a friend and Christian brother, yet he was not one to have his dear five hundred friends.

In 1797 he became the minister of a Baptist church at Chichester, where he preached for two and a half years. His favorite place of meditation was in the chapel, and here, by moonlight, he paced to and fro, wearing the bricks perceptibly into a path of thought. Notwithstanding his reserve, he set himself resolutely to learn the art of conversation, and became to friends a lively, versatile, and instructive talker.

In 1800 he began to preach in a small village near Bristol. It was while here he met for the first time Robert Hall. He would make long excursions across the country for forty or fifty miles, to visit objects of interest. Indolent by nature, he spurred his mind to activity, and tried to attain a uniform energy. He was fond of meditation in which the pensive and sublime mingled.

On recommendation of Robert Hall, he obtained a settlement at Frome in 1804. It was while he resided here that the "Essays" which have made his name great were published. They originated in conversations with Miss Maria Snook,—the lady whom he afterwards married,—and they were addressed to her as letters. Notwithstanding the care and slowness of the original composition, when he prepared his manuscript for the press, every paragraph, and almost every sentence, needed remodelling, and he tells us that the revision cost about as much mental labor as the original writing. "A great many needless words, and some that were too fine, have been sent about their business." These essays attracted wide attention, and second and third editions were called for and published. Of Robert Hall's review of

them, he says that he praised too much, though he by no means omitted to censure. In 1805 he began an essay on the "Improvement of Time," which was afterwards published.

On account of a disease of the throat, he was obliged to resign his office at Frome, but continued to reside there, and devote himself to literary labor, writing review articles for the *Eclectic*.

Mr. Foster was married in 1808 to Miss Maria Snook, a very amiable and accomplished lady, to whom his essays had been addressed. They were admirably adapted to each other. He resumed occasional preaching after his marriage, in addition to his literary work. He loved to labor in destitute districts and preach the gospel to the poor. In 1815 he visited Bristol, and heard Robert Hall preach several times. Notwithstanding his somewhat recluse habits before marriage, when he had a family of children around him his warm heart seemed to burst its natural and scholarly cerements.

In 1820 his essay "On Popular Ignorance" was published. A few months after, he revised it, with great labor, for a second edition. He contributed frequently to the *Eclectic Review*, and wrote an introduction to Doddridge's "Rise and Progress," which, in religious effect, has not been surpassed by any of his writings.

To students of excessive fancy, ardent sentiments, roaming thoughts, and romantic propensities, he recommended mathematics; and to those whose imagination and sentiments are not developed, the classics. He enjoyed social converse chiefly as a means of mental excitement. "A long, stout, evening's talk, in which was duly intermingled the animated No!"

He took great interest in political questions, and felt strongly. The Catholic Emancipation Bill enlisted his strong sympathies, not because he thought the papists could demand it as a right,—for he held that popery was a deadly enemy to the state,—but on account of the peculiar state of Ire-

land, it was in the highest degree expedient to give them the freedom proposed. The Reform Bill of 1831 he thought was to do great good, though his highest expectations concerning it were not realized. While admitting the great good accomplished by the established church, he held that making religion a part of the state was anti-Christian in theory, and noxious in practice.

In 1832 Mr. Foster met the great affliction of his life in the death of his wife. For nearly twenty-five years enjoying her society in uninterrupted happiness, and feeling largely indebted to her for his mental improvement as well as social happiness, this separation was very painful. Her intellect was strong and correct, and for refined perception and depth of reflective feeling, he never knew her equal. At her unexpected departure he was absent from her, thinking she would survive several weeks longer. On his arrival home, he found two unopened letters of his own to her. He was not sure he should ever open them. If conventional usage had not come in the way, his preference would have been that the last office should be performed at the midnight hour, in perfect silence, and with no attendance beside the parties immediately interested. There was a weight on his heart which the most friendly human hand could not remove.

About this time he wrote a series of letters to the *Morning Chronicle* on the ballot, advocating its adoption, and showing that all the objections urged against it bear against the old method of voting, and that its advantages far outweigh its defects.

In 1833 he made a second journey into North Wales. The loss of three intimate friends—Hall, Anderson, and Hughes—deeply affected his mind. For nine years he prepared nothing for the press except "Observations on Mr. Hall as a Preacher," a new edition of his "Essays," and a few letters to the *Morning Chronicle*. In 1837 his name stood on the list of contributors to the *Eclectic Review*, but

he wrote for it only occasionally. He closed his literary labors in 1839. His last appearance in public was in June, 1843, at the annual meeting of the Bristol Baptist College. On September 24th, 1843, he took to his room, which he never left.

During his last illness, Mr. Foster exhibited his peculiar traits of character, in his patient resignation to God's will, his unselfish regard for the comfort of others, and his unwillingness that his sickness should tax the care and strength of his friends except in a moderate degree. He impressively addressed those who came to see him, and seemed supported and comforted by a firm trust in Christ, and him alone. He enjoyed hearing the Bible and some other books read, and for the last few days, the Bible alone, principally from the Psalms, was listened to. He was unwilling to have any one watch with him, and on the day before his death he requested to be left alone during the afternoon and evening. At the hour of rest, some of the family requested the privilege of sitting with him during the night, but he declined. The aged servant who had lived with him for thirty years went to his door at four o'clock the next morning and listened, and being satisfied from his breathing that he was asleep, did not go in. At six o'clock she went again, and hearing no sound, went in, and found that he had passed away. His arms were gently extended, and his countenance was as tranquil as that of a person in a peaceful sleep. He had gone into that state of which he said: "The nearer I approach by advancing age to the grand experiment, the more inquisitive—I might say, the more restlessly inquisitive—I become respecting that other place and state of our existence."

When a great thinker and writer passes away, a deep interest attaches to the place where he lived and wrought, and we like to reproduce as far as possible his surroundings when he thought and wrote. We have a description of Mr. Foster's study in his own words:—

“I am sitting alone in my long garret, in which I spend a considerable part of every day, excepting the days on which I go out to preach. Here I have a little fire, and, excepting along the middle of the floor, the room is crowded and loaded with papers and books, intermingled with dust that is never swept away. Along this middle space of the floor I walk backward and forward as much as several hours every day, for I cannot make much of thinking and composing without walking about, a habit that I learnt early in my musing life. Formerly I used to walk about the fields for hours together, indulging imaginations and reflections. . . . Since I came to this village, I walked in the fields in this way comparatively but little: this garret has served me instead. I have been more in habits of such kind of study as required to have books and pens at hand. But, nevertheless, I probably walk not much less than I did when I was in the open air. It would be a marvellous number of miles if it could be computed how far I have walked on this floor. It would be a length that would reach to the other side of the globe. If all my musing walks since I was twenty years old could be computed together, it would not unlikely be a length that would go several times around the globe.”

Of authorship, style, and books, he says:—

“How little a reader can do justice to the labors of an author unless himself also were an author. How often I have spent the whole day in adjusting two or three sentences amidst a perplexity about niceties which would be far too impalpable to be ever comprehended by the greatest number of readers. All my considerations about language have resulted in an aversion to the formal, square-built style so different from the easy and admirable style of Bolingbroke. Once more I tell you to become a reviewer. It will sling your diction into variety and freedom. It is the best writing discipline in the world. You must not think of leaving this dusty planet without first writing a valuable and fine book or two, but in order to do this you must get more freedom of diction, and this reviewing is the very thing. That excellence which you praised in Hall’s style, and which he has in a very high degree, of making brief, strong sentences, completing the sense in each, is sometimes carried to a fault. In this quality of writing we are all beaten hollow by the old workmen, such as Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor. He makes, in some places, laconic propositions in succession which are quite independent of one another, but which ought to have been contrived into a texture. I am strongly inclined to think this said Jeremy is the most completely eloquent writer in our language. There is a most manly and graceful ease and freedom in his composition, while a strong intellect is working logically through every paragraph, while all manner of beautiful images continually fall in as by felicitous accident. Reading such authors tends to make one shrink from the thought of printing. I literally never write a letter, or a page, or paragraph, for printing, without an effort which I feel a pointed repugnance to make. My principle of proceeding was to treat not a page, sentence, or word, with the smallest ceremony; but to hack, twist, split, turn, pull up by the roots, or practise any other severity on whatever I did not like. I dare say I could point out scores

of sentences, each one of which has cost me several hours of the utmost exertion of my mind to put it in the state in which it now stands. Pascal's style is an admirable example for a simple, direct, vital, manner of expression."

"Are the powers of human language limited by any other bonds than those which limit the mind's powers of conception?"

"Few have been sufficiently sensible of the importance of that economy in reading which selects almost exclusively the very first order of books. Why should a man, except for some special reason, read a very inferior book, at the very time when he might be reading one of the highest order? A man of ability, for the chief of his reading, should select such works as he feels beyond his own power to have produced. What can other books do for him but waste his time, and augment his vanity? Reading books of travel supplies the most valuable assistance to thought, and the most striking and useful illustrations to religious and moral teachers, whether in preaching or writing. Remarkable facts pertinently introduced will sometimes produce a striking effect: they awaken attention, which is itself no small matter."

"The thing most in my mind at this instant is, chagrin, vexation, mortification, self-accusation, for a chief folly of my life, having bought so many books, which are looking insultingly at me from their crowded shelves all around the room."

Mr. Foster had a very high appreciation of the gifts of other men, and looked up with admiration to those who were his superiors. He writes thus:—

"I was two or three times in Robert Hall's company, and heard him preach once. I am any one's rival in admiring him. In some remarkable manner, everything about him, everything he does or says, is *instinct with power*. Jupiter seems to emanate in his attitude, gesture, look, and tone of voice. Even a common sentence, when he utters one, seems to tell how much more he can do. His intellect is peculiarly potential, and his imagination robes, without obscuring, the colossal form of his mind.

"The last sermon I heard him preach, which dwelt much on the topic of *living in vain*, made a more powerful impression on my mind than, I think, any one I ever heard. And this was not simply from its being the most eloquent sermon unquestionably that I ever heard, or probably ever shall hear; but from the solemn and alarming truth which it urged and pressed on the conscience, with the force of a tempest. I suppose every intelligent person has the impression in hearing him that he surpasses every other preacher probably in the whole world. In the largest congregation there is an inconceivable stillness and silence while he is preaching, partly indeed owing to his having a weak, low voice, though he is a strong, large-built man, but very much owing to that commanding power of his mind which holds all other minds in captivity while within reach of his voice. He has no tricks of art and oratory, no studied gesticulations, no ranting, no pompous declamation. His eloquence is the mighty power of spirit, throwing out a rapid series of

thoughts,—explanatory, argumentative, brilliant, pathetic, or sublime,—sometimes all of them together,—and the whole manner is simple, rational, grave, sometimes cool, often impetuous and ardent. He seems always to have a complete dominion over the subject on which he is dwelling, and over the subjects on every side to which he adverts for illustration. He has the same pre-eminent power in his ordinary conversation as in his preaching. What a very deplorable thing it is that he has not written a great number of volumes; he would then have instructed and delighted to the end of time. Does he ever intend to write anything? He will have been one of the greatest sinners of his time if he do not."

"Here one recollects that prince of magicians, Coleridge, whose mind is clearly more original and illimitable than Hall's. Coleridge is indeed sometimes less perspicuous and impressive by the *distance* at which his mental operations are carried on. Hall works his enginery *close by you*, so as to endanger your being caught and torn by some of the wheels. The eloquent Coleridge sometimes retires into a sublime mysticism of thought: he robes himself in moonlight. In Coleridge you saw one of the highest class of human beings with respect to combination of talent. I could not conveniently hear more than one of his lectures, but it was a still higher luxury to hear him talk as much as would have been two or three lectures. One is forced often to undergo severe labor in the endeavor to understand him, his thinking is of so surpassingly original and abstracted a kind. This is the case often, even in his recital of facts, as that recital is continually mixed with some subtle speculation. His mind contains an astonishing mass of all sorts of knowledge, while in his power and manner of putting it to use, he displays more of what we mean by the term genius than any mortal I ever saw, or ever expected to see."

"Burke's sentences are pointed at the end,—instinct with pungent sense to the last syllable."

"Brougham stands forth the foremost man in all the world for fierce, vengeful, irresistible, assault."

"The work of Gibbon excites my utmost admiration; not so much by the immense learning and industry which it displays, as by the commanding intellect, the keen sagacity, apparent on almost every page. The admiration of his ability extends even to his manner of showing his hatred of Christianity, which is exquisitely subtle and acute, and adapted to do very great mischief, even where there is not the smallest avowal of hostility."

"From what I have seen thus far of Charles Leslie, I doubt if there be in our language a theological writer of greater talents in the field of argument. I am gratified in the extreme degree by his most decisive reasonings against the deists."

In common with all great minds, Mr. Foster had high aspirations from early life, and his estimation of what the mind might become and accomplish, is lofty and noble:—

“ I cannot doubt the possibility of becoming greatly wise and greatly good. I despise mediocrity. I wish to kindle with the ardor of genius. Heaven is the proper region of sublimity. Intimate communion with the Deity will invest us, like Moses, with a celestial radiance. My object shall be through life the *greatest good*, and I hold myself at liberty to seek it in any line that appears most promising, and so to change one line for another, when another more advantageous presents itself. Reason dictates not that superstitious notion that when you have applied yourself to one engagement you must at all events adhere to it in life and death. I resolve to *merit* respect wherever I am, and then I shall at least possess *my own*. I have lost all taste for the light and gay; rather I never had any such taste. I turn disgusted and contemptuous from insipid and shallow folly, to lave in the stream, the tide of deeper sentiments. How enviable the situation,—to feel the transition from the surrounding world into one’s own capacious mind, like quitting a narrow, confined valley, and entering on diversified, and almost boundless plains. If this felicity were mine, I might be equally unconcerned to obtain or recollect the news of the time. Nothing can so effectually expand the mind as the views which religion presents; for the views of religion partake of the magnitude and glory of that Being from whom religion proceeds. Oh! I pant for a grand revolution in all my soul and character. I wish for a sacred zeal, for devotional habits, and a useful life. I fervently invoke the influences of heaven that the whole spirit of the gospel may take possession of all my soul, and give a new and powerful impulse to my practical exertions in the cause of the Messiah. One of the strongest characteristics of genius is, the *power of lighting its own fire*. Genius hails its few brothers with a most fraternal warmth. How much it takes to grow how little! Millions of valuable thoughts, I suppose, have passed through my mind. How often has my conscience admonished me! How many thousands of pious resolutions! How all nature has preached to me! How day and night, and solitude and the social scenes, and the books and the Bible, and the omnipresent God, have all concurred to instruct me! And behold the miserable result of all. I am endeavoring to examine every object with the keenest investigation, conscious that this is the best of all methods for obtaining knowledge fresh and original.”

“One is not one’s genuine self; one does not disclose all one’s self to those with whom one has no intimate sympathy. One is therefore several successive, and apparently different, characters according to the gradation of the faculties and qualities of those one associates with. I am like one of those boxes I have seen enclosing several other boxes of similar form, though lessening size. The person with whom I have least congeniality sees only the outermost; another person has something more interesting in his character, he sees the next box; another sees still an inner one; but the friend of my heart alone, with whom I have a full sympathy, sees disclosed the inmost of all.”

A characteristic of original minds is that so many of their thoughts are quotable. Being terse and pithy, they are

easily used, and interpret the unexpressed thoughts of a multitude of men. Our author was eminently one of this class:—

“Whenever a man prays aright, he forgets the philosophy of it, and feels as if his supplications really would make a difference in the determination and conduct of the Deity.”

“One short, pathetic supplication to Him, will be of more value to the mind than all the rhapsodies that the enthusiasts of nature ever uttered, and the reveries that poets ever dreamed.”

“Music powerfully re-enforces *any* passion which the mind is at the time indulging, or to which it is predisposed.”

“The Being that gives beauty to the earth and grandeur to the sky, is well able to sustain those souls that are more estimable in his regard than the whole material creation.”

“But sweet Nature! I have communed with her with inexpressive luxury; I have almost worshipped her. A flower, a tree, a bird, a fly, has been enough to kindle a delightful train of ideas and emotions, and sometimes to elevate the mind to sublime conceptions.”

“May we consider each night as the tomb of the departed day, and, seriously leaning over it, read the inscription written by conscience, of its character and exit.”

“The heaven of stars seems the grand portico into that infinity in which the incomprehensible Being resides.”

[To one out of health he wishes] “the brilliance of the morning, and the solemnity of the evening, the beauties of the field, and the songs of the grove, bring you their whole tribute of luxury, which tribute they bring only to health.”

“Bird, 't is pity such a delicious note should be silenced by winter, death, and above all, annihilation. I do not, and I cannot believe that all those little spirits of melody are but the snuff of the grand taper of life, the mere vapor of existence to vanish forever.”

“Whenever we appear as if we thought ourselves too dignified or too wise to converse and be familiar, occasionally at least, with the meanest and most ignorant, we shall betray ourselves into the enemy's hands.”

“The fundamental principle of dissent is, that the religion of Christ ought to be left to make its way among mankind in the greatest possible simplicity, by its own truth and excellence, and that it cannot, without fatal injury to that pure simplicity, that character of being a kingdom not of this world, be taken into the schemes and political arrangements of monarchs and statesmen, and implicated with all the secular interests, intrigues, and passions.”

“Some people's sensibilities are a mere bundle of *aversions*.”

“Fine sensibilities are, like woodbines, delightful luxuries of beauty to twine round a solid, upright stem of understanding.”

“I have noticed the curious fact of the difference of the effect of what other people's children do, and one's own. In the situation I have formerly

been in, any great noise and racket of children would have extremely incommoded me, if I wanted to read, think, or write; but I never mind as to any such matter of convenience *how much* din is made by *these* brats, if it is not absolutely in the room where I am at work. When I am with them, I am apt to make them, and join in making them, make a still bigger tumult, and noise, so that their mother sometimes complains that we all want whipping together."

[Concerning an extremely depraved child he says:] "I never saw so much *essence of devil* put in so small a vessel."

"Nature has no gales, no beauties, no influences, to transform the depraved mind. The benignant skies, the living verdure, the hues of flowers, the notes of birds, have no power on selfish and malignant passions, on inveterate evil habits, on ingratitude and hostility against God."

"All pleasure must be *bought* at the price of pain; the difference between false pleasure and true is just this: for the *true*, the price is paid *before* you enjoy it; for the *false*, *after* you enjoy it."

"It appears to me that little is accomplished, because but little is vigorously attempted; and that but little is attempted, because difficulties are magnified. Perhaps perseverance has been the radical principle of every truly great character."

[He describes a happy man thus:] "Is pleasure willing to keep her assignments with thee, equally in an open cow house and a decorated parlor? Dost thou behold goodness, though accompanied with vulgarity, with complaisance; and baseness, though arrayed in elegance, with disgust? Dost thou behold inferior talents without vanity, and superior ones without envy? Whilst thou art diffusing gay pleasure through thy social circle, and receiving pleasure from it, is thy cheerfulness undamped when thou observest Death drawing a chair, and taking a place among the company? Let the windows of thy soul, like the windows of a house, not disclose everything *within*, but at the same time, admit notices of everything *without*."

"One object of life should be to accumulate a great number of grand questions to be asked and resolved in eternity. We now ask the sage, the genius, the philosopher, the divine,—none can tell; but we will open our series to other respondents,—we will ask angels—God."

"When we were remarking that vanity was confined to no station, Mr. H. told me he knew a man who used to break stones in the road, who was vain in a very high degree of his excellence in this department: 'he would break a load of stones with any man in England.' A chimney sweeper indulged in the same boast of superiority, with great self-complacency."

"God is sure to take especial care of those who are comparatively soon to be with him in heaven."

"What a superlatively grand and consoling idea is that of Death! Without this radiant idea, this delightful morning star, indicating that the luminary of eternity is going to rise, life would, to my view, darken into midnight melancholy. Thanks to that gospel which opens the vision of an endless life, and thanks above all, to that Saviour—Friend who has promised to conduct all

the faithful through the sacred trance of death into scenes of paradise and everlasting delight."

"If we had the full, deliberate consciousness of a due preparation for the other life, there would require an effort, a repressive effort of submission to the divine disposal, to prevent a rising impatience of the soul to escape from this dark and sinful world, and go out on the sublime adventure."

Of all Mr. Foster's letters, none have attracted so much attention, and elicited so much controversy, as the one written to a young minister on "Future Punishment." Although Mr. Foster, in his early ministerial life, was inclined strongly to Arianism, he afterward settled down into a deeper experience of divine grace, and a clear and scriptural apprehension of the truths of the evangelical system. On depravity, regeneration, divinity of Christ, and the atonement, his views were clear and strong, and his piety deep and unquestionable; but on future eternal punishment he had long cherished doubts.

These doubts did not arise from the want of scriptural proof of the doctrine, for he tells us in the letter that "the language of Scripture is formidably strong; so strong, that it must be an argument of extreme cogency that would authorize a limited interpretation."

He lays no stress at all on dubious passages which are often quoted as favoring restoration; but rests solely on what he calls the "moral argument," that which comes in the stupendous idea of eternity. He had an extremely sensitive nature, and a peculiar shrinking from suffering, even in an animal or insect, and a temperament inclining him to dwell morbidly on the darker shades of human life. With such a nature, and with his tremendous power of reflection directed to this subject, the ages of eternity as they rolled in upon him interminably, the brevity of an earthly life, the comparative insignificance of a sinner compared with the Being against whom he sinned, the infinite benevolence of the Creator and Redeemer, and the comparatively few out of the millions of earth who were practically reached by the gospel,—all this formed to his mind a moral argument which blunted the force of the con-

siderations which at other times he deeply felt, viz., the evil of sin, the sense of justice which demands a commensurate punishment, and the plain declarations of God in the Bible.

From all we know of Mr. Foster's belief and experience, we incline to think he only strongly *hoped* that God would find some way of restoring all men to holiness and happiness, while against that hope were arrayed most formidable obstacles which it was impossible for him to remove.

This letter on eternal punishment is very fairly considered and answered by Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods.¹

Mr. Foster's domestic life was of the happiest kind, and the loss of his wife brings out to view the wealth of appreciation and affection which he entertained for her, the expression of which is very touching, and will find a response in many an afflicted heart.

"Cold as you pronounce me, I should prefer the deep, animated affection of one person whom I could entirely love, to all the tribute fame could levy within the amplest circuit of her flight. You know who is the centre of that circle; near enough to her I have constantly felt as if I could pass an age away without ever being tired."

"I most entirely believe that no man on earth has a wife more fondly affectionate, more anxious to promote his happiness, or more dependent for her own on his tenderness for her. In the greatest number of opinions, feelings, and concerns, we find ourselves perfectly agreed; and when anything occurs on which our judgments and dispositions differ, we find we can discuss the subject without violating tenderness, or in the least losing each other's esteem, even for a moment."

"I have returned *hither*, but have an utter repugnance to say returned *home*; that name is applicable no longer. The melancholy fact is, that my beloved, inestimable, companion has left me. It comes upon me—in evidence, how varied and sad! And yet, for a moment, sometimes I feel as if I could not realize it as true. There is something that seems to say, Can it be that I shall see her no more, that I shall still, one day after another, find she is not here, that her affectionate voice and look will never accost me; the kind grasp of her hand never more be felt; that when I would be glad to consult her, make an observation to her, address to her some expression of love, call her 'my dear wife,' as I have done so many thousand times, it will be in vain, she is not here? Several times a momentary suggestion of thought has been, as one and another circumstance has occurred, 'I will tell Maria of this.' Even this

¹ See his Works, Vol. iii. pp. 279-307.

very day as I parted with Dr. Stetson, who out of pure kindness accompanied me a long stage on the road, there was actually for a transient instant a lapse of mind into the idea of telling her how very kind he had been. I have not suffered, nor expect to feel, any overwhelming emotions, any violent excesses of grief; what I expect to feel is, a long repetition of pensive monitions of my irreparable loss; that the painful truth will speak itself to me again, and still again, in long succession, often in solitary reflection (in which I feel the most), and often as objects come in my sight, or circumstances arise, which have some association with her who is gone. The things which belonged to her with a personal appropriation; things which she used or particularly valued; things which she had given me, or I had given her; her letters or my own to her; the corner of the chamber where I knew she used to pray; her absence—unalterable absence—at the hour of family worship, of social reading, of the domestic table; her no more being in her place to receive me on my return home from occasional absence; the thought of what she would have said, or how she would have acted, on subjects or occasions that came in question; the remembrance how she did speak or act in similar instances;—all such things as these will renew the pensive emotions, and tell me still again what I have lost,—what that was, and how great its value, which the sovereign Disposer has in his unerring wisdom taken away. I should, and would be, thankful for having been indulged with the possession so long. Certainly, neither of us would, if such an exception *might* be made to an eternal law, recall our dear departed companions from their possession of that triumph over sin, and sorrow, and death, to which they have been exalted. However great our deprivation, how transcendently greater is their advancement in the condition of existence! And we should be unworthy to be loved by them still, as I trust that even at this very hour we are, if we could for a moment entertain such a wish.”

No one can rise from the appreciative study of the life and character of John Foster without becoming a better and stronger man. He has seen a luminary whose light shall not dim, nor its power wane.

ARTICLE III.

SOME FALLACIES IN THE VIEWS OF JOHN
FOSTER UPON FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

BY THE REV. GEORGE R. LEAVITT, D. D., CLEVELAND, OHIO.

ANY matured views of a writer so cautious and so exact and elaborate as John Foster deserve more than ordinary attention. This is true of his views upon the subject of Future Punishment. It is well known that, in the reaction of his mind from his inherited religious opinions, he tended to reject the deity of Christ and to adopt concerning his person and word the Arian speculations. It is known also that he rejected the doctrine of future eternal punishment, and taught that it is safe to hold that God will not eternally punish human sin. His views are most fully elaborated in the letter, numbered 219 in his published correspondence, which was addressed to his distinguished correspondent, Rev. Edward White, in answer to a letter of inquiries and objections concerning the doctrine of eternal punishment. This letter states the view of Mr. Foster with great clearness, and with great variety of illustration. A single objection is presented with the utmost force, viz., that while sin deserves punishment, eternity of punishment is disproportionate to the sin of a creature so limited in his understanding as man. The discussion is based upon considerations of reason. While it is admitted that the statements of the Scriptures are formidable, the argument does not proceed on scriptural grounds. The aim is to show how exceedingly limited the average man is in his capacity to apprehend such a metaphysical conception as eternity, how inadequately it has been revealed to us, even in the Bible, or by any informa-

tion, and how inconceivably awful is the idea of an unlimited duration of punishment. No person can read this thoughtful essay without realizing, underneath all the ingenious elaboration of its literary form, the intense earnestness of the great essayist. He will detect, also, the marks of that morbid imagination which furnished a lifelong irritation and torment to a man so delicately organized, early broken in health, so painfully sensitive to sentimental impressions, and whose admirable essays indicate, here and there, the corrosion of mind produced by early and long-continued failures and disappointments in his chosen profession of the Christian ministry.

It will not be a difficult task, I believe, to point out fallacies in the ingenious and powerful arguments of Mr. Foster, whose outline has been so well sketched by Mr. Snow.

The considerations now to be named, if not particularly new, are pertinent, and to some may be suggestive and helpful. It may well be, in these times of ferment of opinion and religious unrest, that many thoughtful persons, including men of Mr. Foster's own profession, the Christian ministry, have doubts and questions concerning the eternity of future punishment. It is not undertaken, in presenting these fallacies, to follow any particular order, so much as to present those objections which are at once the most obvious and the weightiest.

As preliminary, however, to an examination of his argument upon the main subject, a very common fallacy, involved in Mr. Foster's discussion, and presented by him with much urgency, deserves notice.

If, he argues, the punishment of sin is eternal, the staple of preaching should be the warning of exposure to so awful a doom. The idea of eternity should be enforced upon man with all possible iteration and vividness of imagery. If Christians really believed in the eternity of punishment, they would not be able to rid their minds of the omnipresent horror which such a conception must inspire. This is a familiar objection.

It is one much pressed by Universalist preachers and writers. It may suggest to us how faithful we should seek to be in exhibiting the warnings of the Scriptures, how diligently we should foster the spiritual temper which led the apostle Paul to pray for the community at Ephesus "night and day with tears."

But is it a well-founded view which is so strongly expressed? Is it true to the facts of human nature? We know of the universal and frightful facts of human sin and misery, and death. But do they rest as an omnipresent weight upon the hearts even of the most devoted philanthropists? Do the physician and the nurse go about oppressed with the familiar facts in which their lives are so absorbed; of surgeries and sicknesses, of incurable maladies, of dying and death? Is it not a merciful provision that it is not necessary that we take a burden which would crush us, in order to be helpful ministers to those in trouble?

Is it true, that, if we believe in the consequences of unforgiven guilt, we should make these the substance of our gospel, in order to warn men of their danger? Did our Saviour and his apostles make warning the main subject in their preaching and testimony? We may well study the examples which they furnish for light upon the proportioning of truth, that we may rightly divide the Word. But an examination of these authoritative examples shows that the reflection of Mr. Foster, and those who use the same line of criticism, is applicable also to these our model preachers. The objection made, however suggestive, is rhetorical, sentimental, and founded in a fallacy. We proceed now to Mr. Foster's arguments.

1. There is an element of fallacy in the assumption that man is competent to estimate the guilt of sin as against God. It is very ingenious in Mr. Foster to speculate that it is more reasonable to infer the comparative slightness of guilt from the finite and limited nature of the agent, than to infer im-

measurableness and infinity from the fact that the Being against whom it is committed is infinite; and further, that if by this reasoning a bad deed is infinitely blameworthy, a good deed, by parity of reasoning, should be infinitely praiseworthy. Our authoritative evidence for the measure of the guilt of sin is the Word of God. The language of the Bible upon this subject is explicit and intense. It teaches that sin in the human race, whether with the light of the Bible or without it, is exceeding sinful, and without excuse. The word "exceeding" is noticeable. It is a word of comparison. This idea may be in it: that human guilt exceeds all the estimation put upon it by human reason. It certainly is an unwarranted and fallacious assumption that any man, even the most appreciative and thoughtful observer of human conduct, is competent to measure the guilt of sin in its relation to a holy God.

2. It is an error, also, to assume that God has not communicated to the human mind, and impressed upon it, the conception of eternity, with sufficient clearness and weight to make it an adequate motive to the sinner, to the average human being. Rather is it not true, that with many persons, even without the teachings of the Scripture, one of the most vivid and habitual of our imaginative conceptions is of eternity? Early it looms upon children. Has not many a child, like one whom the writer has in mind, lived for years in the dread of eternity? How did Mr. Foster know that his own mind was an exception in its sensitiveness (in the fact, not the degree) to this tremendous idea, an eternity of existence? that the thoughts which he expresses are not suggested at some time to all men, as in the well-known story of that British chieftain who illustrated human life by the image of a little bird in a winter storm flying into his hall, and swiftly traversing it to flit out again into the storm, and disappear, that lighted banquet-hall representing human life bordered by the mystery of two eternities?

3. But if it were granted that the assumption is true that

men have no such conception of eternity as constitutes it a powerful warning of the consequences of sin (supposing these to be eternal), another fallacy is to be noted in the assumption, that the conception of eternity is necessary as a motive to deter from sin: that such a conception, the most powerful and vivid, would effectively restrain the sinner. What foundation is there for this notion? What does the idea of eternity add as an effective restraint to the ideas of loss and death as consequences of disobedience? It is not denied that the consideration of eternity has weight among the motives dissuading from sin. But how much weight has it, relatively, as compared with the guilty consciousness of sin, the reproach of sin, loss and death through sin? Men lose opportunities through wrong-doing: they lose them forever. They lose property, friends, health, reputation: so that these can never be regained. They lose limbs, vital organs, and life itself as consequences of sin, distinctly foreseen and inevitable. These losses are final. In a true sense they are, and are known to be, eternal deprivations. Mr. Foster reasons, that, if it were known and realized that the punishment following sin is eternal, men would be deterred from it. In view of the observable facts of life, is this sound reasoning? Explaining their insensibility, the Bible shows that the trouble with sinners is, that, with so many motives to dissuade from guilt, they do not consider.

4. Again, it is a fallacy to assume that the punishment of sin is arbitrary instead of necessary. Whatever positive infictions there may be, the essential fact in punishment is its inevitableness. The lost man goes to *his own place*. He separates himself from God. He cannot be with God unless he chooses to be with him, and, by his character, is fitted to be with him. If eternally unfit, he must be eternally separated. He must be under the divine displeasure as long as he remains impenitent: if forever, forever. The teaching of the Bible is that the penitent man will be saved from sin.

Whenever and wherever he repents he will be forgiven and saved. The word "uttermost" must mean as much as this: if in hell he should repent, he would be saved. We could only know from a revelation that no soul once lost will repent: that this life is the exclusive point of opportunity: that at the judgment, the final state is fixed. But though the revelation upon this subject is explicit, the final state is not arbitrarily fixed in either world. Such is not the biblical representation. Really, the eternal future is determined by the man himself.

5. This suggests still another fallacy in the view which we are examining, viz., this objection of Mr. Foster does not make account of the well-known fact, that character ever tends towards, and at length reaches, a state of final permanence; a fixed and final determination to holiness or to sin. The indications are that, by many, this state is reached before death, as was the case with Judas. The heart becomes fully set to do evil. The instances carefully given of this result of the abuse of opportunity, scattered throughout the Bible, are among the most solemn warnings of God. Cain becomes reprobate. Esau sells his birthright. The Sodomites become confirmed in their unspeakable depravities. Ahab sells himself. Ephraim is joined to his idols. These are a few of the pertinent and conspicuous examples. But if character becomes permanent, what force is left to the objection to the element of eternity in punishment?

6. It is further to be remarked, that it is a dangerous and fatal fallacy to hold and to teach that it can ever be safe for men to die in their sins. Mr. Foster does not consistently teach this, but he certainly implies it when he teaches, that, as concerns the element of endlessness in punishment, the sinner is safe. He reasons to the conclusion that one is safe. But how much weight shall be allowed to speculative reasoning upon this subject, when we have an authoritative divine revelation?

7. This leads to the final observation, that it is a fallacy

to assume that the language of the Scriptures admits of such a treatment that we can safely reject from its teaching concerning punishment the idea of eternity. Mr. Foster does not seriously undertake this biblical discussion. He does no more than suggest it. He uses only general terms. It is his opinion that the Greek may be susceptible of an interpretation in which the idea of eternity is explained away; it may be probable that the biblical punishment is something less protracted than unending. In referring to his treatment of this entire subject, his pastor and distinguished friend, Robert Hall, makes these extremely weighty observations: "For my own part I acquiesce in the usual and popular interpretation of the passages which treat on the future doom of the finally impenitent. My reasons, in brief, are as follows: I assume it as a maxim that we are utterly incompetent to determine *a priori* what is the amount of guilt incurred by such as reject the overtures of the gospel; and, further, that God has been pleased to make it the subject of express revelation; that the terms expressive of the duration of future misery are as forcible as the Greek language supplies; that the same term is applied to the duration of misery as to the duration of happiness, or even the eternity of God himself (Matt. xxv. 46; Rev. xix. 3); that the exclusion of the impenitent from happiness is asserted in the most positive terms: 'they shall *not* see life,' etc., etc.; that 'their worm dieth *not* and their fire is *not* extinguished'; that positive terms may be understood in different degrees of latitude, but this is impossible respecting negative terms, since a negative admits of no degrees."

This brief criticism cannot be brought to a conclusion more appropriately than by recalling the comment of Dr. Chalmers upon Mr. Foster's speculations; a comment as applicable to premature speculations of our generation as to the period of John Foster half a century ago. This passage is from a volume entitled, "Scriptural Readings": "I wish that

my friend, Mr. Foster, could have adjourned some of the difficulties which exercised him to the day when all things shall be made manifest. I greatly wish that he could have restrained his speculation on the duration of future punishment, and acquiesced in the obvious language, or at least the obvious, practical lesson and purpose of Scripture, upon this question—which was to cut off every pretext of postponing the case of their eternity from this world, and to press home on every unsophisticated reader of his Bible the dread alternative of now or never.”

ARTICLE IV.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD D. WEAGE, NATIONAL CITY, CALIFORNIA.

WHEN Druilletes, the Jesuit missionary among the Canadian Indians, came to Roxbury, Eliot, the Puritan apostle to the Indians, not only received him cordially, but "prayed his guest to spend the winter with him."¹ We may safely imitate Eliot enough to ask candidly: What have Catholic missionaries done among the Indians? How does their work compare with the mission work in the Middle Ages? How does their work compare with that of Protestant missionaries among the Indians?

We shall not touch the question of present mission work. Nor shall we attempt to cover the whole ground of Catholic missions to Indians. We shall take as an example the mission of which Gleeson, the Catholic historian, says: "The happy results both temporal and spiritual have rarely been equalled and never surpassed in modern times,"² the mission to California. It was not an irreligious race that the Spanish padres found when they reached this sunset land. Their customs and religious ideas varied somewhat in different parts of the country. Our reference will be more particularly to the customs, ideas, and work in what is now known as Southern California.

The people believed in an invisible, all-powerful God, whom they called Nocuma.³ There was a second being whom

¹ Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. 327.

² Gleeson, *History of the Catholic Church in California*, ii. 122.

³ Works of H. H. Bancroft, iii. 164, etc.

they worshipped, named Chinigchinich, or the Almighty. He came to earth to teach men to dance, worship, and build temples. After accomplishing his object, he was taken to one of the stars, where he constantly watches men. At San Juan Capistrano there was a temple where Chinigchinich was worshipped under the form of a coyote. No sacrifices seem to have been offered, but the temple was a place for prayer. It was also a place of refuge. A murderer might flee there, and then be safe wherever else he went. They had a third object of worship, whom they named Touch. He was the special protector of men, and always on earth. When a child reached the age of six or seven years, he was taken to the temple, compelled to drink some intoxicating drink, then fast and pray till Touch revealed to him in a vision the kind of an animal that was to be his guardian. The figure of the animal was then branded on the child.

They had distinct theories of creation. Man was made from the ground.¹ Medicine men, the most powerful people, were made first.² In some places there was an elaborate theory of development, the natives believing that men developed from the coyote. The Garden of Eden was in the north. Some held that as the race grew and spread southward the earth developed in that direction. The race was created a pair. The first trouble came because the idea took possession of people that God did not care for them as he should. They had their traditions of a flood, and one tribe near Lake Tahoe had a myth that brings to mind the story of the tower of Babel. They believed in the immortality of the soul,³ and had more or less distinct ideas of future rewards and punishments.⁴ Heaven was for them in the West.⁵ There they were to eat, and drink, and dance, and have plenty of wives.⁶ All accidents and bereavements they regarded as divine punishments. They were believers, too, in transmigration to a certain extent.

¹ Ban. iii. 87. ² *Ibid.*, 163. ³ Ban. i. 422. ⁴ Ban. iii. 525. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 523.

⁶ Ban. i. 422.

The souls of some people entered the bodies of large animals. Hence, they generally would not eat large game.¹ Their worship consisted of prayers, dances to propitiate their offended god,² and, at least in some places, an annual religious festival connected with the killing of a buzzard.³

The standard of morals was by no means high, though adultery might be punished with death. They had elaborate wedding ceremonies,⁴ but very little ceremony in connection with divorce. There were the usual medicine men with their remedies, including baths, blisters, poultices, emetics, ashes, dust, whipping with nettles, and the use of the sweat house. Chiefs and a council of elders formed their political organization. War is undertaken on the slightest pretext, even women, after the custom of the Saxon women, accompanying the men to battle.⁵ Scalps, torture, and merciless destruction complete the usual picture of savage warfare.

Among the men who undertook mission work for this people, Junipero Serra, the first president of the missions, is the most noticeable. He was born in the year 1713 on the island Majorca. The intense religious training of his early life stamped his character with an ineffaceable mark. At sixteen years of age the sickly boy became a monk. Twenty years more passed, and he had received the degree of S. T. D., was a professor of philosophy and a noted preacher. After repeated application he received permission to leave the professor's chair for work among the North American Indians. Nine years he was a missionary in Mexico, and at the age of fifty-six years came to California. In preaching he often scourged himself with a chain, or pounded his breast with a stone, to bring his hearers to repentance; and, when preaching on the subject of future punishment, applying a lighted candle to his breast was found effective. He was a man of high moral character and great executive ability. His intense

¹ Ban. iii. 131. ² Ban. i. 420. ³ Ban. iii. 168. ⁴ Ban. i. 411. ⁵ Ban. i. 407.

enthusiasm was joined to great care for his own authority that kept him in constant trouble with the civil power. Limping from mission to mission upon his ulcerated leg, that must not be cured, planning, preaching, baptizing, confirming, his constitution was broken with austerities and work. It was a sad day for California missions when, at the age of seventy years, the old man died.

Not all of the missionaries were of this stamp. All, however, were Franciscans. It has often been said that the California missionaries were Jesuits. The Jesuits had been expelled from Mexico a year before the order came for the establishment of missions in the present State of California, and when in 1833 the northern missions were transferred to the care of another college they had been expelled a second time.¹ Jesuits had nothing to do with the missions under consideration.

As a rule the early padres were better than those who came later. Though their orders bound them to remain only ten years, some deserted and some were banished for bad conduct.² One at least was known as a thorough drunkard,³ some were very cruel, and some low in morals. When foreign ships began to visit California, and revolutions at home made it difficult to get all the supplies desired, the padres sometimes added to their other accomplishments that of smuggling. The old simplicity did not always remain. There is a record of silver watches being taken from some padres as articles of luxury.⁴ A priest at San Luis Obispo scandalized his brethren by driving to a conference at Monterey in a coach.⁵ Ox-carts and four-wheeled vehicles came into such common use that an order was given to burn all such conveyances unless they could be put to better use than carrying priests.⁶ When this priest of San Luis Obispo was banished in 1830, for political reasons, Vallejo, who

¹ Ban. xi. 438, 447. ² Ban. xviii. 575. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 219. ⁴ Ban. xix. 165.

⁵ Ban. xxxiv. 201. ⁶ Ban. xix. 402.

conducted him to the ship, says the padre showed his robe, heavily lined with coin.¹ This statement sounds strangely beside Gleeson's, that, "after the missions became rich, they distributed all the surplus moneys among them [Indians] in clothing and trinkets."² But, as a rule, the padres, especially during the early years, were self-sacrificing, kind, and earnest men. That there should be conflict between them and the military was inevitable. The example and acts of the soldiers were a great hindrance. Nor was it strange that when, in later years, their pasture land was encroached on, they should give cause for the sarcastic remark, that "the moon could not be made of land, or the padres would want it for pasture."³

There were twenty-one missions. The first one, that of San Diego, was founded in 1769; the last one, San Francisco Solano, in 1823. We shall not follow the routine of mission life, which has often been described more or less correctly, but pass at once to the question of results. The standpoint for judging of the results must not be later than the time when the missions, as such, ceased to exist. The last of the missions was secularized in 1837.

The material results of the missions are indicated by their buildings, agricultural products, and manufactures.

The buildings were always of the same general plan, a chapel and a large court surrounded by priests' rooms and factories. That of San Diego, while much smaller than some others, may serve as an example. The ruins still remaining are those of the fourth building. It was dedicated in 1813.⁴ The chapel measured 40x130 feet, and was 27 feet high, with walls five feet thick, the front wall having layers of burned brick with the adobe brick. Five windows on each side and one in front pierced the wall at a height of fourteen feet. A bell-tower three stories high, built of cob-

¹ Ban. xx. 100. ² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 30. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 222.

⁴ Ban. xix. 345.

ble stone laid in cement, rose at one corner of the chapel. The whole front of the building, including the bell-tower and a one-story wing, was 200 feet. The space surrounded by adobe walls was 250x300 feet. A porch eleven feet wide extended the whole length of the wing. For acres the ground outside of the main building is covered with ruins of smaller ones. Of the irrigating works those of San Diego will also serve as an example. Seven miles above the mission a dam was thrown across the canyon of the San Diego River.¹ The upper side is almost covered with sand. The lower side is ten feet high. It is built of stones laid in cement, and is for the most part nine and a half feet thick, and has semicircular projections to strengthen it. It is considerably wider at the waste-gate, which is about half way between the centre and one end. The dam was built in the form of a letter Y, the arms being seventy-five feet and one hundred feet long respectively, the entire dam on the line of the shorter arm, being two hundred and seventy-five feet in length. There was a space of seventy feet between the extremities of the arms which seem to have been thrown across the current. The outlet was four inches in diameter. From the dam there ran a ditch about two feet in width at the top and fifteen inches deep. This was built of tile laid in cement; the usual size of the flat or side tile being 8x16 inches. Semicircular tile were used for the bottom. Though the works are supposed to have been built in the first decade of the present century, the ditch is in some places still perfect. In some places a breakwater fifteen feet high was thrown up, and in others a solid stone wall ten feet high was built for the purpose. The ditch was connected with a stone and brick well-house at the mission. Another ditch for irriga-

¹ Bancroft's measurements for the irrigating works are strangely at fault. In xix. 106, he speaks of the dam as three miles above the mission. The mouth of the canyon is three miles from the mission. The measurements given here are personal ones.

ting the valley ran a long distance toward San Diego, which is several miles away.

In the year 1834 there were belonging to the missions 396,400 cattle, 6,600 horses, 321,500 sheep, goats, and pigs. There was that year a harvest of 123,000 bushels.¹ There was at San Diego a cotton and woolen factory, a tannery, and a soap factory. In San José there were at one time five looms making one hundred and fifty blankets per week. San Gabriel produced five hundred barrels of wine and brandy a year. San Juan Capistrano is credited with the same amount.² All the manufactures in the country were carried on at the missions.

While the priests were Spaniards, and it would be unfair to expect them to be more ready than the majority of their countrymen to introduce new machinery and new ways of doing things, they were not so reluctant as is sometimes represented. A writer in the *Science Monthly* for August, 1890, makes capital out of a mistake of Langsdorff, who was a member of the Russian expedition of Rezanof that visited San Francisco in 1806. Langsdorff was surprised that he did not find at San Francisco, as is apparent from Bancroft's narrative,³ a hand-mill which had been left at Monterey twenty years before. This mistake as to the place leads him to moralize about the reason of such unprogressiveness on the part of the padres. In 1820 there were two mills in San Francisco mission, moved not by hand power, but by mule power.⁴ What seems to have been the first water-mill in the country was at the Capistrano mission in 1833. In 1834 there were two grist mills at San Gabriel mission.⁵ Of the mill at San Antonio mission we read: "It was run by water brought in a stone-walled ditch for many miles, and driven through a funnel-shaped flume so as to strike the side of a large water-wheel revolving horizon-

¹ Ban. xxxiv. 339. ² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 125. ³ Ban. xix. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 374. ⁵ Ban. xxxiv. 454.

tally on a shaft. The building of this aqueduct, and the placing of the wheel, were the work of an Indian named Nolberto, who took the idea from the balance wheel of a watch, and did all the work with his own hands."¹

From the gardens and orchards the missions furnished a large amount of supplies to the army. The debt of the government for these supplies is reckoned at \$272,000.² They often carried a heavy stock of merchandise; that of San Gabriel in 1826 was worth \$50,000; that of San Buenaventura in 1825 was worth \$35,000.³

In physical results success is not so apparent. From 1790 to 1800 the number of deaths at the missions was 9,300. From 1800 to 1810, the decade when mortality was greatest, no less than 16,000 died, or 2,500 more than the entire population of the missions at the beginning of the decade.⁴ The average death-rate for the sixty-six years during which the missions were in operation was, for adults, 5.93 per cent; for children, 13.29 per cent; or for the entire population, 7.6 per cent.⁵ The death-rate of New York City in 1890 was 24.6 per thousand.⁶ The filth in which the Indians lived, poor medical treatment, and epidemics are given as the causes of this death-rate. As late as 1838 an epidemic of small-pox is estimated to have swept off three-fifths of the savage population of Sacramento Valley.⁷ That such mortality is not always dependent on the proximity of civilization is shown by Parkman in his story of the destruction of the Hurons.

Let us glance at results in the shape of manual training. These can be partially estimated by the fact that all the buildings and irrigating works were constructed, and the agriculture carried on, by native labor. An official report sums up matters thus: "There were masons, carpenters, plasterers, soap-

¹ H. H., art. "Father Junipero and his work," *Century*, May, 1883.

² *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal.* ii. 142. ³ *Ban.* xxxiv. 192. ⁴ *Ban.* xix. 160.

⁵ *Ban.* xxxiv. 621. ⁶ *New York Medical Journal*, Jan. 10, 1891.

⁷ *Ban.* xxxiv. 617.

makers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, brick-makers, carters and coat-makers, weavers and spinners, saddlers, shepherds, and agriculturists, horticulturists, vineros, vaqueros."¹ Nor were they capable of such work only when under the direct supervision of white people. The foremen and overseers were Indians. At least in the period from 1810 to 1820 a large part of the white population rented its land to Indians, paying them from one-third to one-half of the crop for tilling.² Indian judges were appointed at the missions as early as 1779.³ And in 1822, at a general election, the Indians had a vote.⁴ A late writer says: "At the end of the mission rule the Indian was really less capable of taking care of himself than at the beginning."⁵ As to how people, trained in all the most essential occupations of life, trained so as to work independently,—people having also some measure of civil training,—can be less capable of taking care of themselves than savages, we leave others to determine. That they would be unable to resist successfully the diabolical cunning of the white population was to be expected. The Indians and the most civilized Mexicans vanished alike before the trickery and greed of the Americans. Moral and spiritual results are not so well defined. Even Gleeson gives but small ground for accurate judgment. There were, according to Bancroft, more than 80,000 baptisms, including baptisms of infants. The record of the first decade is incomplete. At the time of the secularization, there were 31,450 Indians at the missions.⁶ What did this mean so far as morality is concerned? It was a great change from their savage life. The institution of the family was put on a permanent basis. The utmost care was taken to keep the morals of young people pure, by placing girls under the strict care of matrons. We find a great rebellion and massacre in Lower California, be-

¹ Quoted by H. H. in *Century of Dishonor* (edition of 1888), p. 461.

² Ban. xxxiv. 233, 236. ³ Ban. xviii. 331. ⁴ Ban. xx. 454.

⁵ *Science Monthly*, Aug. 1890. ⁶ Ban. xxxiv. 339.

cause the morality taught was too elevated to suit the ideas of the natives.¹ Baptism was not, as we are apt to suppose, the end for which they worked, except in cases of sickness. We find a number of instances where priests refused to baptize adults till there seemed to be a fair prospect of their remaining steadfast.² Notwithstanding this caution, there were many desertions. In one decade, from 1800 to 1810, when 22,000 were baptized, 700 went back to heathenism. From 1790 to 1800 there were 800 who left, and 16,000 baptized. From 1810 to 1820, while 18,000 were baptized, the desertions are estimated at 1,300.

Great emphasis was laid on instruction after baptism. Baptism signified little more than their willingness to receive further instruction. The children from four or five years of age were almost entirely under the care of priests. Gleeson gives so good an idea of Catholic instruction that we shall venture to quote at length from his description³ of Serra's work in Mexico:—

“His first and principal care, on entering his duties, was to apply himself to the study of the vernacular: into which, after he had tolerably acquired it, he translated the prayers and principal doctrines of religion. These he daily recited for the people, until, by frequent repetitions, they became impressed on their minds, and a spirit of religion created in their hearts. His constant and fervent exhortations wrought such a change in their lives, that many, if not most, were brought to confess and communicate on the principal festivals of the year.”

“Preaching, exhorting, catechizing, and confessing were his constant and unwearied employments. Preceding all the principal festivals he had instituted novenas, in which all the congregation took part with a view to preparing themselves

¹ Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. i. 350.

² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. i. 253, 340; Ban. xviii. 201.

³ Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 13.

to celebrate more worthily the feasts to which they referred. The festivals of our divine Lord and his blessed mother he especially celebrated with all the pomp and splendor his slender resources enabled him to command. . . . On these occasions, not content with the usual parochial instructions, he preached twice a day."

"The holy season of Lent was specially devoted to the offices of piety. . . . Every evening the faithful assembled in the church for the recitation of the holy rosary and other devotional exercises, showing by their general conduct and demeanor how deeply they realized the solemnity of the time. The Fridays were set apart for the celebration of the station of the cross, when the whole people went in solemn procession out of the village, Father Junipero bearing on his shoulders an enormous cross in memory of the passion of our blessed Redeemer. Passion and Palm Sundays and Holy Week were celebrated with great care, and the more remarkable parts in the passion of the Saviour brought strongly before the minds of the Christians. With such care and attention it was not possible for him to fail in bringing the people to a high standard of virtue."

While preaching and catechising are named as two of the means of instruction, fully as much stress is laid on ceremonies appealing to the senses, and on auricular confession. Confession is, in most cases, an utter abomination, but it is far enough from the natural tendency of the savage to denote considerable change in his character. Nor does an ordinary Indian attend devotional service twice a day. The absurdity of the idea that the Indians were held at the missions by force, and driven through the routine of work and worship by cruelty, is apparent not only from the number of desertions, which would have been impossible with such vigilance, but also from comparing the number of soldiers with the number of Indians. "In the year 1800 there were at the mission of San Diego 1,521 Indians, and the San Diego garrison, three miles

away from the mission, numbered only 167 souls, officers, soldiers, servants, women, and children."¹ The idea that the Indians were a spiritless race is sufficiently refuted by the massacre on the Colorado River in 1781, the burning of the San Diego mission in 1775, and the characteristics of native warfare which we have already mentioned. The absence of extensive Indian wars in California must be attributed fully as much to the kind treatment by the padres as to anything else. The Indian wars of the eastern coast were not incited by missionaries nor carried on by converts to Christianity.

We must glance at the educational results. A writer in the *Century* puts things in a rose-colored light when he says: "The Franciscans assiduously cultivate the study of the Indian dialects, of which they have compiled dictionaries and grammars."² It is to be regretted that he did not name the authority from which he took this item. Evidently Bancroft, with all his researches, failed to use it. He says that the great difficulty in the matter of California languages has been "a lack of grammars and vocabularies."³ The ones who were of most use to him in his linguistic work were not padres. Of the languages of Southern California he says, speaking of the priest to whom we owe our chief knowledge of the religious customs of the Indians, "Father Boscana, who has left us an accurate description of the natives of San Juan Capistrano, unfortunately devoted little attention to their language, and only gives us a few scattered words and stanzas."⁴ The fact seems to be that some of them, perhaps most, learned enough of the native language to be able to speak it with some correctness. In some cases they prepared brief vocabularies, as in the missions of Lower California. They used the native language largely in religious exercises and probably translated a brief catechism into it, as in Mexico. But as to anything worthy the name of dictionaries or grammars it is unthink-

¹ "Father Junipero and his Work," *Century*, May, 1883.

² *Century Magazine*, 1891. ³ *Ban.* iii. 635. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 674.

able that, if there were such, some trace of them should not remain. The padres taught some of the brightest boys to read and write and be musicians. They were to be of special use, as in Lower California, where those thus educated were used as catechists.

When it comes to speak of schools for the Indians, history is almost silent. What it does say is not flattering to the padres. In 1793 an order came, from civil authorities, to establish schools at the missions.¹ Compliance was promised, but nothing done. Later we find the requirement repeated with the same result.² Finally the priests were threatened with punishment if they did not comply with the law,³ but all in vain. For a short period there were schools at some of the missions. They taught nothing but to sing mass, play on musical instruments, and repeat the catechism. Reading and kindred studies formed no part of the program. Even in these cases the attendance was very small. Yet the fact remains that in 1835, at the secularization of the missions, there were three thousand religious works in their libraries, and that in 1846 there were only four other libraries in California. There would have been more books in the country if the priests had not burned a number of heretical volumes between 1825 and 1831.⁴ Three persons were excommunicated for refusing to deliver such books.

We have found that in material things the missions were a great success, in physical results a failure, in manual training a success, in spiritual affairs a moderate success, in educational things a failure. We turn now to a comparison between the missions in California and the missions for the conversion of Europe. Prominent among the missionaries of Europe stands Boniface of Germany, a man who in sacrifice, administrative ability, and tireless enthusiasm, was the counterpart of Junipero Serra. He has not the morbid tendency that led Serra to use candle and stone and scourge.

¹ Ban. xxxiv. 495. ² *Ibid.*, 511. ³ *Ibid.*, 515. ⁴ Ban. xxxiv. 524.

In his death he more nearly resembled Father Janma, who was killed at the burning of the San Diego mission as the words, "Love God, my children," fell from his lips. But in all important things the apostle of Germany and the apostle of California were much alike. The manner of work was much the same in both places. Of the earlier missions to Europe we read that when the Burgundians came to ask Christian baptism, the bishop, "ordering them to fast seven days, and having meanwhile instructed them in the elementary principles of the faith, on the eighth day baptized them."¹ It sounds almost like an extract from the California mission records. When Bogoris asked Methodius to paint his hall with frightful pictures, he put upon them the picture of the last judgment. When Vladimir hesitated, a like picture worked on his fears. For all practical purposes the pictures of Perdition and Judgment which hung in the missions here, might have been those on which Bogoris and Vladimir gazed. In the olden time miracles came to the help of pictures. Prayer, in building a church, accomplished what machinery could not do, and the chronicler says: "It was God's will that by this . . . the Iberians should be still further confirmed about the Déity."² Charlemagne's army is miraculously provided with water, and his guard, left among the Saxons, rescued by a vision of angels. A monk has a mill that continues grinding while he goes to prayer; and "the hairs of St. John the Baptist, a cross which enclosed a small piece of the true wood, and a key that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter,"³ did their work. California was not behind in miracles. Gleeson tells us that one of the loyal physicians secured a relic of Serra, and that soon after he was called "to attend one of his patients suffering from a grievous pain in his head." He gravely adds

¹ Socrates, Ch. Hist. vii. 30. ² Sozomen, Ch. Hist. ii. 7.

³ Gibbon's Rome, xxxvii.

that the physician "merely attached the little relic . . . to the suffering part, when presently the patient fell into an agreeable slumber, and afterwards awoke perfectly cured."¹ And lest any should mourn the degeneracy of these days, let us hasten to say that the same historian details two cases where the conversion of peculiarly obstinate people was effected by putting under the pillow a miraculous medal; this in the hospital under the care of the Sisters in San Francisco. When a party went to the bay of Monterey, soon after the founding of San Diego mission, they left on its shore a cross. On their return they found the cross surrounded with feathers and arrows and Indian trinkets. The natives afterward assured them that each evening they had seen the cross grown to a gigantic size and surrounded with light and had put these things there as offerings.² Among the miracles is one by Padre Jose Maria Zaloidea, a man who "greatly loved to engage in hand-to-hand conflict with . . . Satan, at whom he would scream, kick, and incontinently spar with his fists."³ It consisted in meeting a mad bull with no other defence than his trust in the injunction "Peace, peace, malignant spirit," etc. The padre came off victor.

One of the laws of Charlemagne was, "If a person of the Saxon race shall contemptuously refuse to come to baptism and shall resolve to continue a pagan, let him be put to death."⁴ Vladimir decreed that, of the inhabitants of Kief, "whoever on the morrow should not repair to the river [for baptism], whether rich or poor,"⁵ should be considered the king's enemy. Olov Trygueyson told his people in civil assembly that they "might be baptized then and there, or they might with equal dispatch fight him."⁶ A faint parallel is found in the recruiting expeditions sent out from the California missions, and in

¹ Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 97. ² Ban. xviii. 169. ³ Ban. xxxiv. 189.

⁴ Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. (Reid's ed.), Century Eighth, i. 1. 6. n. 5.

⁵ Maclear, Conversion of the Slavs, p. 105.

⁶ Maclear, Conversion of Northmen, p. 87.

the imprisonment sometimes used to convince stubborn ones that baptism was a good thing.

The monasteries of the Middle Ages did not differ, essentially, from the mission establishments of the New World in plan and outfit. Their population was larger. In the Irish monasteries, "the smallest usually contained . . . 150 monks, while some numbered upwards of 800 or 1,000."¹ In Germany they attracted settlers till "it would not be unusual for an abbot in the later time of Charlemagne to have from 20,000 to 40,000 subjects living on the lands of his monastery."² As agricultural establishments and centres of civilization the missions of Europe and of California did substantially the same work.

Nor were the results of their moral and spiritual teaching far different. If the conversion of Europe "must be regarded in the light of an infant baptism,"³ it cannot boast great superiority to that of California. Boniface baptized his thousands, and on one Christmas day, "upwards of ten thousand of the men of Kent received baptism."⁴ But population was more dense there than here, where in nine rancherias within several leagues of San Diego, only eight hundred or one thousand men were found for a war expedition that took a large part of the population. A most interesting point of comparison is educational matters. The missionaries here were Franciscans. One is not much surprised to find even a Protestant writer saying of Francis: "No human creature since Christ has more fully incarnated the ideal of Christianity than St. Francis."⁵ Nor are we at all surprised to learn that "he despised and prohibited human learning."⁶ A combination of such characteristics is not unusual. We should not expect

¹ Maclear, *Conversion of Celts*, p. 84.

² Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, p. 226.

³ Schaff, *Hist. of Christian Ch.* iv. 18.

⁴ Maclear, *Conversion of the English*, p. 29.

⁵ Lea, *Hist. of Inquisition*, i. 26.

⁶ Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christianity*, ix. 10.

the followers of Francis to have much enthusiasm for education. But the missionaries of Europe were Benedictines. We might expect better things of them. Chapter xxxviii. of the Rule of St. Benedict "directs that reading aloud during meals is to be practised."¹ In chapter xlvi. we find, after elaborate directions as to reading and work, that "every one is to have a book given out to him from the library, at the beginning of Lent; which he is to read through, while two senior brethren go the rounds during reading hours to see that the monks are actually reading and neither lounging nor gossiping." Surely here is the seed of a great intellectual growth. So it is. Books must be copied and libraries formed. At the monastery of Fulda, at one period, "four hundred monks were hired as copyists."² Schools were established. But we read again and again that the schools were designed to educate "children and youth devoted to a monastic life," and that the business of the monks was "to educate young men destined for the sacred office."³ A curious bit of instruction comes from the time of Charlemagne: "If any of the faithful desire their little children to be committed to them [schools] for learning liberal studies, let them not refuse to receive them."⁴ The schools were for those intending to be monks. A special decree was needed to insure that others be not turned away, if any should chance to apply for entrance. As a rule, training children "for the church was the only aim of the earliest education of the Middle Ages."⁵ Charlemagne went beyond this, but he no more represented the aim and work of the missionaries than did the civil power in California represent the aim and work of the padres. At Iona there was, possibly, more liberty, but Columba was not a Romish, but an Irish missionary. Ulphilas, who gave the alphabet and the Bible to the Goths, did not come from Rome, but from

¹ Encyc. Brit., art. "Monachism." ² Encyc. Brit., art. "Libraries."

³ Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., Century Seventh, ii. 1.

⁴ Brace, Gesta Christi, p. 221. ⁵ Intro. Mid. Ages, p. 142.

Constantinople. Cyril and Methodius, who did a like work for the Slavs, came from the same place. Charlemagne caused part of the Bible to be translated into the language of the Franks; but he was not a monk. Bede labored to his last breath to translate the Gospel of John, saying, "I do not want my boys to read a lie or to work to no purpose after I am gone;"¹ but Bede was not a missionary. The missionaries agreed with those in California. Educate for the church, educate others if you must. Even when church authorities give orders for schools, it is that the teachers "may give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study to attach themselves to holy books, and to know the law of God."² If priests sometimes urge parents to send their children to school, it is "that they may learn to pray and be fortified in the Christian faith." The whole history of education by Roman Catholic missionaries in the Middle Ages reads like a chapter from California missions.

Of the results of the missions as a whole, who can tell what might have been said a thousand years from now, had not our greed and treachery and crime made it forever impossible? We are but little more than a thousand years from the Saxons that fought Charlemagne. And if of the Cherokees it can be said, "What required five hundred years for the Britons to accomplish . . . they have accomplished in one hundred years,"³ then the mission Indians may stand, without shame, beside our forefathers in their progress toward a Christian civilization.

Three men are prominent in Protestant work among the Indians: John Eliot (1604-1690), David Brainerd (1718-1747), David Zeisberger (1721-1808). How do they compare with Junipero Serra? Brainerd's work was short. Eliot retained his pastorate while laboring for the Indians. Zeisberger, however, forms a particularly good subject for com-

¹ Green, *Hist. of Eng. People*, i. 63. ² *Gesta Christi*, p. 219.

³ *Century of Dishonor*, p. 277.

parison. When we look at his long journeys, his privations, his influence with Indians, his courage, his skill in management, and the extent of his work, he compares well with Serra. He had none of the tendency which made Serra use stone and scourge and candle. Brainerd had more of this. He would persist in fasting when he needed all his strength for his work, and was in the grip of consumption. It is certainly no more of a mistake to undermine one's health for the sake of impressing and helping others, than to destroy it by fasting and careless treatment for the sake of coming nearer God.

When we look at the circumstances under which the men labored we find them very different. Serra had the government to assist him. The mission work was recommended first by the government. Transportation and protection were furnished, and, notwithstanding the friction between the civil and the sacred branches of the service, the missionaries were dependent to a large degree on the help of the civil power. In the East, an attempt was made to establish mission work under government auspices, but how vastly this differed from the help Serra received, is soon seen. The attitude of the government and army in King Philip's war insured the destruction of Eliot's work. When Zeisberger began his work, he was repeatedly summoned before the civil authority to give account of his actions, and prove that he was not a traitor. The terrors of the French and Indian war were followed close by the Revolution. The Moravian Indians were on the border of the settlements. They were hated by British, hated by Americans, destroyed by the army put there for their protection, massacred by militia, exiled by British, and between the upper and nether mill-stones ground to dust. All this though they were known to be non-resistants. Once or twice they were rescued by the government from the heedless fury of Indian haters, and once even Quakers took arms for them. But this was poor help when compared to the general atti-

tude of the civil power. What was begun in heat was ended in deliberation, when the law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians was repealed because it interfered with individual rights.

In equal contrast to the condition in California was the social condition in the East. Settlers were coming rapidly. Indians were pushed further and further into the wilderness. Lands were given up only to find new possessions encroached on. Lawlessness did its work. Listen to the words of a chief, as, after picturing the ruin wrought by rum, he hurls his defiance full in the face of Zeisberger: "They [white people] always tell us 'good words': they always 'love' us, and want 'to save our souls.' 'Behold,' they say, 'thus and so has God taught us. We are wiser than you. We must instruct you.' Oh, certainly, they are wiser than we! Wiser in teaching men to get drunk: wiser in overreaching men, wiser in swindling men of their land, wiser in defrauding them of all they possess."¹ The work of the padres was hard, but they had no avalanche of white settlers to make such opposition possible.

If we look at the methods employed, we find more similarity between Catholic and Protestant than might be expected. Preaching and catechizing formed the main means of instruction in both cases. The devotional service which was conducted by the priests at the church was left to families in the case of Protestants. Both founded Indian settlements at a good distance from white people. The towns of Brainerd, Eliot, and Zeisberger were not essentially different from those clustered about the Catholic churches. They were laid out more regularly, it may be, and it strikes us strangely to read of one of the Moravian towns: "In summer a party of women passed through the street and alleys sweeping them with wooden brooms and removing the rubbish."² This case

¹ De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, p. 392.

² *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 317.

is paralleled, in a way, by that of some Wyandot Indians, under Methodist missionaries, who found fault with one of their native leaders, saying pointedly, "That brother is too dirty to be a leader of a clean religion."¹ It may be partly due to this cleanliness that we do not hear of any such death-rate as at the California missions. The work of the Protestant settlements was largely agricultural, though some primitive manufactures were carried on. The missionaries here, as in California, were obliged to oversee affairs. We read of Brainerd, "He was expected to arrange all their differences, to provide for their wants, to attend to their affairs of every description."² Several of the laws enacted by the Moravian Indians remind one of the rules of the padres. They also show the authority of the missionaries: "IV. No person shall get leave to dwell with us until our teachers have given their consent and the helpers have examined him."³ "IX. We will be obedient to our teachers and helpers who are appointed to preserve order in our meetings, in the towns and fields." They as well as the padres needed some one to keep order in church. "XIV. No one shall contract debts with traders, or receive goods to sell for traders, unless the helpers give their consent." "XV. Whoever goes hunting or on a journey shall inform the minister or stewards." California Indians were not allowed to leave the premises without permission. "XVI. Young persons shall not marry without the consent of their parents and the minister." This is much like the Catholic rule. In their councils on civil matters, as in other things, missionaries were foremost. An instance of one kind of punishment is on record. It was for a case of wife beating. "Wampas was made to stand up and answer for his fault before the public meeting, which happened to be unusually large, being attended by the Governor and many others of the

¹ Finley, *Life among the Indians*, p. 307.

² Peabody, *Life of Brainerd*, p. 323.

³ *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 379.

English. The Indian made an humble confession of his crime, took the blame wholly to himself, and attempted no palliation. When Mr. Eliot set before him in its true light the sin of beating his wife and indulging his violent passions, he turned his face to the wall and wept. All were disposed to forgive him: but his fine was strictly exacted, which he cheerfully paid."¹ It is a much more agreeable picture than that of the padres chaining the people together till they quit quarrelling."²

In material results, Catholic is far ahead of Protestant work. The thirteen towns of Zeisberger and the fourteen towns of Eliot make a sorry showing beside the twenty-one missions of the Pacific coast and their thirty thousand Indians. The reason of this difference is found largely in the different surroundings.

When we look at spiritual results the first place must be given to Protestant missions. Among the Moravian Indians was one named Glikkikan. He was a great orator and councillor. When converted he became one of the foremost Christians. Years after his conversion, when men from a heathen chief came to arrest him, he said: "There was a time when I never would have yielded myself prisoner to any man. Now I suffer willingly for Christ's sake."³ The spirit of that speech was wonderfully exemplified in his life and in his martyr death. One such instance recorded of all the sixty-six years of work by the Spanish padres would be like a light in darkness. There may have been such, but they apparently left no record. The most detailed account of results is found in the record of Brainerd's work. The account of the revival among the Indians during the year before Brainerd's death reads like a chapter from Finney's "Autobiography." The awful impressiveness of the services, the intense conviction of sin, and

¹ Francis, *Life of Eliot*, p. 98.

² H. H., "Father Junipero and his Work," in *Century*, June, 1883.

³ *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 510.

the peculiar beliefs of the preacher stand out in bold relief. Of his preaching, Brainerd says: "I found that close addresses and solemn applications of divine truth to the conscience strike at the root of all vice, while smooth and plausible harangues upon moral virtues and external duties at best are like to do no more than lop off the branches of corruption while the root of all vice remains still untouched."¹ He says the outward reformation in the lives of the Indians sprang "from the internal influence of divine truth upon their hearts, and not from any external restraints, or because they had heard those vices particularly exposed and repeatedly spoken against. Some of them I had never so much as mentioned."² This point forms a great contrast to the work of the Catholics. Evidently spiritual work in the two cases was carried on differently, and aimed at different immediate results. But we are disappointed to find that in eleven months only thirty-six had made open confession of Christ, though he says, before this, that "scarce a prayerless person was to be found among near an hundred."³

Writing fifteen years after the death of Eliot, Increase Mather says: "I could never yet inquire of any plantation or assembly of Indians but the most censorious English would grant there were three or four persons in that plantation who they verily believed were sound Christians, though they condemned the rest. Whereas a charitable man would have reckoned these three or four to have been the most eminent for piety among them, and have granted the rest to have such a measure of knowledge in the gospel method of salvation, and to be so ready to submit with most admirable patience to the church censures among them, and so penitent in their confessions of their faults and fearful of relapsing into the same or like faults as might be a just foundation to hope that they are travelling the right way to heaven."⁴

¹ Edwards, *Life of Brainerd* (Tract Soc. ed.), p. 269.

² *Life of Brainerd*, p. 267. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 268. ⁴ *Life of Eliot*, p. 357.

We must glance at the contrast between Protestant and Catholic missions in educational work. This is seen in the schools established by Protestant missionaries and in their works in the Indian languages. The padres, as we have seen, did nothing in this line but to make a few brief vocabularies and translate a catechism. Eliot left a catechism, Psalms in verse, Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," Shepherd's "Sincere Convert," a hymn-book, primer, logic-primer, grammar, and the whole Bible in the Indian language. This would be a remarkable record for any one, and when considered as the work of one who had the work of a regular pastorate in addition to his Indian labors, and who did not begin to study the Indian language till he was forty years old, it is an astonishing record. Zeisberger was even more prolific in the number of his works, having left in manuscript, or in print, no less than twenty-six works, one of which is a German and Onondaga lexicon in seven volumes. The contrast in educational matters between the settlement of the eastern and that of the western coast is very suggestive. On the eastern coast, the Pilgrims had scarcely landed before they began to establish common schools and colleges. In this their clergymen were among the foremost. On the western coast, three-quarters of a century after its settlement, governors were still fighting the indifference of the people and the opposition of the priests. The eastern coast laid foundations for broad and general education. The western coast stuck to its motto: "Educate special servants of the church; others, if you must: make the education as narrow as possible." California had no respectable system of public schools till it became a part of the United States. In San Diego from 1794 to 1846, a period of fifty-two years, there was school five years. Los Angeles had school thirteen years during the same time. Monterey, the capital, was favored with seventeen years of school during the fifty-two. In 1845 there were only eleven out of forty-five

voters in San Diego who could write.¹ California has had some experience with public schools in Catholic hands since that time. From 1851 to 1855 the Catholics of San Francisco received part of the public school money. This was discontinued, because, among other reasons, "of the inferiority of the provision made by the Catholics for those under their care."² "It is to be regretted," Gleeson adds with great *natveté*, "that a better arrangement both as regards the accommodation and the character of the instruction imparted had not been provided by the Catholic authorities, for thus would have been removed one of the reasons assigned for the withdrawal of the grant." The reason given for the regret is thoroughly Catholic, and all the more significant that it comes from a college professor. Hoping, doubtless, for the time when the public school fund shall be divided again, he adds: "When the day has arrived that all the Catholic youth of the country will be under purely Catholic influences, instructed as well in religion and morality as in secular learning, then, indeed, he who presides over this flock may say, with the just and devout Simeon, 'nunc dimittis . . .'"³ Most Americans would be willing to have him say "nunc dimittis" long before that time. Yet the Catholics only carry out the educational policy of the Middle Ages and the California missions: Educate special servants of the church; others, if you must.

¹ Ban. xxxiv. 551. ² Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Cal. ii. 275. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

ARTICLE V.

FAIRCHILD'S "ELEMENTS OF THEOLOGY."¹

BY THE REV. JOHN MILTON WILLIAMS, D. D., CHICAGO, ILL.

THE theological thought of the Calvinistic world has long been divided between two systems of doctrine, known respectively as Old School and New School,—the former emphasizing the doctrines naturally associated with foreordination; the latter, those associated with free will.

While the preponderance of opinion is largely and growingly on the side of the latter, the theological literature of our times, by some fatality, is largely committed to the former. For the last half-century the American press has been prolific of Calvinistic publications while very few have appeared setting forth New School views. Previous to the publication of the "Elements of Theology," complaints were heard of the impossibility of finding a text-book of the New School type suited to the need of our theological schools; and a want was felt, by some minds deeply, of a treatise on systematic theology in better accord with the present condition of theological thought. In consequence many eyes were turned to Rev. J. H. Fairchild, D. D., late President of Oberlin College, as the fitting man to supply the need.

Dr. Fairchild, no one knowing him doubts, possesses a mind marvellously equipped for such an undertaking. He is admittedly one of the ripest of American scholars, and the ablest living exponent of the free-will system of theology. The announcement, therefore, that he had consented to give the

¹ *Elements of Theology, Natural and Revealed.* By James H. Fairchild, Professor of Theology in Oberlin College. Oberlin, O.: Edward J. Goodrich. 1892. (Pp. xv, 358. 6½x3¾.)

world the result of his half-century of patient study was hailed, especially by the large numbers who had enjoyed his instruction, with marked satisfaction. Great expectations were raised which the writer is safe in saying have been fully realized. I question whether any author of our age has made a more valuable contribution to theological science.

In this moderate sized volume, so creditable to its publisher, the author condenses a pretty complete outline of what is termed systematic theology. In no spirit of controversy, resorting in no instance to the *argumentum ad invidiam*, making but a sparing use of the opinions of others, in language clear, simple, but wonderfully compact and comprehensive, the author sets forth with characteristic modesty what seems to him the teachings of reason and the Word of God. The result is an invaluable repository of great thought, on the greatest themes which can engage human attention.

The design of this article is to present to readers who may not find it in their way to peruse the volume, some of the more important conclusions reached through so many years of patient thought by a mind so thoroughly qualified to deal with the great problems of the moral world.

It may aid the reader, to premise that the author fully accepts the doctrine of *human freedom*, in the sense that moral beings, in any circumstances, under any pressure of motive, human or divine, in which they can choose at all, can choose in either of two ways—that every choice, by virtue of its own nature, is made in the possession of full conscious ability to choose otherwise. Hence he utterly discards, not all that Calvin or Calvinists believe, but that system of faith set forth in the Westminster Confession, which holds the dogma of a necessitated will, and reduces the several doctrines of the Christian religion into conformity to that fatal assumption.

On the other hand, our author does not regard himself as an Arminian. He holds rigidly to the underlying facts of the New School System; such as, that the will is free; that

ability and obligation are always commensurate; that the moral element resides exclusively in voluntary phenomena, primarily in ultimate choice; that willing good to sentient being is the *love* which fulfils law, and covers the total of obligation. As will appear, these great elemental truths permeate and to a wonderful extent shape his whole system of metaphysical theology. President Fairchild certainly ranks as a New School theologian, yet it is not to be concealed that he introduces into his system some views not in good and regular standing in the great Christian world, or even with most of his New School brethren—views which, while not fundamental, are of sufficient importance, probably, to justify the name "Oberlin Theology." These peculiarities seem to me but logical necessities of the basal truths to which I have referred, so that his whole offending consists merely in being more rigidly logical than his brethren. Long a pupil and associate of President Finney, that incarnation of logic, he finds it difficult to embrace a truth and reject its logical sequences.

The work very properly commences with

THE BEING AND ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

The author holds to the universality of the idea of God as indicated by the universality of the idea of *accountability*. The idea of accountability evidently carries the idea of a superior intelligence to whom we are accountable, or of God. Then, if the idea of accountability is intuitive and universal, as it doubtless is, the idea of God is equally so, and atheism is not possible. This view seems to me inferable from the whole trend of the Sacred Scriptures, and I am a little surprised that, like most other theologians, our author should place chief reliance upon *a posteriori* considerations in proof of the divine existence. As his views on this whole subject are those generally accepted, it is not necessary to indicate them.

MAN

is a spirit, in possession of three, and so far as we know but

three, generic faculties—intellect, sensibility, and will. The exercises of the two former, intellect and sensibility, he deems necessary, and consequently devoid of moral character. Such exercises as compassion, gratitude, avarice, pride, vanity, etc., he believes involve a voluntary element to which their moral character exclusively attaches. The *reason*, our author defines as the *intuitive* faculty belonging to man's intellectual nature. As its revelations are absolute, necessary, self-evident truths, he claims for it, and for all its exercises, absolute infallibility. The *conscience* he defines as a function of the reason, or as the reason in the sphere of obligation; and consequently regards its behests as in perfect and changeless accord with the divine law. A conscientious sin he rightly deems an absurdity.

THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

To this subject the author devotes three valuable chapters. In the last he discusses the burning question of inspiration and inerrancy. These he considers important themes, but not vital to the authority and claims of the sacred Word, or of special interest to the unbeliever, as his duties are the same, whether the Bible is or is not inspired. If it can be shown that the Gospels were written by honest, capable men, of well-balanced minds, who were personally cognizant of the events they narrate, and that their histories are true as other history is true, the Bible is true, its claims are established by such historic proof as governs men in the ordinary affairs of life.

There are two theories of inspiration. The first involves the absolute truth of every statement made by the writers, whether more or less important. For this the author suggests the name *absolute inspiration*. The second accounts the Scriptures inspired to such an extent as to present with all required fulness the great truths it is their intent to convey; so that should errors appear in some minute matters, it would not disprove inspiration, or deduct from the value of the sa-

cred writings. For this theory the author suggests the name *essential inspiration*.

While the author finds the Bible not only marvellously free from errors, but pervaded by marvellous wisdom in reference to all matters of science, securing the use of popular expressions which are always appropriate, and the avoidance of all technical terms which imply a scientific theory, he does not regard the harmony of its statements with truth, or with each other, on unimportant subjects, a thing the best scholarship would attempt to prove.

The Bible having been exposed for centuries to the carelessness of copyists and translators, multitudes of variations have crept into it. Certainly absolute inerrancy can be claimed only for the original text; and even there it cannot be proved, and would be a matter of trivial importance if it could, inasmuch as the original text has been irrevocably lost. There is then a substantial agreement between the advocates of the two theories. Both admit there are discrepancies and inaccuracies in the copies we now have, and it is a matter of small importance whether these inaccuracies are due to the original text, or to the inadvertence of editors, copyists, and translators. Certainly he who adopts a theory which makes no provision for such inaccuracies puts himself, and the Bible too, at a needless disadvantage.

DIVINE SOVEREIGNTY.

The divine power throughout nature, also throughout the realm of mind, so far as its existence and movements come under natural law, is *causal* and *absolute*. But when we come to the *conduct of moral beings*, the relation is entirely changed. Here the divine power is no longer causal or coercive; it is simply moral or persuasive. The prerogative of sovereignty has been so transferred from the Creator to the creature that the responsibility of the creature's conduct rests upon himself, not upon his Creator. Hence the existence of sin, which God

deprecates, and which if he consistently could he would prevent. We may call this a divine limitation, but it is a limitation self-imposed, provided for, and accepted as the best system possible to devise.

Notwithstanding this limitation, a *divine plan* pervades the moral world. Hence without violence to their freedom, or affecting their moral character, and often without their knowledge, God is largely securing the co-operation of men, good and bad, in the promotion of his ends. The wrath of men praises him.

To the question, Does not the existence of sin, on the whole, secure the greater good, and on this account the divine approval? our author answers decidedly, *No*. Were it so, and moral beings apprised of the fact, sin would not be sin. Sin is an evil which God abhors; and which has proved infinitely disastrous to his interests, though he has by his infinite wisdom and love largely parried and averted its awful mischief. At the same time a world in which sin is possible is the best world, because this possibility is essential to the existence of moral beings.

The two facts divine sovereignty and free-agency exist, and cannot be in conflict. Any theory placing them so is false. The difficulty of reconciling them is not in the facts themselves, but in our inadequate apprehension of them. The Calvinistic and Arminian theologies diverge at this point. Calvinists so explain divine sovereignty as to set aside freedom. Arminians so explain freedom as to trench upon divine sovereignty, even sometimes to the denial of the foreknowledge of voluntary actions. The great thought in each system is true, and a satisfactory theology must embrace both.

OBLIGATION

is an intuitive, necessary idea; one which can neither be analyzed, defined, or communicated to a mind not already in possession of it, though the most important, ever present, un-

changing idea in the realm of thought. What is the *ground* or *ultimate reason* of obligation is one of the most profound and widely controverted questions of Ethics.

Various answers are given. The *will of God* is sometimes assigned as the ultimate reason why we should, for illustration, do good. For obvious reasons our author rejects this theory. He also rejects the more plausible and popular theory that *right* is the foundation of obligation; for the sufficient reason that right and obligation are synonyms, or nearly so, and making right the ground of obligation is simply making obligation the ground of obligation.

Obligation relates exclusively to sentient beings. We can owe no duty to inanimate things. All the claims of any being for regard, and all the obligations owed any being, grow out of the value of his well-being. The *value of well-being*, then, is the ultimate reason of obligation. Were well-being not valuable, obligations to promote it would be unthinkable.

VIRTUE

is conformity to obligation—to all obligation—or obedience to the law of benevolence. It is supreme devotion to the welfare of being. As this law requires the love of *all* the heart, it is not possible to exceed its demands, or do more than duty. Works of supererogation and the accumulation of merits are mere figments.

All virtue, and all the special virtues, such as justice, veracity, temperance, faith, etc., are included in benevolence, and are but the varied applications of the generic principle of love. This, I am aware, is not universally conceded. It is claimed that there are independent co-ordinate virtues which differ from benevolence as veracity differs from temperance. *Justice* is instanced as an example. But justice, unless a mere impulse, takes within its scope the interests of him to whom it is accorded, or the interests of the public, or of both. If not, it accords with no obligation, and falls outside the cate-

gory of virtues. *Truth* is also instanced as a co-ordinate virtue which cannot be reduced to benevolence. "Truth for its own sake" is an old maxim. But truth is only a relative good; sacred, valuable, obligatory, only because of its contributions to well-being.

If justice, truth, etc., are separate, independent, co-ordinate virtues, valuable as ends or for their own sake, the law of love which Christ enunciated is not "the whole law and the prophets." There are obligations other than love. Love is not the fulfilling of law.

SIN

is a violation of obligation,—a transgression of the law of benevolence. It is a voluntary preference of self-gratification to the welfare of the great family of God. It is not selfishness in the sense of making one's highest good supreme. This all sinners refuse to do. It is selfishness in the sense of sacrificing one's own interests, and measurably the interests of others, to the demands of impulse and appetite, in disregard of the laws of God, and his own better nature.

Our author rejects the idea that sin or holiness is a thing that can be created, transmitted, inherited, or justly imputed to other than the subject of it, or that it in the slightest degree consists in any corruption or taint inherited from our first parents. We doubtless inherited from them weak and temptable natures, such as they themselves had prior to the fall; but to account such natures ill-deserving is abhorrent to both reason and the Word of God. Into the same category of absurdities, the author rules the theory that men are under obligation to love God with the strength they would possess had their powers never been impaired by their own sin, or that of their first parents; and in so far as they fall short of the standard set up for unfallen beings, they come short of obligation. Evidently obligation and ability are conterminous, and present power is the measure of present duty. Nothing is sin that is not voluntary in the sense that it is freely en-

tered into and maintained, and can at any moment be abandoned.

CO-EXISTENCE OF SIN AND HOLINESS.

Holiness is the devotion of one's self to the interests of the kingdom of God. Sin is the devotion of one's self to personal gratification. These two contradictory attitudes necessarily displace each other, and cannot co-exist. It is not possible at the same time to make both the general welfare and self-indulgence the supreme law of life. A mixed action—fealty to both God and mammon—is an absurdity.

To this view it is objected:—

1. Motives are a mixture of both good and bad. Why, then, it is asked, may not the resultant action be a mixture of good and bad? For the sufficient reason, it is answered, that the good and bad impel in different and opposite directions, and it is not apparent how the mind, in the same act, can yield to both.

2. A choice, right so far as it goes, may embrace but *part* of the good perceived. One may be truly benevolent toward his friends and not toward his enemies. This the author denies. True benevolence is the impartial choice of good as good, good for its own sake, and necessarily embraces all good. The Master approves of no other. "If ye do good to them that do good to you, what thanks have ye?"

3. Benevolence may be defective in *intensity*. There may be a sinful deficiency in true love to God. This the author also denies. Love is primarily a *choice*, and a choice, certainly an ultimate choice, admits no degrees. If one intends to pay a debt when due, what more is of the slightest value, or even possible? Intensity pertains only to the emotions, or clearness of perception accompanying a choice.

4. Voluntary acts inconsistent with a right prevailing choice are possible. This the author also denies, and I think a moment's reflection will satisfy any one that he is right. One, we will suppose, intends to reach a distant city in the

shortest possible time; can he, knowingly, unnecessarily turn aside without a temporary or permanent suspension of his purpose? The objection also assumes that one may disobey God while intending to obey him. This evidently is not possible.

This view of the completeness of moral actions is the chief characteristic of the Oberlin Theology; and the basis of that "*perfectionism*" which, half a century ago, excited so much prejudice against President Finney. That great thinker was compelled to believe, that "no man can serve two masters;" and that to purposely gather with Christ, and at the same time purposely scatter, is not possible. He could not believe anything less than that the devotion of the *whole* heart to God, and the purpose of *entire* conformity to his will, is acceptable holiness.

GOVERNMENT, HUMAN AND DIVINE.

Government is a necessity for finite beings, and probably ever will be. The right to govern is not a privilege conferred by the people, nor does it rest upon the consent of the governed. It is rather a *duty* enjoined by the moral law upon him who can govern best, or upon him whose services, as ruler, the highest good demands. The best indication of this duty is usually the consent and approval of the people.

Penalty is suffering inflicted upon the transgressor. Its object is to restrain from transgression, not the offender only, or chiefly, but all the subjects of law. Ill-desert is a condition of punishment, but in no case a *sufficient reason*. The claims of benevolence alone can justify it. Its utility is the only warrant. If simple ill-desert requires God to punish, it is because he is amenable to some law other than love—a law, too, which must forever stand in the way of pardon, inasmuch as ill-desert once incurred can never be canceled.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Our author believes the Eternal Logos was in the be-

ginning "with God, and was God," "and became flesh and dwelt among us."

The *Sabellian* theory he rejects, believing there is in the eternal nature of God the foundation of the threefold manifestation; the mystery of which, he makes no attempt to comprehend or explain.

In his view the same mystery hangs over the *person* of Christ. The time-honored formula, "two natures and one person," involving the self-contradiction, as the terms are used, of "two souls, yet only one;" and also the theory that Christ was simply the eternal Logos incarnate, made man by the limitations necessarily resulting from acting through a material organization—God manifest in the flesh so far as it is possible for the infinite to manifest itself through the finite—termed the *Kenotic* theory, involve difficulties so formidable that he prefers to rest upon the clearly revealed fact that Christ exhibited traits both human and divine, without formulating any theory, or attempting any explanation.

THE ATONEMENT.

Salvation through the sufferings and death of Christ is the supreme fact of the New Testament. How the great sacrifice availed to render sin pardonable, and God just and the justifier of the believer, is a problem of surpassing interest.

Three theories are suggested. The first is termed the *Moral Influence* theory, of which Dr. Bushnell's "Vicarious Sacrifice" is probably the ablest exponent. According to it, nothing is necessary to justify the pardon of sin but its abandonment. The sufferings of Christ are an atonement in that they are God's chief instrumentality in subduing the opposition of sinners, and making them at one with himself. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," is the comprehensive fact of the New Testament. This theory, our author, for obvious reasons, rejects; and even Dr. Bushnell himself, in a later work, "Forgiveness and Law," materially modifies, if he does not entirely abandon it.

The second theory, more popular but not less objectionable, is termed the *Penal* or *Satisfaction* theory. It finds, not the sinner's impenitence, but divine justice, or God's righteous indignation toward sin, the real obstacle in the way of pardon. This obstacle Christ removed by taking the place of sinners himself and suffering in their stead the penalty due to sin. Thus he satisfies divine justice and provides lost men a way of escape.

This theory lies open to some very serious objections:—

1. Why indignation should be more obligatory and influential than *compassion* is not apparent. "God delights in mercy, and judgment is his strange work." That his compassion should in every case be outweighed and set aside by his indignation is, to say the least, antecedently very improbable.

2. Sin cannot justly *twice* be punished; once adequately on the person of Christ, then again on the person of the sinner. All those whose punishment Christ has borne evidently must be saved. If any are not saved, Christ did not taste death for every man. The penal theory involves either limited atonement or universal salvation.

3. The idea that the divine anger toward sinners was pacified by inflicting suffering upon One "who knew no sin" strikes us as preposterous, and even as *monstrous* when we reflect who the sinless sufferer was.

4. Worse than all is the dishonor which the theory casts upon the divine character. If the object of Christ's sufferings was to pacify divine indignation, precisely this is the object of the punishment of lost men, as one is the substitute for the other. This theory then represents God as punishing wretched lost souls forever, not to promote the general good, but to satisfy personal vindictiveness. Such a theory needs no refutation.

These colossal difficulties are met by assuring us that the justice Christ satisfied was not a mere impulse, or, if so,

it was an impulse that carried with it *obligation* to punish sin, all sin, either in the person of the sinner, or some one taking his place, up to its full deserts—a justice so stern and imperious that God could not disregard it and be true to his own nature.

It will occur to the reader that this is meeting the difficulties of the penal theory by utterly abandoning it. It could not have been any *abstract justice* which Christ died to satisfy, for the sufficient reason that there is no such thing. If it was *obligation* Christ died to fulfil—it could have been nothing else—it was obligation to promote the general welfare, or to contribute to the great total, the infinite sea of bliss; for no other obligation ever did, or ever can, rest upon God, or upon any other moral being. Nothing is valuable but *good*. Then if anything is obligatory but doing good, it is something which has no value, and is of no use. Was it for such as this, the Saviour of sinners laid down his life?

The third theory of the atonement, the last noticed by our author, is called the *Governmental* or *Benevolence* theory.

It holds *not* that God so *hated* the world that he gave his only begotten Son to pacify his anger; but that he "so *loved* the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in him should not perish." It was to satisfy public justice, to meet the claims of a benevolence which embraced the universe, that Christ died. To make pardon safe, there was needful such an expression of the divine character, of God's hatred of sin, and of his regard for the welfare of his creatures, as would shame every sinner, and establish such confidence in himself, that he could, at his own discretion, forgive sin without compromising his honor or laying a stumbling-block in the way of the weakest of his saints. Sin had created an awful exigency. It was either the execution of law in all its rigor, or something to take its place just as efficacious in sustaining divine authority and repressing sin. It was just this exigency which Christ met. "He was set forth to

declare the righteousness of God, for the remission of sins . . . that God might be just and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus."

REGENERATION AND CONVERSION.

These terms, used in substantially the same sense in the Bible, denote a change of moral character, or the change which makes a bad man a good man; an ill-deserving man meritorious, and worthy the approbation and complacency of God, and of other moral beings. It consists in the abandonment of self-gratification and in the acceptance of the interests of the kingdom of God as the end of pursuit. As it is primarily a change of the *ultimate choice*—the exclusive seat of moral character—though always secured by the enlightening and persuasive influence of the Holy Spirit, it is always and necessarily the act of the *subject* himself. The idea that the act of one being can make another meritorious, or that anything but one's self can change his own choice, is simply unthinkable.

In this change there is nothing organic, miraculous, mysterious, or beyond the ability of any sinner at any time, here or hereafter. The only thing mysterious about regeneration is the divine influence which secures it, and the great results which follow. Should any prefer to call the *choice*, which is the supreme thing, *conversion*, and the entire work, including that of the subject and that of the Holy Spirit, *regeneration*, he would violate no canon of propriety.

HUMAN ABILITY.

The assertions, says our author, "that whatever is to any person, at any time, under any conditions, *obligatory*, is to that person, at that time, and under those conditions, *possible*; and wherever any being can do wrong he has plenary ability to do right; are necessary truths, too obvious to be proved or doubted." The question, Can a fallen sinner do right without divine help, he answers, "If a fallen sinner can-

not do right without divine help, he is under no obligation to do it." If the sinner has not, he asserts, every ability and equipment requisite to doing right, God's commands, warnings, expostulations, and entreaties are inexplicable.

SANCTIFICATION.

The author's views of this important theme are in harmony with those of the Christian world, except as possibly modified by his adherence to the doctrine of the simplicity of moral action. All Christians are, in the language of the Bible, sanctified. The choice which constitutes conversion is entire conformity to the claims of the divine law. Nothing less than doing, or, what is the same thing, intending to do, *all* God requires, is acceptable to God, and nothing more is either obligatory or possible. In harmony with this view, the people of God are called, in both the Old and New Testaments, *saints*, or sanctified ones.

But the choice which constitutes conversion, though in itself faultless and complete, is susceptible of growth, confirmation, and expansion infinite. The convert's knowledge is exceedingly limited and defective; his sensibility, cold, stunted, and measurably soured. There is not a faculty of his being which is not capable of immeasurable perfecting. He stands at the base of a mountain whose summit no angel's eye has ever reached; and the law of his life is "Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forward to things that are before."

But the word *sanctification* is now used to designate a certain, or rather an uncertain, maturity in the divine life. The author questions whether there is any particular spot, or any designated attainment in the divine life, which *par excellence* deserves the name, or whether any two Christians are led over precisely the same path, or whether there is in this life any place where the Christian may lay his armor down in the assurance that the last foe is conquered. While he should

earnestly seek richer manifestations of Christ, and fresh baptisms of the Holy Spirit, he should never make personal attainments the end of pursuit, or for an hour forget that the promotion of the kingdom of God is the work to which he is called, and that the highest summits possible to him are reached by "patient continuance in well-doing."

ELECTION.

The character of all men is, says our author, foreknown to God, and their destinies are predetermined in view of this foreknowledge. Some he will save, others reject, and what he will do at last already lies in his purpose. Hence the salvation of some, and the reprobation of others, are already settled in his eternal purpose. Thus far there can be no difference of opinion. But whether moral character is *pre-determined*, and the ultimate reason it is what it is, lies in the divine will—whether the conduct of men and the motion of stars are controlled by the same infinite power, is a question from which two great schools of theology take their divergence.

On which side of this question our author stands has been already clearly intimated. His language is: "Since the voluntary acceptance of the gospel is the condition of man's salvation, it is also the condition of his election to salvation. This condition each one supplies or refuses to supply for himself. Hence, each one makes or refuses to make his own 'calling and election sure.' As one can make his conduct to-morrow different from what it will be, he can make his destiny forever different from what it will be."

ESCHATOLOGY.

Our author believes in the resurrection of the dead at some period still in the future. While he does not believe that we sow "that body that shall be," or that "flesh and blood can inherit the kingdom of God," he thinks the Bible warrants the belief that there is some relation between the

bodies we put off, and those with which we shall be "clothed upon." What that relation is no one knows. Still he sees no more mystery in it than in the relation between the bodies we now occupy and those we occupied twenty years ago. They seem the same, yet, so far as appears, there is not a particle of matter common to both.

This view involves an *intermediate state*, where this long period will be spent. What will be the condition and employments of what he deems disembodied spirits, we have little data for judging. The theory that it will be a continued probation, he thinks, lacks both proof and plausibility.

The resurrection is immediately preceded by the second coming of Christ, and followed by a judgment-day in which all the dead will stand before God and hear the final sentence. This time-honored and widely received view is attended, the author is aware, with difficulties so serious as to stagger the faith of many, and he admits that much of the scriptural language by which this view of the last things is supported is highly figurative; and I think he will admit that probably the last words in reference to these great themes are yet to be spoken.

His views of the future of good and bad men are in harmony with the generally accepted faith. Heaven, in his opinion, is a *place*, not of rest and reward simply, but of activity and responsibility. The idea that it will be our earth, purged by fire and rejuvenated, is not sustained, he thinks, by the Word of God. Whether its inhabitants will be limited to the redeemed of Adam's race, or it will be the general gathering-place of the holy from all worlds, he thinks there are not sufficient data to warrant an opinion upon.

He discards the doctrine of the *annihilation* of the wicked. If the Scriptures teach it they have done it, he thinks, in language uniformly misunderstood. His great work closes with the assertion: "Nothing appears in reason or the Scriptures which warrants a departure from the commonly received

doctrine of the church, that those who pass into the other world as sinners will continue to sin, and abide forever under the righteous displeasure of God."

The reviewer of this able theological treatise ventures the assertion, that it will need revision and modifications, more or less important, as the world progresses in knowledge, but that the *system* of theology it embodies is so self-consistent, so beautifully symmetrical, and accordant with the scriptures of truth, and the deepest trend of human thought, that it will be the system taught in the schools of this world when "its kingdoms are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ."

ARTICLE VI.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ITALIAN CHURCH MUSIC.¹

BY EDWARD DICKINSON, PROFESSOR OF MUSICAL HISTORY, OBERLIN COLLEGE.

UPON a clear evening not many months ago I found myself for the first time before the world-renowned cathedral of Antwerp. The lonely tower, one of the most exquisite of all the works of human hands, with its apex turned to gold by the touch of the last rays of the setting sun, revealed every detail of its fairy-like tracery sharply cut against the intense blue of the sky. From the lofty recesses of the spire the chimes every few moments sent a waft of melody far out over city and river. The dingy square in which I stood, shut in by buildings as old and gray as the cathedral itself, was almost deserted, and, although in the heart of the crowded city, but faint murmurs of life reached my ears. The haste and clamor of the present had slipped away from me and left me in one of those haunts consecrated to the spirit of the Middle

¹ The following are some of the most valuable sources of information in respect to the subjects treated in the present article: *Geschichte der Musik*, A. W. Ambros; *Geschichte der Musik des 17, 18, und 19 Jahrhunderts*, Wilhelm Langhans; *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, A. von Dommer; *Giovanni Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, C. von Winterfeld; *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen Musik*, R. G. Kiesewetter; *Magister Choralis*, F. X. Haberl; *Führer durch den Concertsaal*, II. Abtheilung, Hermann Kretzschmar; *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, F. J. Fetis; *History of Music*, Emil Naumann; *On Purity in Music*, A. F. Thibaut; *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, vol. i. *The Age of the Despots*, vol. iii. *The Fine Arts*, vol. vi. *The Catholic Reaction*, J. A. Symonds; *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, Charles Burney; *The History of the Popes*, L. von Ranke; *The Life of Mozart*, Otto Jahn; *The Transition Period of Musical History*, John Hullah; *Studies of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, Vernon Lee; *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, articles "Mass," "Schools of Composition," and "Plain Song."

Agés, where poetic and historic associations combine to deepen the spell cast by some miracle of art. As I gazed upward at that amazing shape in which stone seemed robbed of its friableness and obedient like wax to the cunning hand of its artificer, I marvelled not only at the artistic genius that could dream of a thing so beautiful, and the engineering skill that could adjust its multitudinous parts in such flawless proportion and security, but also at the intellectual supremacy of an institution that could bid such structures rise in testimony to its authority over the imaginations and the wills of a continent of men.

As the sunlight faded, the windows of the cathedral began to glow from lights within, now and then a door swung open and strains of music stole out into the silent square. I entered the building and found myself in a vast nave flanked by gigantic columns, which were lost in the shadows of the vaults far above. At the intersection of the nave and transepts stood a lofty altar of snowy white; the broad stairway leading up to the holiest place was carpeted with crimson, and bordered with masses of flowers of gorgeous hues. Enormous candles illuminated the structure. Richly attired priests and attendants passed up and down, and backward and forward, in mysterious evolution and gesture before the radiant sanctuary. Clouds of incense rolled upward, and diffused through the whole edifice their aromatic breath. A crowd of worshippers knelt motionless before the altar and in the shaded spaces between the columns. Beyond the altar was the blackness of night, within which I knew that those sublime paintings in which Rubens has depicted the expiation on Calvary for all time, were hanging with their wings folded across their faces. No light was visible, save the illumination about the altar, which bathed every object near it in mellow splendor, and sent pale gleams along tablets and windows, and flung back the hollows of the vaults and chapels into impenetrable gloom. An invisible choir from the gallery was

chanting some of those solemn Gregorian melodies which are like the echoes of another world, so mystical and awesome are they in their rapt and impersonal expression. At intervals, when the weird voices ceased, the organ sent peals of harmony reverberating through the vast arches. The impression was irresistible. The antiquity of the place, the magnificent architecture, the superb vision of the altar, the magical effects of light and darkness, the floating incense, the surging music, the reverent attitudes of the worshippers, the inevitable suggestions of the history, power, and spiritual domination of the Roman Catholic Church,—all combined to lay a spell upon my mind that subdued it into something like fear. I felt that I could to a certain degree sympathize with the countless earnest souls who had laid their doubts and longings at the feet of the august institution whose wonderful history and spiritual power seemed to them to warrant its tremendous claims.

Such effects, produced by the ingenious combination of some of the most potent influences that act upon the senses and the imagination, have been an essential part of the method of the Roman Catholic Church from the beginning. No subject of study is more fascinating than the sources and the development of her unparalleled sway over the human mind. In accounting for her marvellous career, we must not pause with the terrifying and consoling features of her doctrine, her matchless organization, or the craft, policy, and energy of her priesthood. These have produced amazing results, but the church has not relied upon these alone. She has employed, with consummate skill, those means by which appeal is made to the universal susceptibility to ideas of beauty and grandeur as embodied in sound and form. Large account must be taken of the influence of art in explaining the wonderful success of the Roman Catholic Church. She has constantly made use of the highest attainments of poetry, architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, both for direct instruction and also for

captivating the mind by the still more powerful force of symbolism and suggestion. In using these agencies she has taken cognizance of every variety of aptitude and opportunity. Her resources are so vast that no grade of taste and culture has remained untouched. For the vulgar she has garish display; for the superstitious, wonder and mystery, not stopping at the most palpable deception. For the imaginative and emotional, she clothes her doctrines in the fairest guise, and makes worship an æsthetic delight. Her worship centres in a mystery,—that of the Real Presence,—and this mystery she embellishes with every allurements that can startle, delight, and enthrall. It needs only such an hour as that which I spent in the Antwerp Cathedral to obtain a clue to the secret of the ascendancy of the Roman Church, and to understand the pride in her which her votaries feel,—a pride often stronger than patriotism, a loyalty which resists the insidious temptations of the reason toward intellectual independence.

No other religious system has gone so far in the employment of symbolism for the inculcations of her doctrine. She has recognized the fact that minds that love to rise above form and ceremony, and seek immediate contact with the divine source of truth, are comparatively rare. The majority of mankind require that spiritual influences must come to them in the guise of that which is tangible, a certain nervous thrill is needed to shock them out of their customary material habits. Recognizing this fact, and having to deal with a vast mass of coarse and ignorant people, the Roman Church has even incurred the charge of idolatry by the extreme use she has made of images and symbols. But it may be that in this she has shown greater wisdom than those who censure her. She has certainly never lapsed into the stupid blunder of repelling the aid of art. She knows that the externals of religious observance must be endowed with a large measure of sensuous charm if they would seize hold upon the bulk of mankind. Her fault, if fault there be, is in the tendency to keep

her devotees at the same grade of mixed spirituality and sensuousness at which she finds them. She knows that these two—spirituality and sensuousness—can never be quite separated, and she would run the risk of sometimes subordinating the first to the second, rather than offer a service of a bare intellectuality, empty of those persuasions which artistic genius offers, and which are so mighty to bend the heart in reverence and awe.

Among all the arts upon which religion relies to enforce her conceptions, music is probably the most efficient. All the great historic religions have employed its aid in the impressment of their conceptions upon their votaries. They have perceived that, as Cousin says, "there is between a sound and the soul, physically and morally, a marvellous relation." Christianity indeed has been the only system that could raise music into a fully developed independent art, but this has been due not alone to the profounder spiritual life which she has inspired, but to the fact that the Keltic and Teutonic peoples, whom she early subjugated, were peculiarly endowed with musical genius. In their barbarous condition this inborn quality was hardly conscious of itself, but when awakened by the touch of Christianity stirring a deeper soul life, and united with the southern feeling for form and precision, the conditions for an art of music were prepared. For ecclesiasticism alone is unfavorable to musical progress. After it has given music force enough to intensify the solemnity of its rites, it desires to restrain its further development, lest tone should be cultivated for its own sake, and the mind drawn away from pious contemplation to a merely sensuous and æsthetic enjoyment. The Egyptians and Hebrews, those most religious of all nations, succeeded in keeping music subordinate to ritual. Among the Greeks, also, it was simply the handmaid of poetry and the dance, so long as religious belief and poetic inspiration were controlling forces. In the later period of Greek history, music partially emancipated itself and showed signs of

distinct progress, but the creative impulse had already given place to that of analysis and pedantry. Rome could add nothing. It remained for the Christian Church to take up the feeble heritage of Greek musical practice, and build up a great world art upon it. The church began this process by simplifying and reducing music to a condition as subordinate as it was in the old Hellenic days. She adopted a few of the Greek scales, borrowed and invented a number of chant-like melodies, set them to hymns and Scripture texts, and had them sung in unison and without accompaniment. These chant melodies, called Gregorian, from Pope Gregory the Great, were systematized in a canon which was impressed upon all the churches of the West, and as years went by they became invested with a traditional sanctity which threatened to harden the church service of song into a system as unyielding as that of the ancient Egyptians. So far as the Gregorian chant is concerned, it did so; but just here is found an illustration of the wisdom that has rarely been absent from the administration of the Roman Church. She retained the Gregorian melodies for certain portions of the liturgy, and along with them, and based upon them, built up a musical service in which the most exuberant musical genius could be allowed free play. The church in this instance, as in many others, has acquired the benefits of intellectual progress without incurring the reproach of changeableness or lessening the weight of her traditions.

The next great step after the creation of the Gregorian song was the invention of harmony; perhaps we should say the adoption of it, for it is evident that this usage came from some ancient practice among the northern tribes. This advance made a free independent art of music possible. It made its appearance first in the northern convents early in the tenth century,—a crude and barbarous jargon at first, with the parts moving in unchanging intervals. By and-by the parts began to separate in timid fashion, one voice singing a Gre-

gorian melody, and one or two others accompanying it in simple and often harsh relations. Here was the germ of all modern music—the seed from which has grown a mighty tree. The new discovery spread to the south and west, and was taken up by ingenious monks, who found in it a rich field for the exercise of the scholastic subtlety which was characteristic of that age. The church, seeing no reason to resist this tendency toward musical elaboration, sought only to keep it under her own control and make it redound to the honor and glory of her ritual.

Her success in this is the musical history of the following centuries down to the close of the sixteenth, when the stream of musical creation began to seek secular channels. The church music was kept apart from that practised by the common people. The church saw the rise and decay of the sweet and natural folk-song of France and Germany; she saw the lyric of the Troubadours and Minnesingers wax and wane, but she found no model there for an art of sacred song suited for her needs. For the form appropriate to the church service is the chorus, not the solo, and the ecclesiastical musicians of the Middle Ages found that in counterpoint existed the materials for the building up of a great choral art. So they toiled early and late to master the obstinate difficulties of their science, postponing the achievement of melodious expression to a later season, striving first to solve the problem of combining independent parts in harmonic smoothness by means of the various methods afforded by the possibilities of imitation, fugue, and canon. As their skill increased, it is not strange that they revelled in its exercise, often losing sight of the true aim of music altogether, writing works to be wondered at for intricacy, compositions in sixteen, twenty, even thirty independent parts, in which melody and meaning were lost in polyphonic confusion. Such productions are nothing now but monuments of an epoch through which music, like every art, must pass—that of mastering technical resources, without which its expression must

remain primitive and restricted. The mediæval musicians, more theorists than composers in the modern sense, spent no time in cultivating melody. They took their themes from the Gregorian tunes or the people's melodies, and constructed a maze of free accompanying parts around them. They never wrote a solo song. They knew nothing of instrumental music. No utterance was allowed in the choir except the unaccompanied chorus, and upon the chorus they lavished an ingenuity and boldness in the wielding of complex vocal effects to which later music can hardly afford a parallel.

As one technical problem after another was mastered, and the process of heaping up difficulties for the pleasure of solving them was driven to its limit, the essential spirit of music more and more infused itself. It was seen that the intellectual element is only the necessary vehicle of beauty and emotional power. The church masters added melodious sweetness, tone color, light and shade; they sought inspiration in the sacred texts, and bent their immense scientific knowledge to the service of intensifying the appeal of the word to the heart. To this end they at last reduced harmonic complexity to that just moderation which allows clearness and flexibility without the sacrifice of grandeur. When this was accomplished, this peculiar form of music belonging to the mediæval church culminated. Music had now entered the most ethereal regions of art. It had established itself as an efficient medium by which the holy passion of the soul which the Christian hope awakens could gratify its longing for utterance.

This growth of mediæval church music is analogous to that of the liturgy which inspired it, and at certain points the two went hand in hand. This liturgy too has been the work of centuries. The Holy Scriptures and the hymns and prayers of pious men have furnished its materials. Prelates and conclaves have added, revised, expunged, and adjusted; until now the ritual stands complete, uniform, fixed by central and

unquestioned authority, marvellously intricate, yet symmetrical and appropriate, adapted to every shade of devotional feeling. It is the hymn of the ages; a magnificent work of art, sublime in its entirety, yet each part fitted to its special use and contributing to the perfection and grandeur of the whole. It is worthy of an institution that demands to be acknowledged as the sole mediator between God and man.

This wonderful liturgy has from the beginning taken a musical expression. From the bald intoning of the officiating priest to the most artistic setting of mass and hymn every sentence in the service has been endowed with the moving power of tone. Outside the Gregorian chant the church has prescribed no special styles of music, but has encouraged all. She has made no effort to control the musical movements of the time: but in music, as in the other arts, has sought to utilize for her own advantage the artistic forces that have been operative around her. The patronage of the arts, which has always been a feature of her policy, has been magnificently repaid, and she has been most fortunate in the fact that the period of richest bloom in modern art occurred before her supreme influence upon intellectual activity had been loosened. To this, music is a partial exception, but only partial. Musical art has reached its full expansion only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Protestant Germany has wrested the crown from Catholic Italy. But in one department, that of sacred vocal music, the Italy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries maintains a prestige which has never been successfully disputed. The artistic genius of Italy had not exhausted itself when the great age of painting was over. There are names, now little known to the world at large, hardly less worthy than those of the world-renowned princes of the brush and chisel: men who labored not merely for the glory of the church, but for the honor of true religion, and who created works which have never been surpassed in the intensity with which they give expression to the profoundest facts of the

Christian consciousness. The student of the Italian genius as manifest in art must therefore not pause at the close of the age of painting, but will find the spirit and the power of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Titian continued in Palestrina, Gabrieli, Lotti, and Scarlatti.

The period in which these men and their compeers lived I have called "the golden age of Italian church music." It may be approximately included between the middle of the sixteenth century and the early part of the eighteenth. Although the characteristics of this great age of church music are incorporated, in the popular conception, in the works of Palestrina, he was only the most brilliant of a constellation which without him would have given the epoch almost as splendid a renown. Rome was the head centre of the strictest culture of ecclesiastical song; but the artists of Venice were working out a style less chaste and severe, but even more magnificent in tonal color, and Naples, a little later, furnished worthy rivals in the leaders of her famous school. During the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, the leading musicians of the church had been natives of Northern France and the Netherlands; and in the church centres of France, Germany, Italy, and even Spain, Flemish choristers, led by Flemish cantors, sang Flemish music in every portion of the service. Names resounded throughout Europe which are strange and uncouth to modern ears—Dufay, Ockenheim, Josquin de Près, Orlandus Lassus, Buus, Clemens non Papa. These and many more built up the great art of counterpoint, and poured into the chapel libraries vast numbers of Masses and Motets, mighty of movement and of bewildering intricacy. But by the middle of the sixteenth century their reign was over. French and Flemish names disappear from the front roll of musical progress, and Italian names take their places. Italian taste and instinct for melody and form now penetrate the dense mass of Flemish counterpoint, and give to the church many rich jewels of song wherewith to adorn

her liturgy. First and foremost in this movement is the achievement of Palestrina, the grandest figure in Italian church music, worthy of the title "Prince of Music" which is carved upon his tomb.

For two hundred years and more after Palestrina's death, the story was told, without contradiction, that the governors of the church had decided to suppress all choral music on account of certain corruptions which the conditions of its scientific development had engendered, and that Palestrina came to the rescue with a Mass whose beauty, and freedom from the blemishes that had been condemned, turned the judges from their purpose and saved the music of the church. This legend has now been pruned down to a less romantic incident. The "Mass of Pope Marcellus" is undoubtedly pure and strong enough to ward off destruction from chorus music, if there had ever been danger of any such catastrophe. But the fact as it stands is hardly less important. No other musical work has an historic interest equal to that of Palestrina's masterpiece. It was the outgrowth of the most critical and triumphant experience through which the Roman Catholic Church has ever passed; it is associated with a struggle whose consequences will last as long as the human race.

All students of history know the story—how a long career of almost absolute supremacy, culminating in a time of wealth and luxury, had brought the inevitable result in a decline of the early austerity and enthusiasm, and the papal court had sunk into a condition that was a scandal to all Christendom. Simony and debauchery went hand in hand in the innermost shrines of Catholicism, so that the youthful Martin Luther, a pilgrim to what he supposed the holy place of religion, turned away, sick with horror and shame at the deeds which were flaunted in the very eyes of the faithful. The contamination spread from the head to the members, disgraceful abuses flourished everywhere, and the priestly office became in multitudes of cases a cloak for avarice and fleshy indulgence.

Since this moral degeneracy had become most pronounced at the very time when the new birth of science and the revival of antique learning were shaking the foundations of superstition, a revolt must inevitably break out against a despotism which had lost its hold upon the moral sense. The conscience of Germany was set on fire by Luther. The Protest became a Reformation and spread over all Northern Europe. So mighty and so reasonable was the outbreak, that there was only one way in which the Catholic Church could resist it, and that was by a thorough reform within herself. The church was equal to the crisis. Men of intellect and piety came to the front, and seized the emergency with determined hands. The Roman Catholic Reaction or Counter Reformation in the latter part of the sixteenth century was a movement hardly less extraordinary than the German Reformation itself. An outburst of enthusiasm, concentrated in the order of the Jesuits; the fearful enginery of the Inquisition, wielded by the bigotry and vast political power of Spain; the suppression of liberalism in the domains of the church; the reassertion of doctrine and the establishment of a military-like discipline throughout the whole organization, stopped the advance of the Reformation. The latent moral energy of Catholicism awoke; the high and low places were purged of iniquity. The church, newly armed, assumed the aggressive. France was won back after a bloody struggle. The Thirty Years' War fixed the permanent boundaries of the two confessions in Germany. The efforts of proselytism and diplomacy, which have succeeded those of arms, have never altered the political limits of the two systems. The nations that were Catholic at the middle of the seventeenth century are Catholic still.

The Council of Trent, which lasted from 1545 to 1563, made a clean job of the work of reform. Every minutest item in the church machinery was scrutinized. Among countless other matters of detail, the question of strengthening the liturgy claimed attention, and with this was involved the con-

dition of the church music. Bitter complaints were at once heard. Pious men declared that the church music had become so self-sufficient that it no longer ministered to edification. It was a vain display of science and vocal skill, they said: they could not hear the sacred words in the jangle of multiplied parts crossing and confusing one another. Worse than that, it admitted features that were worldly and profane. There was some reason for this accusation. The honest Netherlanders, in their fondness for solving technical problems, too often forgot the real purpose of church song. They had also fallen into the habit of going outside the Gregorian chant for themes for their Masses and Motets, and borrowed popular airs that were associated with ditties by no means edifying. Sometimes even, incredible as it may seem, they retained the profane words with the melody; so that the tenor would sing the lines of some rollicking tavern song, while the other voices were sounding forth the "Credo" or the "Sanctus," with an unction not the least impaired by any sense of its low company. The composers who contrived these monstrosities seem to have had no thought of impropriety, at any rate they made no pretence of concealment, and it makes the reader stare when he comes across works, to be sung in the most solemn moment of the service, with such titles as "Adieu, my Love Mass," or "He has a Red Nose Mass."

No harm was intended by this practice, any more than in the parallel incongruities which we find in the sacred pieces of the naïve old painters of Italy and Flanders. But there was a finer taste abroad in the sixteenth century; and when long-tolerated abuses were shaken, it is not strange that some uncompromizing zealots, confounding the evil with the good, were eager to cast the whole store of choral music out of the church precincts once for all. The whole system of counterpoint must go, they cried, and the church return to the plain unison chant of old St. Gregory. But wiser counsels prevailed. It was seen that the more shameful practices, as well

as the overloading of the text with musical embellishments, were not in the essential nature of choral music; that what was needed was sharp pruning here and there, and especially the creation of noble models. The question was left to a committee of cardinals; they summoned Palestrina, already famous in Rome for his musical genius, and asked him to compose a Mass in a style which should seem to him to meet the needs of religion in this emergency. He replied with three Masses, which were performed before the conclave on April 28, 1565. The first two were much admired, but the impression made by the third was extraordinary. Its beauty and pathos, its fidelity to all that was most revered in the traditions of church art, seized upon the hearers like a revelation. The problem was solved; no more thought now of banishing choral music. The unanimous verdict of the cardinals was confirmed by Pius IV., who declared that "of such a nature must have been the harmonies of the new song heard by John the Apostle in the heavenly Jerusalem." The Mass, which Palestrina dedicated to an early and beloved patron, Pope Marcellus II., was given a special performance in the Sistine Chapel, and the proclamation went forth that the Holy Church had found, in the sublime work of her pious servant Palestrina, an example for her faithful ministers in the sphere of music for all time to come.

This verdict of the central authority of the church has never been questioned to this day. The "Mass of Pope Marcellus" is entitled to this unexampled honor. But it could not become a model for all later effort, for a revolution in musical science, of which pope and cardinals had no suspicion, was already stirring. The transformation of the scale system, and the rise of the opera, solo singing, and instrumental music were already foreshadowed in Florence and Venice, and were soon to remove the whole art of music to an entirely new basis. Musical progress was about to escape from the church enclosure, and advance along secular and not ecclesiastical

lines. Palestrina was one of those men who stand at the summit of an upward movement, and bring to maturity the elements of power which it contains, but do not anticipate the developments of the future. The "Marcellus Mass" could not be the source from which a new art was to flow. Its spirit was that which must ever animate a true and living church. As an expression of spiritual aspiration it has never been excelled; but so far as technical form was concerned, it was not a well-spring of the future, but the crowning glory of an epoch that already belonged to the past.

The "Marcellus Mass," notwithstanding its celebrity, is no exceptional work in the long activity of Palestrina. Its combination of sweetness and strength, profound devotional feeling united with grace of melody and sumptuousness of tone color, characterize in greater or less degree all the productions of his pen. In no way inferior to his Flemish masters in respect to easy handling of the involutions of counterpoint, he never lost appropriateness of expression, as they sometimes did, in the labyrinths of his science. Consummate artist as he was, he yet held his harmonic dexterity at the service of an exalted religious reverence. The history of art can show us no more humble and devoted Christian than Palestrina, and his musical style was a distinct reflection of that peculiar spiritual attitude which is the characteristic result of a complete absorption in the mysteries and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. The melting harmonies, the rhythmless, unimpassioned flow of Palestrina's music, are the most apt and efficient utterance of the tremulous ecstasy of surrender to half-unveiled heavenly glory which thrills the soul of the Catholic devotee. For it is the special characteristic of the Roman Catholic type of piety that it maintains a dualism of God and nature, of the kingdom of heaven and the earthly life. It looks upon the world as altogether evil; it seeks no Divine Unity reconciling nature and humanity, underlying and enfolding both; it is prone to turn away from worldly cares

and humanitarian duties, and directs a passionate ardor toward a present realization of the joys of heaven, absorbing itself in the rapture of the beatific vision. The cloistral life is its ideal; it pants to unite the soul while still in the body with the worship of the redeemed above. A vast amount of its hymnology is occupied with the bliss of the other world, not with the opportunities of this, and all the art of its most pious masters has been devoted to symbolizing the experiences of those who have exchanged the penances of earth for the ecstasies of Paradise. Of this spirit the music of Palestrina and his age is the most complete expression. It is as far removed as possible from secular suggestion; in its ineffable calmness and an indescribable tone of celestial exultation, pure from every trace of struggle, with which it vibrates, it is the most adequate symbol of that eternal assurance to which the devotee aspires and yearns.

Such piety was that of Palestrina, and in his exquisite strains this impassioned surrender of the soul finds its most perfect embodiment. Moving with eyes downcast, in holy meditation, through the agitated world of Rome, he was no part of it. The atmosphere of the sanctuary enfolded him wherever he went; in the trials of his life (and they were many) he found easy retreat into the consolation of religion and of his art, both of which were to him inextricably blended. The rationalism of the age had not touched him. He was a man of the pious old time, dear to the heart of the church in that day of apostasy. A close parallel to him, it seems to me, is to be found in Murillo. Both were absolutely self-forgetful in their devotion to the church, both mystics, given to strange raptures, living in celestial regions in whose atmosphere the mechanism of art was dissolved and sublimated. In Murillo's Immaculate Conceptions and Visions of St. Anthony we have, as it were, Palestrina's tones transmuted into lines and colors. The rapt expressions and attitudes, the undulating forms, the golden hues transfiguring every shape, the vast

aerial perspectives suffused with lights which are not of this world—all this is the projection of a spirit kindred to that of the great Roman, who also lived in heavenly contemplation, and whose music is an echo of the songs of the Apocalypse.

The marked dissimilarity between the effect of the music of the old Roman Catholic school and that of later times is to a large extent explained by the difference in the key and harmonic systems upon which they are based. In the elder schools the scales begin on notes represented by the white keys of the piano, and in general are without sharps or flats. The harmonies therefore sound strange and unexpected to one not accustomed to them. This system admits chromatic alteration and modulation only within very narrow limits; consequently there is little of what we call variety and contrast. It has no pronounced leading melody to which the other parts form an accompaniment, as in our music, but the theme is a few chant-like notes speedily taken up by one part after another; each voice is an independent melody, free but not lawless, and the harmony is not a matter of perpendicular chords, but the result of the combination of single moving parts. The melodious element is therefore like a series of waves; no sooner is the mind fixed upon one than it is lost in the orderly confusion of those that follow. The music seems to have no pronounced rhythm, for our present system of accent and metre is a later development. It does not lack dynamic change or alteration of speed, but these contrasts are so subtly graded that it is rarely apparent where they begin and end. The whole effect is measured, subdued, solemn. We are never startled, there is nothing that sets the nerves throbbing. But as we hear this music again and again, analyzing its properties, shutting out all preconceptions and comparisons, little by little there steal over us sensations of surprise, then of wonder, then of admiration. Its weird harmonies develop unimagined beauties. Without sharp contrast of dissonance and consonance, it is yet full of shifting lights

and hues, like a meadow under breeze and sunshine which, to the untrained eye, seems only a mass of unvarying green, but in which a keener sense sees infinite modulations of the scale of color. No melody lies upon the surface, but the whole harmonic mass is full of undulating melody, each voice pursuing its easy motion amid the ingenious complexity of which it is a necessary and component part. Soon the analytic effort of the hearer gives way to a tranquil satisfaction. The beauty of the harmonies melts into the mind with an indescribable soothing effect. Then a religious awe steals over him. These voices of the invisible choristers seem more than human. This is not worldly music masquerading in ecclesiastical garments. There is no suggestion of the passion of the stage or the virtuoso display of the concert-room. It is what the music of the sanctuary should be—free from all secular and material associations. More than that—it is comprehensive; not the voice of an individual need that separates one believer from all believers, it is the utterance of the whole redeemed congregation in all times and lands. The prayers that all men pray, the praise that all men offer in their better moments, are in these inspired strains. It is music, not of time or place—it is universal.

There is no doubt that accessory and association have much to do with the peculiar impression of awe which music of this kind produces. It was written to be sung in churches whose grandeur solemnizes the mind from the very moment of entrance, and to embellish a service marvellously adapted to fascinate the senses. The union of the arts for the sake of an undivided and immediate effect, of which we hear so much from the disciples of Wagner, was achieved by the Roman Catholic Church centuries ago. She rears the most sumptuous edifices, hangs masterpieces of painting upon their walls, fills every slightly nook with sculptures in wood and marble, devises a ritual of unparalleled variety and splendor, pours over this ritual music of overwhelming grandeur, adjusts all these

means so that each shall enhance the effect of the others, and concentrates their forces so as to act upon the various susceptibilities at the same moment. Music, however beautiful it may be, must not assume to do its work alone; every available means of inspiring awe must unite with it to melt the soul into a passive acceptance of the ministrations of the church.

A notable instance of the part played by circumstance in the enhancing of musical effect is in the performance in the Sistine Chapel of Allegri's "Miserere"—after the Marcellus Mass the most celebrated composition in the possession of the Roman Church. This "Miserere," written about 1650, holds a prominent place in the services on Good Friday, and has always been regarded with a sort of superstitious reverence. Its use elsewhere was for a long time forbidden, under penalty of excommunication. Much of its remarkable effect is, however, due to a peculiar manner of delivery, and the singularly impressive character of the service of which it is a part. Read over from cold type it does not seem in any way remarkable. It is rendered by two choruses, one of four parts, the other of five, singing alternate verses, uniting in a chorus of nine parts at the close. The first few words of each verse are given in reciting monotone, the voices then resolve into freer melodious parts. The whole structure is simple, the expression solemn, as befits the words. Many visitors, listening calmly and critically to this famous composition, have been unable to account for the veneration with which it is regarded. An emperor of Austria in the last century, having obtained the especial favor of a performance of this "Miserere" in his chapel at Vienna, was greatly disappointed in it, and suspected that the Holy Father had palmed off an inferior work upon him. But it was written to be heard only on Good Friday and in the Sistine Chapel. Its intended effect is, we might say, extra-musical, and can be felt only as it blends with the impressive ceremonies of the day and the place.

"Let us call to mind," says Quatrimere de Quincy, "those chants, so simple and so touching, that terminate at Rome the funeral solemnities of those three days which the church particularly devotes to the expression of its grief in the last week of Lent. In that nave where the genius of Michael Angelo has embraced the duration of ages, from the wonders of creation to the last judgment that must destroy its works, are celebrated in the presence of the Roman pontiff those nocturnal ceremonies whose rites, ceremonies and plaintive liturgies seem to be so many figures of the mystery of grief to which they are consecrated. The light decreasing by degrees, at the termination of each psalm you would say that a funeral veil is extended little by little over those religious vaults. Soon the doubtful light of the last lamp allows you to perceive nothing but Christ in the distance, in the midst of clouds pronouncing his judgments, and some angel executors of his behests. Then at the bottom of a tribune interdicted to the regard of the profane is heard the psalm of the penitent king to which three of the greatest masters of the art have added the modulations of a simple and pathetic chant. No instrument is mingled with those accents. Simple harmonies of voice execute that music, but these voices seem to be those of angels, and their effect penetrates the depths of the soul."

The noble style of Palestrina, Allegri, and their compeers was also long known as the "Roman style." In music, as in painting, Italian artists have always been grouped into more or less distinct schools, so that while in studying Italian music we meet many leading individualities, yet they do not, like many German masters such as Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, stand out in conspicuous isolation, with no groups of disciples and imitators around them; but in every case they are simply representatives of a more or less distinctly marked manner which is common to a whole group of workers. These groups are identified with certain cities or

districts, and just as we have the Roman, Venetian, Tuscan, Sienese, and other schools of painting, so we distinguish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Roman, Venetian, Florentine, and Neapolitan schools of music; each discriminated from the rest by the prominence it gives to some special feature or direction in the art. The Roman school clung to the traditions of the past; it strove to refine the forms that had been developed in the north, and purify and elevate their sentiment, but it kept clear of innovations. Florence was the home of the opera, and contributed nothing to church music. In Naples both church music and opera flourished, the latter soon eclipsing the former.

The rival of Rome in church music was Venice. Her masters included men almost worthy to be placed beside Palestrina in church art, and for a time she held the primacy of Italy in the production and patronage of opera. While Rome was conservative, Venice was progressive; the gradual substitution of the modern scale system for the old ecclesiastical, and the cultivation of instrumental music,—two movements which transformed the whole art of music,—dawned first in the churches of Venice. Willaert, the Netherlander, founder of the Venetian line of musical princes, his successors De Rore, Merulo, the Gabriellis, Monteverde, and Lotti, were not only men of mighty power in the great ancestral forms, but they also saw a farther reach in musical expression, and their experiments in chromatic alteration of notes and in instrumental music contributed hardly less than those of the Florentine inventors of dramatic singing to release musical art from the bands of ecclesiasticism and an antiquated system of key and harmony. These departures of the Venetians from strict tradition produced works not less magnificent than those of the Romans, but less severe; more varied in color, possessing a more individualized, we might say dramatic, expression, anticipating the later highly wrought manner which church music has imbibed from secular art. Venetian music betrays

the love of splendor and luxury which characterized all the art of Venice in her golden prime.

It was therefore not accidental that the movement that was to give a new and world-wide impulse to musical art should make its first appearance in church music in Venice. For the "Queen of the Adriatic" was not only the most opulent and powerful, but also the most liberal, democratic, and progressive of all the Italian states. During the period when her sister cities were the prey alternately of foreign oppressors and internal warring factions, she preserved her independence and the stability of her government. Even the Roman pontiff was forced to abate the high pretensions before which the other Italian cities bowed, and to respect the proud dignity with which Venice asserted her undivided authority over her own subjects. Her position among the islands and lagoons of the upper Adriatic protected her from the aggressions of Spain and France, and enabled her also to expend all her energies upon commercial enterprise, which was for centuries the source of her vast wealth and influence. Her immense trade with the East was protected by a mighty fleet, which more than once saved the Mediterranean states from their most dangerous and relentless foe, the Turk. Under the sway of an elective government in which practical wisdom, patriotism, and tyrannical severity were strangely blended, the Venetians developed a civilization that was conspicuous for splendor even in the brilliant period of the Renaissance. Around the name of Venice hangs all that is beautiful in nature, art, and literature. All that can delight the eye in form and color, every imaginable device of personal and architectural adornment, all that can gratify taste and minister to luxury, was gathered from every clime or fabricated by the exhaustless genius of her artists. The art of the Renaissance took here a special development. Surrounded by an almost unparalleled variety and richness of color in sky and water, and stimulated by the love of pomp and show which wealth and power had fostered in pleasure-

loving Italian minds, Venice developed that great school of painters which gave to the world the works of Giorgione, Bellini, Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, and which, in luxuriance of fancy and brilliancy of execution, surpassed all other outgrowths of the Italian Renaissance. The austerity and subjection of the imagination to religious dogmas and ideals, which we find so marked in the art of Florence and Rome, had little place in Venetian painting. Its works are charged with the love of beauty for its own sake. Its conceptions are rather pagan than Christian. This art is more decorative than the expression of personal feeling; it is inspired by an absorbing passion for worldly pleasure and glory; it uses the historic and traditionary figures of the church, like the shapes of heathen mythology, not to instruct or edify, but to fascinate the eye, and reveal to a beauty-loving people the utmost possibilities of enchantment in color and form.

A somewhat similar spirit can be found in the works of the great church composers of Venice. The Venetian church festivals were as splendid as the secular pageants, and all that could embellish the externals of the church service was eagerly adopted. The pride of the city was the magnificent Cathedral of St. Mark. This noble institution was the centre of a culture that strove to adorn the expression of spiritual aspiration with allurements borrowed from the fairest experiences of earthly life. The organists and chapel-masters of St. Mark's could not remain untouched by the special tendencies of Venetian art. The passion for secular song which swept over all Western Europe in the sixteenth century began to exert an influence upon the strict forms of church music, and nowhere so powerfully as in Venice. It had two results—one to make the church music simpler in structure, and more varied and exact in expression of the text; the other, to throw in more passion and life, to seek musical effect for the enjoyment that comes with nervous excitement. In such efforts at that time lay the only possibility of musical progress. The

organ, now indispensable in the church service, was given a prominence in St. Mark's elsewhere unknown. Its two organs, played by masters of European renown, and the division of the choir into several antiphonal choruses, gave opportunities for musical effect of which the gifted composers who labored at St. Mark's made a brilliant use. Thus, while Palestrina was revealing the highest ideal capabilities of the old system and tradition, Willaert, de Rore, and the Gabriellis were bringing in new elements, which were to give to music an undreamed-of versatility of expression, and at the same time remove it from the exclusive control of the church and lead it into every grade of social and individual activity.

The Venetian masters of course did not see the vast consequences of their work. It was the spirit of the age that was carrying them whither they knew not. With all their innovating tendency they thought only of the honor of their art, not as mere tone, but as ministrant to the glory of the church. Under their hands the Venetian school obtained a celebrity which drew pupils in throngs from every corner of Europe. Progress and wise conservatism were blended in the Venetian masters of the seventeenth century. The Italian *aria*, the inspirer and the consummate flower of modern song, wrought upon them with magical power; but they resisted its sensuous seductions, bending the grace of its melody to enhance the appealing force of the sacred texts. After the Roman school had declined, the fame of the Venetian still continued, and as late as the first quarter of the eighteenth century received a new support from the work of Antonio Lotti.

Born in 1667, Lotti became organist at St. Mark's in 1693, chapel-master in 1736, and died in 1740. He wrote much for the stage in early life, but had not the dramatic fire needed for success in this line. The whole quality of his genius marked him out as a writer for the church, and in this he fully maintained the ancient glories of the Roman service. Most of his works were in the old *a capella* style. Abandoning

the Gregorian chant as the basis of his works, he used short themes of his own invention, treating them in a manner worthy of the best traditions of ecclesiastical art. The tendency of the church music of his day, under the influence of the opera, toward a more vivid and individual manner of expression, is found in his works in chastened form, resulting in a greater variety of harmony, and striking use of dissonances. This is particularly marked in the two magnificent works by which he is best known to-day—the “Crucifixus” for six voices and for eight voices. Modulations and dissonances, impossible to the old key system in which Palestrina wrote, are here employed for the purpose of giving a more characteristic effect to the pathos of the words. No one who has once heard these wonderful compositions can ever forget the impression. They belong among the masterpieces that have contributed so much to the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church, and may be held to close that wonderful epoch of Italian sacred art which began with Cimabue in the fourteenth century, and which, after the era of painting had culminated, continued the miracles of the Italian genius in a new direction through another period of two hundred and fifty years.

The Neapolitan school arose under Alessandro Scarlatti, one of the greatest musical geniuses that ever lived, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Although it is associated with the development of the modern form of the Italian grand opera, yet all the masters of the school in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wrote abundantly for the church; and Scarlatti himself, Durante, Leo, and Pergolese attained a fame little inferior to that of the Romans and Venetians. Yet in their day the decadence of church music under the influence of the stage had already begun, and it was due mainly to the later Neapolitans that the music prevalent in the church in the latter part of the eighteenth century could hardly be distinguished from the flippant, shallow operatic style beloved in Paris and Vienna.

A story has come to us from the period of deepest degeneracy which shows the inherent strength of the art of the golden age, and its ability to strike awe even upon a corrupted taste. At the coronation of Napoleon I., in 1804, the French musicians in charge prepared a musical effect which they considered in keeping with the unprecedented grandeur of the occasion. They assembled eighty harps, whose simultaneous performance certainly astonished the spectators. But as the Pope entered the church, the choir of the Sistine Chapel broke forth with Scarlatti's motet "Tu es Petrus." The effect of this magnificent composition, although written in a style already archaic, was overwhelming, and for some time afterward there was no surer way of giving offence to a French musician than alluding to the "sublime" effect of the eighty harps.

The passion for the Italian opera which swept over Europe in the eighteenth century absorbed the attention of almost every composer of note in Italy and France. Even the traditions of the church could not resist the fascinations of the new melody, and in almost all the great centres of ecclesiastical song the service music lapsed into a style hardly to be distinguished from that of the stage. Venice, as we have seen, held this license at bay until the middle of the eighteenth century, and the numerous opera writers of Naples for a time maintained a separation of the styles of church and theatre. But the universal relaxation of taste which marked the eighteenth century, the passion for novelty and sensationalism fostered by the luxurious courts and easily communicated to the common people, soon penetrated the precincts of the church. The reforming zeal of the Catholic Reaction of the sixteenth century, which aimed at the repression of the joys of the senses and imagination in favor of a mediæval monkish austerity, had spent itself; levity and worldliness had again the upper hand. The only art that retained a vigorous life was music, but this had completely escaped from the control of the church, and was giving all its seductive powers to the

service of gaiety and diversion. The age of instrumental music had also begun, and the combination of the orchestra and the single voice, united with the spectacle and mimic passion of the stage, was setting Europe wild. The church had nothing that could counteract this attraction, and so she adopted it. The Italian *aria* and instrumental accompaniment lent their sensuous charms to the liturgy. Emotional and nervous excitement insensibly took the place of spiritual exaltation. The female voice, long banished from the church service on account of its supposed sensuous and passionate quality, was restored. Professional opera singers repeated in the choir loft their popular triumphs upon the stage. They brought all their vocal arts with them, their florid embellishments, their long-sustained trumpet-like tones, their swells and diminuendoes. The functions of church and dramatic composition were united in one man, and finally in one style. Chapels and convents were made training schools for the opera, as well as for the church. Archbishops and cardinals had boxes at the theatre. Priests and monks wrote operas and superintended their performance. Even such serious-minded men as Haydn and Mozart caught the contagion, and wrote Masses whose secular character was poorly apologized for by Haydn, who sought to justify his showy church music by saying that the proper state of mind of a Christian was one of joy. Cherubini, indeed, wrote Masses and Requiems whose sublimity and pathos recalled the noble traditions of the age of Palestrina, but even these glorious works excited more wonder than sympathy. So low a point did this decline reach in France in the early part of the nineteenth century, that we can hardly avoid wondering why the church chapel-masters stopped short of introducing the *ballet* into the service, and so make the transition complete. Rossini's "Stabat Mater"—exquisite as stage melody and as dance music, as a setting of the infinite sadness of the hymn simply an abomination—is the best illustration of what this corruption of taste was able to pro-

duce. When listening to some of the typical church music of the period, our thoughts are much like those of Lulli, the eccentric founder of the French grand opera, who, once hearing in church an *aria* taken from one of his dramatic pieces, exclaimed, "Do not take it ill, O Lord! it was not meant for thee."

This tendency toward worldliness in the music of the church could not last. Ecclesiastical art can never, indeed, be kept apart from secular in its technique and externals, but mankind will always insist upon a distinction in spirit. If the ideal of church music seemed lost for a time, it was the inevitable result of the rationalizing temper and doctrinal laxity which in the eighteenth century had succeeded the theological strifes and hatreds of the sixteenth and seventeenth. Seriousness and right judgment are now returning in the fields of both art production and art criticism. In music the revulsion is approaching the flood, and it is so natural and wholesome that we may believe that the canons of taste will not be relaxed again. The spirit of Palestrina, Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner has seized not only those who write music, but also those who perform and those who hear. Music is no longer, as in the eighteenth century, a means of mere voluptuous diversion and vain parade. It is becoming a means of culture by contributing to the refinement of the emotion and the enforcement of lofty conceptions. This great intellectual stress is enfolding the music of the church, there is a new recognition of the power of music in aiding to stir those sensibilities that go forth in worship, and every confession and every sect is striving, often feebly because disconnectedly and ignorantly, yet hopefully, after a form of music free from secular associations, that shall bring the service of praise into common action with those of prayer and exhortation.

One evidence of the new movement is the growing recognition of the fact that the problem of church music has once been solved. Here and there in all the countries of Western

Europe there is a revival of the culture of the Italian music of the golden age, and Palestrina, Lotti, Durante, Leo, and their compeers have been restored to their rightful thrones as princes of their art. I do not mean that the church music of the future will imitate the forms and manner of these ancient compositions. Music has put forth new organs since that day, which cannot be cut off and cast aside; Christendom will not, like Egypt, stereotype for all time her religious forms and symbols; new apprehensions of truth take on new manifestations. But the ideal of the old Italian masters, in view of which they kept the atmosphere of the sanctuary free from all profane intermixture, and held their artistic genius before the tribunal of their piety, must be the ideal of the church art of the future. The composer who will honor and commend religion by his strains will be one who, not abjuring the means of impression which modern advances in melody, harmony, and tone color have given him, will yet know how to discriminate the style of the sanctuary from that of the theatre and the concert hall, following the example of the masters of the golden age who, while they arrayed music in all the splendors which science and imagination could devise, knew how to make her tributary to the ministry of the Sacred Word. Affirm or deny as we may the inherent religious potency of music, if in any way she be severed from vital and organic connection with the service of prayer and meditation, her real effect will almost certainly be merely æsthetic, and not truly religious. The function of music is not so much to originate emotion as to intensify feelings previously suggested. Here is her mission in the church, and nobly has she fulfilled it. History has proved that when rightly applied she can act as wings to the soul, bearing it upward to its native home—the presence of its Creator and Saviour.

ARTICLE VII.

IS ADAPTATION POSSIBLE WITHOUT DESIGN?

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, D. D., D. C. L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THE contest with agnosticism, and all types of unbelief which deny a personal Creator, must be fought on the line of final cause. Hence the persistent effort of naturalists to get rid of design in the formation of the universe. For if there be clear and irrefragable evidences of finality in the construction of the cosmos, then it will be impossible to get rid of the inference that a personal agency has directed the work. For there cannot be design without intelligence and will, and these are forces which are not possessed by matter; and cannot be conceived as acting except as the attributes of personality.

In all the theories of naturalism it is assumed that matter is eternal. Indeed, all systems of speculation which are not influenced by direct revelation take this doctrine for granted. For the intellect left to its own resources cannot conceive the act of absolute creation, and unless it be assisted by superior intelligence can never rise to that idea. All systems of cosmogony which are the offspring of unassisted human speculation, be they Egyptian, Hindoo, or Greek, hold the universe to be a growth from primordial elements which had existed eternally. The Greek cosmogony, which is the highest type of all these, was simply a development. In this philosophy, *φύσις* was only "a growth," from *φύω* "to grow" or "develop"; and consisted in the orderly arrangement of matter according to the plan of a superintending power which directed its movements by design, and in obedience to fixed laws. Matter had nothing to do in its own arrangement, but was

plastic in the hands of a fashioner, who disposed each part in conformity to his own pattern or idea; and left unmistakable evidences of this design in its construction.

The development theory, for which Darwin gets so much fame, underlies the entire Greek philosophy of nature. Neither he nor any modern who has proceeded on the same lines, has a just title to originality. They simply adopted what they found ready-made to their hands; and, clothing it in modern phraseology, claimed originality, and permitted the world to ascribe to them the credit of a new interpretation of nature. But there is a wide difference between the way Greek speculation handled the development theory and that of modern naturalism. Matter was eternal with the leading Greek physicists, it is true; but its development was confessedly according to design. For there was nothing formed by chance, or without the superintendence of a superior Power, working according to laws invariable, except in so far as this Power chose to suspend or vary them to carry out his own aims. God was above nature; not subject to the law of development, but directing it for wise and beneficent purposes. Hence design is used by the prince of thinkers to prove the existence and superintending providence of God against pretentious atheism. In the first formal treatment, as found in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon,¹ there are the germs of that proof which has been expanded and applied by subsequent thinkers with greater exactness, but never with more cogency and clearness. The universe is held to contain the testimony, in its own construction, to prove a Creator possessed of infinite intelligence, power, and goodness. Moreover, this evidence is so clear that it leaves those who deny it inexcusable for their unbelief, and condemned by the voice of Nature herself for their ingratitude. But the modern naturalist will get rid of "design" at all hazards, because he has the determination to eliminate a creative agency from the cosmos. While there is design confessedly

¹ *Mem.* i. 4.

in all inferior works, nay, while it would be impossible to effect anything in every-day life, in science or philosophy, without some plan clearly conceived and strictly followed, yet, in the infinite work of creating and controlling an illimitable universe, there is no Intelligence. Chance presided at its birth; chance devised all its laws, and directs its energies; chance provides for its continuance, and conserves its forces so that its energies shall never become exhausted. And yet those who talk so glibly of chance as an omnipotent factor, boldly assuming that it is sufficient to account for the creation and maintenance of all things, leave out of view the utter improbability of its action according to their own doctrine. What is the mathematical probability that chance could originate the universe? It has been subjected to a rigorous calculation by Laplace, who surely was competent as a mathematician, and cannot be charged with an undue leaning toward revelation. He says:¹ "Des phenomenes aussi extraordinaires ne sont point dus à des causes irrégulieres. En soummittant au calcul leur probabilité, on trouve qu'il y a plus de deux cent mille milliards à parier contre un [two hundred thousand billion against one!] qu'ils ne sont point l'effet du hazard."²

Even chance must have a beginning. There can be no play of hazard without dice to shuffle. Let it be granted that this principle presided at the origin of the cosmos. It could not arise from nothing, for the agnostic, even, assumes that there was star dust or gas for a basis. Let it be granted again, for the sake of argument, that matter is eternal, or that it came into existence we know not how: it now exists. Grant, even, that, at an earlier stage, it was star dust, or the most attenuated gas. If it existed independent of all regular forms except as separate atoms, then these would remain in their original shape, whatever that might be, whether uniform or various. If they contained appetencies through which they would as-

¹ *Système du Monde*, ii. 303.

² *Vide*, also, St. Hillaire, *Metaphysique d'Aristote*, Preface, pp. 208, 209.

sume by accretion or growth some definite and regular forms, this must be by a power different from a mere conglomeration. For this could fashion no regular bodies: nay, only one; and the gas or star dust would simply come together into some kind of a mass which would remain united forever, unless there were other influences at work. Hence the appetency must involve something more, in order to insure organic growth. Here the unfairness of the naturalist creeps in, while he quietly assumes that this tendency of one particle of matter to another will produce different forms and develop growth. Lucretius,¹ e. g., first denies that there was intelligence employed in arranging the atoms, and immediately afterwards introduces the action of that very principle which he had excluded. The agnostic, by a perfectly baseless assumption, postulates that the particles of matter were endued with motion in a certain direction, and impinging on each other they fastened into regular shapes. This involves both cause to give motion rather than rest, and that in a definite direction rather than at random. These assumptions are wholly gratuitous, even as the eternal existence of matter as a basis for chance to act. But let it be granted that the molecules of matter existed from eternity. How did they come together on the theory of chance? That advanced thinker, W. K. Clifford, shall enlighten us:—

“ . . . the view of the constitution of matter which is held by scientific men in the present day is not a guess at all.

“ In the first place I will endeavor to explain what are the

¹ *De Rerum Natura*, i. 1020–1022, 1027–1030.

“ Nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
Ordine se suo quæque sagaci mente locarunt ;
Et, quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profecto :

Tandem deveniunt in taleis disposituras
Qualibus hæc rerum consistit summa creata :
Et, multos etiam magnos servata per annos,
Ut semel in motus conjecta est convenienteis,
Efcicit.”

main points in this theory. First of all we must take the simplest form of matter, which turns out to be a gas—such, for example, as the air in this room. . . . All the particles are as near as possible alike. . . . These small molecules are not at rest, but are flying about in all directions with a mean velocity of seventeen miles a minute. They do not fly far in one direction; but any particular molecule, after going over an incredibly short distance, . . . meets another, not exactly plump, but a little on one side so that they behave to one another somewhat in the same way as two people do who are dancing Sir Roger de Coverley; they join hands, swing round, and then fly away in different directions.”¹ We would like to ask the molecules what put it into their little heads to choose their partners after this style, rather than the Spanish Jota, or the Fisher’s Hornpipe. We infer that they were merely trying their paces; for they separated, and creation did not begin yet. But, in the long night of eternity, when the list of experimental dances was finished, chance came to the rescue. “We may suppose,” says this High Priest of the holy molecular dance worship, “for illustration, that two molecules approach one another, and that the speed at which one is going relatively to the other is very small, and then that they so direct one another that they get caught together, and go on circling, making only one molecule. . . . Then they would meet together and form a great number of small hot bodies. . . . Here then we have a doctrine about the beginning of things.”²

Behold “the bright consummate flower” of agnosticism! Rev. Mr. Jasper, of the colored church at Richmond, having the courage of Don Quixote, charges the Copernican theory and declares: “The sun do move!” He and Clifford are alike in that both have the unshaken confidence of ignorance.

¹ “The First and the Last Catastrophe,” in *Lectures and Essays* (London, 2d ed., 1886), pp. 135, 136.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 156.

But the colored scientist has this advantage at least: he knows what he wishes to say, and we can understand him!

But, to return to our subject. If the particles of matter not only existed eternally and possessed motion, why should this be in one direction rather than another, and in regular modes rather than at random? Mere appetency was not found to be enough, except it be directed to some specific end. And if it be directed in some definite course at one time, all motion and growth would be uniform, and could produce no variety. Hence, there must be varieties of motion, differences of appetency, at different times. Gradually, and as he thinks, imperceptibly, the naturalist, from Lucretius to Hæckel, has introduced by perfectly unwarranted assumptions one factor after another, until he has developed design, power, or causation, all looking toward a specific result; or else absurdly enough achieving it without having such a thing in view. But it is contrary to reason that this last could take place—a result involving all the elements of design, and yet there was none employed. We do not see any work produced among men without there being a rational method thought out in advance and executed by intelligent action. Imagine a workman striking in the dark among the various ingredients necessary to make a watch or a steam engine. Let him strike through all eternity, and the longer he struck the less likelihood is there that the materials would be hammered into a complicated instrument. Would the perfected work ever appear? No one can argue in this way without illustrating the scriptural declaration: “Professing themselves wise, they became fools.”

But why, we may ask, should matter be endued with appetency rather than indifference or repulsion? The form in which naturalists delight to picture it originally is in the greatest possible degree of attenuation. Yet we know that matter in a gaseous form shows a decided renitency against being brought together. The more attenuated, the more do the

particles repel each other. Thus the assumption of appetency as the prime factor in development is both gratuitous, as has been shown, and contrary to the established order of nature as we see it in highly rarified gases. When did this marvellous change, this "catastrophe," as Clifford delights to call it, take place in the process of nature? Repulsion must be overcome by power, and that too not by mere force working at random but in a particular way. Not so as to drive the particles of star dust or gas farther apart, nor away into infinite space, but together. ". . . if we were to trace back the history of all bodies of the universe, we should continually see them separating up into smaller parts. What they have actually done is to fall together and get solid. If we could reverse the process we should see them separating and getting fluid: and, as a limit to that, at an indefinite distance in past time, we should find that all these bodies would be reduced into molecules, and all these would be flying away from each other. There would be no limit to this process, and we could trace it as far back as we liked."¹ So the appetency must not only act contrary to the way we see matter acting, in its most attenuated form, but in a specific way, directly the opposite—this way rather than any of the innumerable courses it might have taken. Perhaps matter got tired of acting in one way. Perhaps it expanded in space until weary of spreading itself, and so concluded to make a new departure. But it cannot pass through this particular catastrophe without both will and power to effect its purpose. And thus, while appetency involves a change from the tendency we see in gaseous bodies, let it be granted that this power is at work simultaneously with expansion. Let matter be endued with attraction so that one particle tends towards another, then this must be by a force greater or less than, or equal to, the repulsion. If greater, then repulsion will be overcome, and all matter in the universe come together in a mass. If equal,

¹ "The First and the Last Catastrophe," p. 155.

then all matter would remain in its original condition: neither brought nearer together nor expanded further apart. If less, then repulsion must go on forever. Hence there must be the nicest adjustment conceivable of the forces operating on matter. There must be just enough of each before any bodies can be formed out of the star dust of which we hear. When so many as three bodies have been fashioned by the forces acting at random, then their mutual action on each other introduces conditions so intricate that the "problem of the three forces" cannot be solved by the utmost resources of the calculus as yet understood. And when there is an addition of one more force to the interaction, the problem is made immensely more difficult. What will be its intricacy when the unnumbered and innumerable bodies which deck the firmament, visible and invisible, come into the fellowship of its cosmos? This perfect adjustment of forces to work out a most intricate problem extending its ramifications through all time and space, must be purely accidental. No design is allowed in theory, however much is covertly assumed in practice. The appetency works arbitrarily—if such a thing is possible—in the dark, with no plan and no intelligent power to direct it. We have seen that, according to Laplace, the odds against the possibility of merely the bodies of our one solar system arranging themselves by chance, are two hundred thousand billion to one! What the odds would be that the innumerable bodies composing the infinite cosmos would not arrange themselves into an orderly system, is utterly beyond enumeration. Hence it matters not how long the agnostic takes to develop the universe. A beginning must be effected before progress can be made, and this prime requisite is not provided. These difficulties, or impossibilities rather, are usually concealed by the assumption of innumerable ages, as though time itself could effect anything. Time is the measure of events which take place in it, but does nothing of itself. So, at some epoch in the past the forces involved in appetency

must have begun to work, must have worked by some definite plan and by aid of adequate power, before any form, any body, or any system, could be produced. They probably called a convention of delegates—a typical democratic primary came together, and resolved on the plan of action, cut and dried in advance by the boss particles of matter which issued the call for the convention. After mutual consultation it was determined no longer to repel each other nor work in the dark, but change the mode of procedure by a “catastrophe,” and control themselves henceforth by design. Like Rousseau’s convention of philologists to form language before language existed, so the particles of matter by a *senatus consultum* determined they would no longer continue in the error of their ways, but would put Mechanical Causation at the helm of the cosmos—from which time they have harmoniously acted according to the development theory.

The agnostic unwittingly introduces us to the condition of things portrayed in revelation, “without form and void,” when his work begins, of course entirely accidentally. Yet this accidental system proceeds invariably toward that which is definite, regular, and self-perpetuating. Nay, more. He assumes a new principle, *purely by accident*, viz., “the survival of the fittest.” Why the fittest, rather than any other form? It is only intelligence which can discern what is fittest. There was absolutely no reason in the nature of things, so long as the elements were controlled by chance, that mere appetency should continue to develop them into more regular forms. There is another alternative, viz., that there should be a retrograde movement, and reduce all the development gained at any time to chaos again. This fitness cannot be produced in the first place, nor survive subsequently, unless according to some law which looks to the well-being of that already developed. To insure well-being requires attention to an infinite variety of details, and the conservation of the development process at every step. Mere appetency is inadequate for this, as has

been shown. So the agnostic with characteristic naïveté assumes intelligent qualities, inherent in matter, to effect his development. But these successive assumptions involve all that is understood by superintending design, power, and will. These constitute personality, no matter where found or how manifested. If a purpose be steadily kept in view, that the development of nature shall be along the line of fitness, that fitness must be both seen and adhered to perpetually. For while an infinite variety of particulars must be involved, in order to produce the fittest, a failure of this result will be inevitable every time an error is committed in the case of any one of them. And it will be impossible to guard every step, when working at random, to prevent error in the manipulation of countless materials and forces, unless it be by a superintending intelligence; which in the bare contemplation of its task is seen to be omniscient and omnipresent.

The Survival of the Fittest is the law which obtains when constant care is exercised by superintending intelligence, but is never secured by allowing the powers of nature to work in their own way. Excellence in any of the works of art is secured only by the most persistent attention directed by the highest wisdom. Excellence in the animal kingdom does not come spontaneously nor by accident. Animals which multiply prodigiously, and under untoward conditions, are those which are of little use and have great powers of consumption. So of noxious weeds and useless plants. But the finer qualities of all animals which especially contribute to man's use are developed by constant and intelligent supervision; and as soon as this is withdrawn they deteriorate. So of fruits and flowers. The pomologist and florist not only labor assiduously to produce the best varieties, but must exercise unceasing vigilance to maintain them. It is certainly a notorious truth that the character of man's body and spirit is elevated only by faithful nurture and persistent guardianship. And when these are withdrawn it requires but a little time till man will return to

savagery, as we see in the case of a child who is permitted to go his own way. These results are seen in the case of species even after they have been greatly developed, and therefore seemingly able to take care of themselves. Hence, if intelligence, design, and constant care are necessary still to maintain the results after they are achieved, then, *a fortiori*, they were at the beginning of the development, when there was so little, only appetency, to direct the senseless matter. But whatever forces were displayed in the subsequent development must have been contained potentially in the appetency itself, if they were not imported into the matter by some Power or Being *ab extra*. For it will not do, if the agnostic proceeds by rigidly scientific methods—and he would scorn all others—to say that after appetency had brought the particles of primordial matter together, gradually new powers joined themselves as they were needed. For where did they come from if they were not in the matter itself? Did they attach themselves after the fashion of growth in plants by ingrafting, or in the lowest forms of animals by gemmation? The attainment of new energies is covertly assumed by the naturalist as though they could come of themselves, as though they sprang from nowhere, and yet came just as they were wanted—until there were intelligence and force enough to develop a universe in its infinitude of extent and minutiae of organization.

The alternative is inevitable. Either the material of the infinite cosmos received its form and organism from a power which controlled it—which supposition involves a personal Creator and one of infinite power, since he who controls must be greater than that which is controlled—or else all that is involved in the subsequent development is contained potentially in the first move of appetency. For it is an accepted principle of philosophy that the effects must all be contained potentially in the causes. Thus all power, intelligence, and prevision which were requisite to the formation of the universe

were involved in the first movement toward the completed result. On the one side, the infinitely little, displayed in the tiny yet complete organism of the animalculæ which sport in the drop of stagnant water, each with its muscular, nervous, and digestive systems perfectly developed as far as our glasses enable us to look (and who shall say that nature ends where our powers of observation stop?); on the other, the intricate maze of suns and systems, moving on in orbits so perfectly adjusted that their positions can be foretold by even our imperfect science for thousands of years to come,—all these absolutely countless parts of the universe were provided for at the very beginning. For they belong to a system of which one is so dependent upon another that the naturalist himself says there can be no interruption of the plan, even for a purpose the most important and far-reaching in its consequences that we can conceive. Nay, so completely does the universe subservise a design, that it cannot for any reason whatever depart from it; and we had better believe any absurdity, however glaring, rather than that miraculous agency should interfere.

Truly all the evidences of design are involved in aptency, or mechanical causation, in the construction of the cosmos; and the proofs are so many and so clear that no man can deny them without stultifying himself. If they were the endowments of matter, they involve all that the theist requires to constitute the being of a personal Creator. For there is no instance in the experience of men where design is exercised without personality. And we have no right to make any assumption, directly counter to all the knowledge we possess, in order to prove a theory which can be better established on accepted principles. It is contrary to the constitution of the mind; and for that reason, if no other, inadmissible. It relieves us of no difficulty in the construction of the cosmos to say that the power and the intelligence resided in the matter itself, and developed it into the myriad forms we now find in the universe. They existed somewhere, and they acted ac-

ording to laws the most perfect, the most minute, the most beneficent, that can be conceived. Who, then, is justified in making the gratuitous assumption that these laws were self-enacted, that they are self-executed, and that they are immanent in matter? We have never experienced anything resembling this. So far as we can see, everything that is made has a maker: every law that controls has a personal legislator to devise and execute it. If the universe was formed in any other way, we know nothing of such a method in the world's history. Any other method is contrary both to our scientific principles and modes of thought. It may be impossible for the finite man adequately to conceive of the Infinite Creator, just as it is to comprehend even the visible universe; but it is according to our modes of thought that there should be one capable of forming it. It may be possible that the Creator and his works are all one, that creation is evolution of the Divine sufficiency, which was immanent in him till this was embodied in matter and made visible to the apprehension of the senses. Thus pantheism may be the true doctrine, and at least is not as revolting to our inner consciousness as that chance created and superintends all things. But this idea does not agree with our knowledge—so far as it reaches. For we see the maker and the thing made, the phenomena and the power which produced it, different—separated by the forms of language which are the best witnesses to the truths of our spiritual nature. We see the material under the control of the spiritual, the body moved by the invisible power; and we are compelled to project this, the only mode of thought which agrees with what we see, into the sphere which is beyond our sight and knowledge. To construct the universe on any other theory has no shadow of proof in the nature of things, and is diametrically contrary to all the knowledge derived from experience. The appetency of the agnostic involves design, and design necessitates intelligence in constructing and maintaining all things. We can have no possible conception of intelligence

apart from a person to exercise it, and so all our modes of thought require us to believe the universe to be the work of a personal God.

L'ENVOI. If a crook expended as much ingenuity in an honest calling as he does in attempts at deception, he would become rich and gain an honored place in society. So, if an agnostic devoted as much talent to prove that he has a mind, as he does to show that *he* knows nothing, and that there is no directing Intelligence in the universe, he would make his doctrines agree with the demands of common sense, and win a name in philosophy!

ARTICLE VIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM.

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AT the centre of the eternal purpose of God, in which all things are embraced, lies the idea of his kingdom. The kingdom of God is no new thing. Under two forms it has always existed: *inwardly*, as a divine ideal floating before the minds of men, feeding their noblest hopes, and inspiring their sublimest achievements; *outwardly*, as a divine moral government, embracing all souls, all systems, and all events—a “kingdom that ruleth over all,” a kingdom administered for the good of all; “an everlasting kingdom,” stretching over all time, spanning all the ages.

Upon its spiritual side, as the sovereign rule of God over man *actually realized*, the kingdom of God is a thing of growth. Typified in the Jewish theocracy, personally revealed in Christ, it was at length firmly founded at Pentecost, through the manifestation of Christ in the power of the Spirit.

When the Baptist proclaimed to the Jews, “The kingdom of God is *among* you,” he announced the presence of the long-expected king. The one in whom the dream of ancient Israel is fulfilled; the one in whom the ages are linked together; the one in whom the kingdom of God has its unity, and through whom it is to attain perfect realization, had at length come. The kingdom silently administered throughout the past was now openly declared. The king had entered upon his inheritance. All authority was given into his hands. Over that moral empire which sweeps

the circle of creation, and which gathers into itself all good and loyal souls, he stood forth the rightful although as yet the unacknowledged sovereign.

At the first, no word was spoken by Christ touching his church. For a time the founding of his church was kept a profound secret. The gospel which he preached was "the gospel of the kingdom," the good news concerning the restoration of the world to the divine order; and yet before the kingdom could come it was necessary that the church be instituted; for the church was the vital germ from which the kingdom was to be built up, the creative centre around which the kingdom was to be constructed. From the holy society of the church was to be developed the holy society of a regenerated humanity.

Great confusion of thought exists regarding the relation of the church to the kingdom. The two terms "church" and "kingdom" are often used interchangeably. Canon Free-mantle in his suggestive work "The World as the Subject of Redemption," defines the church as "the whole human race in all its modes of life inspired by the Spirit of Christ."¹ What he says of the church is true not of the church, but of the kingdom. It is the kingdom that is "the whole human race in all its modes of life inspired by the Spirit of Christ." Professor Bruce in his recent volume entitled "The Kingdom of God," makes the church out to be "practically identical with the kingdom of heaven." He is careful, however, to add that "the identity of the church and kingdom is not absolute, but relative only." The kingdom, he says, "is the larger category."² Dr. H. A. Ross joins together the two terms in question in the phrase "the church-kingdom"—a phrase which is admissible only when employed to express not so much what the church is, as what it is to become.

As we now behold it, the church is the brotherhood of

¹ P. 299. ² Pp. 264, 265.

Christ; the spiritual family of which he is the head; the elect band of disciples which he has gathered around himself, and bound together by the ties of mutual faith and love; the community of believing souls which he has called out of the world and chosen to be his representatives. As the Seer of Patmos beholds it, the church has grown into the kingdom. Those redeemed out of the nations are constituted unto God "a kingdom and priests." A perfect social state in which the sovereignty of God is realized has at length been reached.

As used in Scripture there are certain points at which the terms "church" and "kingdom" seem to overlap, and yet a valid distinction always exists between them. The kingdom is not, like the church, an outward organization with creeds and confessions for its passports of entry, and with rules and rituals for its inward administration, but an invisible, spiritual empire, composed of those who have bowed their spirits to the sceptre of divine authority; those whose lives are ruled by the divine will; those who yield their hearts to the drawings of the divine Spirit, and consent to follow his leading in their lives. In its highest conception the kingdom is a temple made without hands, a divine ideal brought down from heaven to earth; "the new Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven from God." Hence it is designated in Scripture "the kingdom of heaven"—"the kingdom of the heavens," established on the earth, and making it "a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

The kingdom, being wider and more comprehensive than the church, embraces many whom the church excludes; and, by parity of reasoning, the church, being narrower than the kingdom, excludes many whom the kingdom embraces. Professed believers constitute the church; partakers of the divine life constitute the kingdom. The church, as an outward communion of believers, is founded upon open con-

fession of Christ; the kingdom, as the inner dominion of God over the heart, is founded upon the secret acknowledgment of divine supremacy. We might say then that the sphere of the kingdom is identical with the sphere of personal religion. Where there is a religious life *there* is the kingdom; for the kingdom is "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost"—it is the reign of God in the heart. The sphere of the church, on the other hand, may be said to be identical with the possession of faith in Christ. When the Saviour says, "Upon this rock I will build my church," it matters little whether we take his words as referring to himself or to the confession of Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"; Christ, the Son of the living God, is the Everlasting Rock upon which the true, spiritual church is built. To deny him is to renounce all valid claim to connection with that society of which he is the head. To acknowledge him is to supply the condition—the *sole* condition—of entrance into his fold. Any one who acknowledges his living presence in the heart is already in the kingdom, but those only who acknowledge him openly as "the Son of the living God" have a right to membership in his church.

There are two classes, who, although outside the church, have a place within the kingdom, viz., those to whom faith is impossible because of the absence of the outward testimony necessary to its production, and those who are incapable of faith because the faith faculty in them is undeveloped. To the latter class infants belong. Regarding them it is expressly stated, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." Infants are not, by baptism or otherwise, to be received into the church. They are rather to be recognized as belonging to the kingdom, and are to be trained up for admission into the church upon open confession of their faith. They belong to the general community of Christ's people, and form a large and interesting part of his spiritual

empire. Their standing within the kingdom is not conditioned upon personal knowledge or faith, but upon their connection with Christ, or if you will, upon Christ's connection with them; upon the hold Christ has on them, and not upon the hold which they have on Christ. Should they die in infancy, they are not put upon probation, but enter at once into the presence of the king, among whose subjects they have been enrolled. Christ will be made known to them in the future world; not for the purpose of awakening them to repentance, but for the purpose of perfecting their character. Already within the matrix of heaven's nurture, they, in the world to come, will be progressively instructed in the things of Christ, progressively sanctified by the Spirit of Christ, that they may be fitted to enjoy the privileges, and exercise the rights and duties, of their heavenly citizenship.

This distinction between the kingdom and the church helps to solve a dark problem which often perplexes and pains many a sensitive, godly heart. Death has come into a Christian home and snatched away an amiable youth whose latent faith, of which a pure life was evidence, had not blossomed into open confession of Christ. The parents hope the best for their child, although the narrow scheme of salvation which they have been taught, and which they have unquestioningly accepted, forbids all hope. Their hearts are, however, better interpreters of God than all the creeds. But where can they find a firm foundation for the reasonable conviction that it is well with the child? Their child was not within the church. True; but may he not have been within the kingdom? If he did not openly disown Christ, and take his place in the ranks of his enemies, who shall judge the hidden purpose of the heart from the imperfect fulfillment of the life? May not the Omniscient One, looking at the inner essence of faith rather than at its outward form, see deeply buried in the breast some crushed seed, which

under the favoring skies of the heavenly summer-land may yet develop into avowed discipleship of the Christ of Calvary, whom the heart has implicitly trusted, and secretly loved?

What an edifice of error has been built up upon the false assumption that there is salvation only within the church! Instead of affirming that there is salvation only within the church, all that there is warrant for affirming is that there is salvation only within the kingdom. Many who are outside the church are saved; none who are outside the kingdom are saved. It is as king that Christ is judge. In the final judgment he decides the destinies of men, not on the ground of their relation to his church, but on the ground of their relation to his kingdom. From among those untaught by the written word, all who yield themselves to the kingly presence, whose authoritative voice is heard in every heart, share with Christian believers in "the great salvation." They are "made to drink of one Spirit"; they are satisfied from the same breasts of consolation; they are heirs of a common inheritance. They may not know that the invisible presence before which they bow is the presence of the invisible Christ; but "the Lord knoweth them that are his." He knows the secret ones who refuse to bow the knee to Baal, and who reserve the homage of their hearts for himself alone. And, when despondent Elijahs, walking by sight, think that they alone are left faithful to God, Christ, looking from the visible church to the invisible kingdom, sees "a remnant according to the election of grace" which he has "sealed out of every tribe."

What then is our duty towards those who are inside the kingdom, but outside the church? Plainly, it is our duty to try and bring them into the church. Gather the children into the shelter of Christ's fold; bring them into avowed discipleship; get them to assume personal Christian obligation. Where there is implicit faith, labor to develop it into explicit faith; where a secret hope is indulged, labor to have

“the good confession” witnessed before many witnesses. See to it that all heathen, at home and abroad, inwardly called by the Holy Spirit, are also outwardly called by the word of truth. Call them into the gospel feast; call them to that higher, holier, and more fruitful life which can come only through the knowledge of Christ, and through faith in his name; call them out of darkness into light, out of bondage into liberty, out of solitude into fellowship, out of the outer court of God’s temple into the holy of holies.

From what has been advanced, the relation of the church to the kingdom begins, we trust, to grow more clear; but to be still more explicit we proceed to break up our general conception into practical detail, by remarking,

1. *That the church is the seminal centre of the kingdom.*—It is a microcosm containing within itself the rudiments of a world-wide empire; the nucleus of a new society embracing in its completed form the whole of human kind. In brief, the church is a society gathered out of the world; the kingdom, in its ultimate stage of development, is the world gathered into a society—it is the world-kingsdoms transformed into the kingdom of our God and of his Christ.

The unseen hands of Christ are silently building up a kingdom that cannot be moved; and as the vital centre of his immovable kingdom he has established a church against which the gates of Hades shall not prevail. Working from within outwards, the church is destined to expand until it fills the world; becoming at last an external kingdom, and then vanishing from sight, being lost in the kingdom it has created, as the seed is lost in the flower. The church is temporal; the kingdom is eternal. The church passes away when its work is done, but the kingdom into which it melts, endures forever.

Seeing, therefore, that the church is the vital core of the kingdom, seeing that when the church is weak the kingdom is weak at the centre, and that when the church is

strong the kingdom is strong at the centre,—how can we better strengthen the kingdom than by strengthening the vital, fruitful forces within the church? What any single Christian can do to advance the interests of the kingdom of God on the earth must be done mainly through the church. Open channels of usefulness have been provided by the church, into which the most affluent lives can pour their richest treasures, and have them conveyed to the needy with the least possible waste. Let any one discard these well-constructed channels, and the chances are that the stream of his religious activity will thin out, and lose itself in the desert sands. To make our lives most effective for the kingdom, we must work from within, making the church the central sphere of our operations; building up the kingdom by building upon the foundation laid in Zion.

2. *Through the church the kingdom is manifested.*—Before the world the church stands the outward witness of an everlasting kingdom, over which Immanuel reigns; the memorial of the advent of the king to his earthly dominions; the evidence of his continual indwelling, through the Spirit, in human souls and in human society.

It is hard for the world to believe in a kingdom whose king and court are out of sight. The main evidence that this unseen kingdom really exists is furnished by the church—which is the body of Christ—the outward embodiment of his spiritual presence, the outward manifestation of his spiritual kingdom.

It has sometimes been said that the kingdom of heaven chiefly manifests itself in the world in and through the local church. Would it not be more correct to say that the kingdom of heaven chiefly manifests itself in and through the *universal* church? Within the local churches there is one true church, variant in polity and doctrine, but possessing substantial unity of faith and life. This undivided body of Christ is in a special sense his human kingdom; not the

whole of it, by any means, but the best part of it, the part of it which stands out most clearly to the eye of the world. Here are those who acknowledge Christ as their only sovereign; those who delight in being under his government; those who are his faithful citizens and loyal subjects; those who have openly bowed in subjection before his throne, swearing undying allegiance to him as their Lord and king.

In their relations to each other the members of the church are a democracy, a brotherhood; in their relation to Christ they are a kingdom. On its higher side the church is not a republic, but a pure and absolute monarchy, administered by one whose will is supreme, and whose sovereignty is absolute. It is only when looked at upon its lower or human side that we are warranted to speak of the church as "*the Republic of God.*"

The point at which the church and kingdom coalesce is that both imply the dominion of God over man: the point at which they differ from each other is, that in the one case this divine dominion is openly confessed and expressed; whereas, in the other case it is often falteringly acknowledged and faintly revealed. It is no opening of the mystery to say that there are two churches; one visible, the other invisible. There is a visible church, and an invisible kingdom. Of the invisible kingdom the church is the outward witness, the prophetic representation of what the world is yet to become.

3. *Through the church the kingdom is ruled.*—It is the predestined plan of God that over the new society contemplated in his eternal purpose—the new society into which the church is to be developed—the saints are to reign. Kingly power has been put into their hands. They are appointed to be the governing and controlling influence in all the world's affairs. Of them it is distinctly affirmed that "they shall reign upon the earth."

In the exercise of his royal prerogative, Christ says to

his people: "Go, disciple all the nations," *"teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you."* "Go delegated with my authority; go clothed with my power; go speak in my name; go establish my kingdom; go to all the nations, and demand from them instant and unconditional surrender to my kingly rule."

Is the church fully conscious of her high dignity? Is she alive to the fact that to her belongs the right to lay down the law of social life—the royal law of love, for which the isles still wait? Does she stand in the high places of the earth, speaking and acting with authority, as an ambassador invested with sovereign power? Is she fully aware that it is given to her to utter the omnific word which is to still the tempest of industrial and social strife?—that she is the burning bush out of which the I AM now speaks to every new deliverer of the race? Is she striving to make her influence supreme in society, ever realizing the fact that the final settlement of all the social and moral questions that perplex the world is in her hands?

To those who deny the right of the church to sit with Christ upon his throne, exercising judicial authority over the affairs of his kingdom, and arbitrating in his name, in all disputes between man and man, it is enough to reply, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" In claiming for the church the right to occupy the highest place of honor and power in God's kingdom—in claiming for her "the power of the keys," which at first was given to Peter as her representative—we are simply claiming for her the crown-rights which belong to her as the bride and co-regent of the world's rightful sovereign.

4. *The church is heaven's chosen instrumentality for the realization of the kingdom of God in the world.*—To gather up the results of Christ's earthly mission, to win back a world which had risen in revolt, to establish the authority of God over men, to recreate human society,—the

church was instituted. It is the appointed instrument by which the world is to be subjugated to Christ, and his kingdom made universal on the earth. The church is a circle within a circle; it is a citadel within a fortress; it is the grand metropolitan centre of the kingdom from which go forth those aggressive agencies which are to conquer the world, and bring it under the sway of the Prince of peace.

Social reformers have held out the delusive hope of a new social order which is to make new men; the church makes the new men, and trusts to them for the making of the new social order. A regulative and a ruling force, the church is also a regenerative force. It does more than promulgate outward law: it generates and propagates spiritual force. It commands love, and it produces it; it destroys selfishness, which is the root of all the wrong which man inflicts upon his brother-man, and it awakens pure and holy love, which is "the fulfilling of the whole law."

Having "offered one sacrifice for sins for ever," Christ "sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool." Enthroned in the place of supreme moral power, he is calmly waiting for the ultimate triumph of his kingdom. Upon what does he base his great expectations for the future? Upon the co-operation of his church. All that he expects to see realized, will be realized through his church, within which he has lodged sufficiency of power to overturn all antagonistic forces, to mould human institutions, to create a new social order, to regenerate the moral life of the world—in a word, to bring in the kingdom of God on the earth.

The Lord's people of to-day are beginning to have a realizing sense of the important truth that the church is not an end, but an instrumentality; but what is still somewhat obscure to many minds, is the precise end for which the church is an instrumentality. That end is undoubtedly the kingdom of God. The church does not exist for herself,

but for the kingdom. Instead of saying, with Neander, that "the church is the final aim which Christ proposes to his activity," we would say, that the kingdom is the final aim which Christ proposes to his activity, the final aim also which the church ought to propose to her activity. To establish the kingly rule of Christ upon the earth is the final object of all the manifold ministries of the church. For that she unceasingly prays and labors; for that she freely expends her choicest treasures of men and means; for that she devotes herself to works of philanthropy, preventive and remedial. The explanation of her consuming zeal and untiring toil is found in her inborn purpose to destroy the kingdom of Satan, and set up the kingdom of God. The continual burden of her desire is voiced in the words: "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Looking beyond herself, going beyond herself, she ever waits, and prays, and works for the coming to earth of the Father's kingdom.

ARTICLE IX.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT, AS RECORDED IN
ISAIAH LIII.

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AN advantage will be gained in this investigation, if we clearly define the hypothesis with which we set out. If a mere discussion of words could have settled all the perplexing questions connected with this marvellous chapter, the clear meaning of the chapter would not now be in doubt. Our first assumption is, that the expression "Arm of Jehovah" is the name of a person; or, at least, whatever "My Servant" may mean in this chapter, the same is meant by the phrase "Arm of Jehovah." Our second assumption is, that this "Arm of Jehovah" is an object of prophecy. Not yet is the revelation of him accomplished. However, a promise of his coming is made, that thereby the hearts of all may not faint in the time of trial. We propose the following translation, arranging the chapter in a strophical form, and we will discuss the ideas of the chapter under the various strophes.

I.

Who hath believed what we have heard?
And unto whom shall we reveal the Arm of Jehovah?
For he shall come up as a plant before them,
And as a root out of dry ground:
He shall have no beauty,
And no majesty, that we should look at him,
And no appearance, that we should desire him.

II.

He shall be despised, and forsaken of men;
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:

And as one who hides his face from us,
 We shall despise and consider him not.
 Nevertheless, he bears our griefs,
 And our sorrows he carries ;
 While we consider him stricken,
 Smitten of God and afflicted.
 Yea, he is pierced by our sins,
 Bruised by our transgressions :
 The chastisement of our peace is upon him,
 And through his wounds we are healed.

III.

All we like sheep have strayed ;
 Each has followed his own way ;
 But Jehovah atones by him
 The erring of us all.
 He is brought near and he is afflicted,
 Yet he openeth not his mouth ;
 He is brought as a lamb for slaughter,
 And as a sheep before her shearers ;
 He is dumb and openeth not his mouth.
 From prison and judgment he is taken.
 Who will think of his generation ?
 For he is cut off from the land of the living.

IV.

By the sin of my people he is smitten.
 And his grave is appointed with the wicked,
 But with the rich is his sepulchre ;
 For he did no violence,
 And in his mouth was no deceit.
 Jehovah was pleased at his smiting,
 When he was smitten with grief ;
 Though his life was offered as a sin offering,
 He shall see seed, shall have length of days.
 Yea, Jehovah was pleased.
 By his hand he shall prosper.
 Of the travail of his soul he shall see, shall be satisfied :
 By knowledge of him the righteous God shall effect righteousness.

V.

My Servant is for many and bears their transgressions.
 Therefore, I will make for him portion in many,
 And he shall have portion as spoil with the strong ;
 For whom he exposed his life unto death,
 Yea, with sinners he was numbered,

And he bore the sins of many,
And made atonement for sinners.

I.

Introductory Strophe, ARM OF JEHOVAH.

Who hath believed what we have heard?
And unto whom shall we reveal the Arm of Jehovah?
For he shall come up as a plant before them,
And as a root out of dry ground:
He shall have no beauty,
And no majesty, that we should look at him,
And no appearance, that we should desire him.

We have separated this strophe, not only because it is separable in the plan of the writer, but because it gives us the key to the literary form of this chapter. This subject of form will be treated later. All that is needful now to observe is, that the first part of it is a tetrastich, while the second part is a tristich.

The prophet has received a revelation. He has heard a Somewhat. It is strange to himself. It is wonderful. Yet he has heard it; he has no doubt of its truth. He will not diminish its marvellousness. He asks: "Who hath believed? Unto whom shall we reveal?" This same prophet had had a marvellous revelation. He had predicted Cyrus by name. Yet, as startling as this fact was in all prophetic messages, it impelled him to no such introduction as we find here. What he now has to impart, will seem to all men beyond credence. This whole chapter has been ever most wonderful to all devout believers in revelation, and it will be found that its introduction is as singular in character as the chapter is wonderful in thought.

The person about whom this chapter is written, concerning whom the prophet has heard a Somewhat, is called in the introduction the Arm of Jehovah. It is first asserted, that he shall come up as a plant before men. The fact of growth is affirmed. The Arm of Jehovah a growth, the power of Je-

hovah in an organization, subjected to laws of increase—this was an astonishment. This Arm of Jehovah is still further defined. He is “as a root out of dry ground.” The condition for growth is to be most unfavorable. Indeed, such condition as on all human law of reasoning would necessitate scarcely a continuance of growth. Rather such condition as would probably result in premature death. Yet such an one is the Arm of Jehovah. Well might the prophet ask: “Who hath believed?”

This Arm of Jehovah has further development in this introduction. It is given in a negative tristich. “He shall have no beauty.” Rachel was beautiful; her son, Joseph, was beautiful. That outward charm which wins, although possessed by a stranger, which from earliest times and in all places has achieved, is denied to the Arm of Jehovah. All artists have ever vied with each other to paint a face which might in its various lineaments indicate the matchless beauty of those who are most excellent in all spiritual graces. Engrafted also in our deepest self is the faith, that whatever is likest God is not void of beauty. Yet the Arm of Jehovah is to have *no beauty*.

A couplet remains in this tristich. It is synonymous. The thought in the first line is in part repeated in the second. Indeed, this fact is further proved by the identical grammatical structure of each line.

And *no majesty*, that we should look at him,
And *no appearance*, that we should desire him.

Jehovah is king—this is a fundamental faith of Israel. Balaam hears while on the mountain-top a shout coming from the camp of the Israelites; he tells Balak that this shout is the shout for the king. If there were to be an *a priori* speculation as to the character of the Arm of Jehovah, it would have had as one of the essential elements, that he should have majesty, so that we should look at him, and appearance, so that we should desire him. But an essential element according

to human thought is of no necessary consequence in the divine procedure.

II.

First Theme: ARM OF JEHOVAH, *his Life*.—The theme is stated in a tetrastich, and amplified in an octastich.

He shall be despised, and forsaken of men,
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:
And as one who hides his face from us,
We shall despise and consider him not.

This description of a human life is peculiarly adapted to touch the heart with the feeling of pity. Yet pity is forbidden by the composition, when all the facts are considered. When the outward seeming and the inward character are alike, when the character excites our sympathies or commiseration as well as the garb, then we may truly give pity to the object, but only then. However, the character beneath all this outward seeming is the Arm of Jehovah. This character is the most exalted, and most fitted to excite to admiration. We cannot award pity to him unless we are ignorant of him who dwells within this appearance.

It was no new experience for Jehovah to be "despised and forsaken" by the Hebrews. Indeed, the whole troop of unutterable miseries which fell upon this favored people, their prophets traced to the changed attitude of the people toward Jehovah. It no longer loved but despised Jehovah; it no longer came to him, but forsook him; then Jehovah overthrew this chosen and ancient people. The Arm of Jehovah is to suffer this same experience. He is to be despised and forsaken by men. The parallel thought is found in the fourth line: "We shall despise and consider him not." The change of person in the first and fourth lines is significant. Men and we become identical. Men with the chosen people are here brought under consideration. Men and the chosen people despise him. Yea, not even the chosen people will consider him, and the reason assigned is, that he "hides his face from

us." Impliedly is here found ground for the inference, that, were but his face seen, the chosen people must have considered him. This One, possessing by right all beauty, and yet presenting no appearance such as we should desire; this One, having by right all majesty, yet of such appearance that he does not attract our gaze, may well be said to "hide his face from us."

One line in this tetrastich, describing in brief the life of the Arm of Jehovah, is, by itself, the most weighty, is, indeed, the keynote to the following eight lines that complete the treatment of the first theme. This line is, "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." The Arm of Jehovah is thus defined. Mystery pervades the definition. The subject is Arm of Jehovah; the predicate is "A Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." The Mightiest is yet touched by sorrow, the All-powerful is yet moved by grief. Well may this line have been the object of meditation for the hosts of holy men of all times. The divine is surely here encompassed by the human.

The octastich which follows is really the unfolding of all the meaning in this marvellous line. But it has two parts, each in four lines. The first four lines are:—

Nevertheless, he bears our griefs,
And our sorrows he carries;
While we consider him stricken,
Smitten of God and afflicted.

He is a Man of sorrows, but the sorrows are our own sorrows. He is a Man acquainted with grief, but the griefs are our own griefs. O how burdened is the Arm of Jehovah by our griefs and our sorrows! This is a transference which we least of all could have anticipated. It is another feature, which is so mysterious, that in the presence of it well might the prophet say, "Who will believe what we have heard?" It is no light burden. Its weight is beyond the lifting of the human. No power short of the Arm of Jehovah is sufficient. But a grief

is not carried on the back nor a sorrow on the shoulder. It is in the heart where griefs and sorrows are born and carried. Surely the miseries of the human have touched mightily, all-mightily, the divine.

But what is the attitude of those for whom suffering is endured? The last two lines of these four set it forth:—

While we consider him stricken,
Smitten of God and afflicted.

By no fair reasoning can God and the Arm of Jehovah be regarded here as the same. At least, the human way of considering them is under the belief of different personalities. The nature of the Arm of Jehovah is to be argued by his doing, and truly, only the omnipotent power and love of the divine can be adequate for his work. Here is evidence of the strange bewilderment of this chapter. That which attests to God the unique service and worth of his arm is to man only an evidence that God smites and afflicts this person.

The second four lines in this octastich are as follows:—

Yea, he is pierced by our sins,
Bruised by our transgressions :
The chastisement of our peace is upon him,
And through his wounds we are healed.

This Arm of Jehovah hath other burdens besides our sorrows and our griefs. The full complement of his service is not yet reached. What remains, is told in the words, "our sins," "our transgressions." These pierce him, these bruise him. The work of sin and transgressions has a fearful detailing in this couplet. They wound us, they wound him. How near he is to us, as set forth in these lines! Truly he is one with us. Can more be told? Yes, it is contained in the last two lines of this part:—

The chastisement of our peace is upon him,
And through his wounds we are healed.

Here is the greatest mystery. Here all reverent minds proceed with awed advance. Here the facts asserted may be

pointed out. Their explanation may be scarcely attempted. Punishment to him, peace in consequence to us. His wounding is our healing. It is not Jehovah that does the wounding, it is our sins that pierce and wound. It is not Jehovah that does the punishing; it is our transgressions that bruise and make the wounds. Only the infatuated, deceived judgments of ourselves "consider him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted." We are the authors, not God. All is endured that peace may come to us and also healing come to us. Here is a sight; here is teaching that hath power to touch in them the heart of stone and make it a heart of flesh. Here is power unto atonement.

III.

Second Theme: ARM OF JEHOVAH, *his Death*.—This theme is also stated in a tetrastich, and amplified in an octastich. The following states the theme:—

All we like sheep have strayed ;
Each has followed his own way ;
But Jehovah atones by him
The erring of us all.

The universal "All we" is such an one as Paul accepts without controversy. The comparison "like sheep" is exhausted in the statement of the verb "have strayed." The figure has no further suggestiveness. The irregular wandering of sheep is a picture of mankind. Both need a shepherd. Herein is found the principal meaning of the verb, translated, "atone." The power, personal and active, which reaches us all in our erring is this Arm of Jehovah. Here is the foreshadowing of the parable of The Good Shepherd and The Lost Sheep. The word "atone" is here employed only to express the fact that this diverse wandering of us all is corrected, made impossible, because all no longer follow their own ways, but the ways of Jehovah; there is an at-one movement, there is atonement.

The activity of Jehovah is the remarkable feature of this

tetrastich. It is not strange, this wandering of mankind. The history of the race makes this fact most familiar. The problem is to correct it. Legislation is witness to efforts to restrict it. But a method by which it may be reached, corrected, this has been the hopeless aim of all human endeavor. This remarkable passage asserts, that this end hath been accomplished by Jehovah in him. We may not see how this is. Man cannot see in the beginning of a great movement all that it ultimately achieves. But this limitation upon vision adheres not in God. We have his word that all has been accomplished.

The octastich following presents the Trial, the Conviction, the Death of the Arm of Jehovah. Five of the lines are employed to set forth the Trial.

He is brought near and he is afflicted,
Yet he openeth not his mouth ;
He is brought as a lamb for slaughter,
And as a sheep before her shearers ;
He is dumb and openeth not his mouth.

The silence of him is divine. He by silence argues his unique nature. The divine must not defend itself before the human tribunal. To do so, would be to deny the irreproachableness of the divine. Afflicted—yes, by us; silent—yes, before us. Able to endure the violence of our little might in silence.

The limitations of the comparisons again must be set. Helplessness is the dominant thought; doomed to be slaughtered, yet as helpless as a lamb; doomed to be spoiled, yet as helpless as a sheep. That the divine could so lay aside his power, that he could be so completely in the hands of men—is marvellous. Yet he laid aside his power only in the sense of not employing it, and by his own choice he gave himself into the power of man. This is the method of the divine. He will come near to us. He will come even though we raise our hands to slay and to spoil him. Nearness may touch us into love for him. This method of atonement is surely divine.

If the method is divine, the manner of him who atones is divine. The greater the human strength employed against him, the stronger is the language employed to express his silence. He is dumb. There is no utterance. Silence deepens as violence increases. "He is dumb, he openeth not his mouth."

The Condemnation and Death are portrayed in three lines:—

•

From prison and judgment he is taken.
Who will think of his generation?
For he is cut off from the land of the living.

The facts of condemnation and death are set forth in the first and last of these three lines. There is no hovering over these two facts. There is no astonishment expressed concerning them. But the second line is what arrests our attention; it is another element in this message, heard by the prophet, so mysteriously, that he asks, "Who will believe?" This line, fraught full of marvellous questioning, is a clear interrogative, caused by a look beyond the grave. "Who will think of his generation?" Surely no one would think of his generation. His death ends all. This is truly an unlooked-for closing to this octastich. The question is such that but one answer could be looked for. Can such an inquiry be made when he is cut off from the living? There is much that ends according to the human estimate, which is but the beginning of the divine, omnipotent working. The end of a matter with man may be but the commencement of Jehovah's mightiest and most signal triumphs. "Who will look for his generation?"

IV.

The Third Theme: ARM OF JEHOVAH, *his Resurrection and his Reward*.—This strophe contains twelve lines, but the arrangement within it is somewhat different from the two strophes which precede. The order here is first a pentastich, then a tristich, then a tetrastich. At first we have the fact of

the death of the Arm of Jehovah dwelt upon. This is an influence of the former strophe. There it is given as a reason for a query which the prophet makes. The fact of his death is developed in five lines of this strophe.

By the sin of my people he is smitten.
And his grave is appointed with the wicked ;
But with the rich is his sepulchre ;
For he did no violence,
And in his mouth was no deceit.

The power that smites—it is “the sins of my people.” These are Jehovah’s own words. He who is smitten is the One, living and dying among us. The smiting is not traceable to any source but our sins.

The last four lines of the above are singular. The adversative idea first attracts attention. The appointment and the fact differ. The appointment is to have the grave with the wicked, but the fact is that he is sepulchred with the rich. We are not to point out how this distinction is carried out in the Gospel narratives. It is simply our aim to emphasize that this distinction is here made and expressed. The reason has more immediate claim upon our attention. What is there in a character which has never done violence, whose every act in life was replete with the gentleness of love, that could suggest even that this peculiar and noble character would influence the place of such an one’s burial? What is there in absolute truthfulness so mighty that it can influence *where* one who speaks thus, shall be buried? Again, what peculiar truth is made prominent by the fact, that one with character for gentleness and no violence, with truth and no deceit, shall have sepulchre with the rich? These are all questions which force themselves on the attention. Worth must have recognition sometime. Recognition is to enrich where poverty had been present. Recognition is the gift of the rich, in the realm wherein recognition is conferred. This truth may be connected with the words under consideration. Also another,

which lies at the basis of all princely giving by the rich, is illustrated; namely, that the rich have their best returns, when they employ all their possessions in honoring those who are greatest and noblest in character. Perhaps we may find in these truths some clue to the singular causal statement, that he was sepulchred with the rich, because he did no violence and in his mouth was no deceit.

A tristich follows, in which the fact of Resurrection and Reward is given.

Jehovah was pleased at his smiting,
Though his life was offered as a sin offering.
He shall see seed, shall have length of days.

The statement is not, that Jehovah was pleased to smite him. The statement is, that Jehovah was pleased at the time of his smiting. Not the smiters, but the One smitten, gave the pleasure. Not the suffering, but the noble Sufferer, gave the pleasure. The second line leads us to the cause of the pleasure of Jehovah. He, the Arm of Jehovah, was a sin-offering. He was a power, the mightiest power to atone sin. Life of him was yielded in the movement of atonement for sin. Jehovah was pleased. The third line is the great utterance of the new thought. "He shall see." Dead, but yet he shall see. Here is a statement of a new fact. Here is another element in this marvellous something which the prophet had heard, which seemed to his own mind impossible to win credence; for he says: "Who shall believe what we have heard?" He shall see seed. The former strophe closes with the question:—

Who will think of his generation?
For he is cut off from the land of the living.

The answer is simply that "he shall see seed." Nor this alone, but that "length of days shall be his" also. There is no limitation on his life. His eyes shall see his generation.

The prophet will not permit mistake on this important

feature of his message. He repeats the tristich in the following four lines:—

Yea, Jehovah was pleased,
 By his hand he shall prosper.
 Of the travail of his soul he shall see, shall be satisfied,
 By knowledge of him the righteous God shall effect righteousness.

The facts of the pleasure of Jehovah and of this seeing by him of his seed, are repeated from the former lines. But it is additional to state that Jehovah shall prosper him, and that he who has been the sufferer shall be satisfied in what he sees. But the great and significant line is the last one of these four, if one may dare to describe differences of magnitude where all seem beyond measurement. It is asserted that knowledge of him is that power by which Jehovah, the righteous God, shall make righteous. Righteousness, when accomplished, needs no justification. It is not open to condemnation. The great truth declared is, righteous by knowledge of him: Jehovah's method of making righteous is by knowledge of him. "Who will believe what we have heard?"

V.

There remains but the conclusion of this wonderful chapter to be considered. But before considering it, one remark must be made concerning the form of the chapter. The introduction is in two parts, a tetrastich and a tristich. Three and four are the numbers that prevail throughout. Thus each strophe is made up of twelve lines—three times four. There are three strophes. The conclusion is identical in character with the introduction. It is made up of a tetrastich and a tristich. We believe that at the basis of all the marvellous utterance of the Old Testament lie numbers, just as at the basis of the flower-kingdom is found the dominance of number. That investigations along this line will pour a flood of light on much now obscure in the Hebrew Scriptures, is an abiding faith with me.

The conclusion is as follows:—

My Servant is for many and bears their transgressions,
Therefore, I will make for him portion in many,
And he shall have portion as spoil with the strong;
For whom he exposed his life unto death.

Yea, with sinners he was numbered,
And he bore the sins of many,
And made atonement for sinners.

There is limitation expressed in the first line. For *many*—it is a phrase of limitation. My Servant bears their transgressions. The fact, not the method, is here given. The chapter has suggested the method. *Many* shall be the portion of him. The *many* and the strong, for whom he died, he shall have portion with *both*. Such is the brief teaching of the first four lines. The same thought had been spoken before, in the earlier part of this chapter. So important is the thought that now again it is rehearsed. Indeed, the last three lines is but another repetition.

Yea, with sinners he was numbered,
And he bore the sins of many,
And made atonement for sinners.

Perhaps these three lines will give us some light upon this word “many,” which appears three times in this conclusion. It would seem that “bore the sins” and “made atonement” were synonymous expressions. At least, that the same peculiar and unique fact is set forth in each expression. Then, “sinners” and “the many” are interchangeable. The logic of the lines is, that he who was numbered with sinners is he who bears their sins. Among them, but not like them; among them, and taking away their burdens; among them, and making atonement for them; this is he who is My Servant, this is he who is the Arm of Jehovah. His portion is many. These are the things the prophet has heard. So mysterious, even to him, that he says:—

Who hath believed what we have heard,
And unto whom shall we reveal?

They who believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, shall believe in the prophet's words; for unto all others it is incredible. They who have had their transgressions borne by the Saviour will believe. They who see the Christ in suffering for them will believe, for such *seeing* opens up the heart unto his loving sorrow, and this leads to a return movement unto God.

ARTICLE X.

PRIMEVAL MAN.

BY THE REV. SMITH B. GOODENOW, BATTLE CREEK, IOWA.

THE Hebrew Bible fixes the placing of Adam in Eden at about 4000 years before the Christian era. The current Usher chronology has it 4004 years; but the most reliable reckoning of the Hebrew increases it to 4102 years. So that 6000 years from Adam expire in A. D. 1898. This expiration, within four years from now, of *the six week days* of human history (since "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years," 2 Pet. iii. 8), is drawing some attention to the speedy opening of the seventh thousand years, or *sabbatic day* of human history, as a supposed *millennial epoch* described in Revelation (xx. 1-7).

But in a different quarter there is an awakened interest in the scientific question: How are we to reconcile so short a period of human existence as the six thousand years of Hebrew chronology, now about expiring, with the accumulating geologic facts, which go to show, by human fossils and relics of human handiwork, that man has existed on the earth much more than six thousand years? The Septuagint, or earliest Greek version of the Old Testament, translated from the Hebrew about 200 B. C., allows some fifteen hundred years more than the six thousand; but this is thought not sufficient for the geologic demands. What more can be done about it?

In order to *forestall* this alleged difficulty of science, some biblical scholars are trying to invalidate the early chronology of the Bible, from Adam to Abraham, as given in Genesis v. and xi.; so as, by having *no Bible chronology* of early times, to allow science full sweep for speculation as to the antiquity of man.¹

The present writer is fully convinced that these endeavors to do away with the Bible chronology cannot succeed; and, further, does not entertain that apprehension that any greater antiquity for man than the Bible chronology allows, will be *positively proved* by science; so that he does not feel that need of "hedging" (to use a term current in worldly business), in behalf of the Bible, which is stirring many scholars. For we believe that the geologists of our day are somewhat infatuated with the idea *that they know the rate* with which nature's changes proceeded in prehistoric times. Whereas, we have no witnesses (except God) to testify at what an amazing pace vast developments might leap forward in the young gush of nature under new

¹ See the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1873, pp. 323-331; April, 1890, pp. 285-303.

conditions,—such developments as require ages under the settled environment of the present.

Nevertheless we are ready, in our life-long research of Scripture, to lend a helping hand to those that feel it needful to be prepared against any emergency, with *time enough* on hand to allow modern science full sweep in its venturesome theorizing. It can do no harm to be fore-armed, even though we expect modern science to grow more sober and modest as it increases in age; it may finally withdraw its challenge against God's testimony as to the time of his own handiwork, at least in primeval eras, where there is no other witness to speak. Yet we are the more willing to aid in discovering time enough for every exigency, in harmony with God's word, in order to check (if possible) the present tendency to undervalue and undermine the chronology of the Bible, which we consider one of the main bulwarks of its strength.

OUR METHOD.

What, then, is our method of finding time enough for all geologic emergencies without impairing in the least the Bible chronology? We find the ample time desired in the very place where reverent geology has all along been finding it,—not within the Adamic limit of Bible chronology, but before that Adamic limit (at the garden of Eden) begins, in the *six unmeasured days* of creation. It is now universally allowed that there is time enough in those six untimed periods to meet all the demands of geology. Each "day" may be thousands of years in length; and the "sixth day" may be as long as any day before it. And the last half of the sixth day, wherein *man was being created*, from his physical manhood on to his full spiritual manhood in Eden, may have occupied many thousands of years, with successive generations of incipient, decaying, *physical men*, before the completed *spiritual Adam* emerged (for aught the Bible contains), if science should insist on claiming human fossils so old as that.

In short, our claim is, that Gen. i. 27 may cover any amount of time that the discovered facts of human palæontology may require.

All advocates of the evolution theory will at once accept this view. And they are welcome to find, if they can, their needed "missing links" among the fossils of that palæolithic age of unfinished physical man which we here concede to have possibly existed. But we ourselves reject the idea of a long *evolutionary process*, and hold to immediate creation, in only two steps: first, the physical or animal man; and second, the spiritual or godlike man,—with an undefined length of time between,—as recorded in Genesis (i. 27—ii. 7).

It was all in "the sixth day" of creation. But the human *body* or physical being may have been "created" at mid-day; and the inbreathing of the higher divine *spirit*, whereby the individual Adam became "a living soul" complete, may have been at the close of the day; with possibly many generations of time and physical propagation between, as intimated at the start (see i. 27, 28).

That man at first was *mortal*, like other creatures, giving opportunity for

human fossils in that pre-Eden era, is rendered quite plausible by the fact, that it was not till *after* the completed Adam appeared (ii. 7), that an Eden-enclosure was fitted up for him (ver. 8-15), and a "tree of life" furnished to him, as if to guard him from outside perils and to keep him from a mortality before inevitable. When he sinned, he lost the "tree of life" which had saved him from death, and fell back to the outside reign of mortality.

Of course, any attempt to explain the particulars of such an unaccustomed view must be of the nature of hypothesis. And while we venture to name a few points of conjecture, and our reasons for them, we want to be understood as only theorizing, not giving positive opinions or doctrines to be maintained either by ourselves or others. Mere Scripture theory here serves to offset the mere geologic theory calling for it. Let us try, then, to answer hypothetically two or three questions that will at once be asked.

UNITY OF THE RACE.

I. If a race of men, physically such, existed for generations long before the perfected spiritual man Adam, what became of that race, when "the first man Adam"—the first complete man—began? Must they not still survive? and does not this necessitate a denial of *the unity of the human race*? By no means, we answer. If God so chose, he could readily bring about an extinction of all else of that race at about the close of the sixth day, when he used the individual Adam for development into a new race. And this could occur as simply and as naturally as in previous extinctions of species, which all geology teaches, whether at the "evenings" following the "mornings" of creation, or at other points of time.

In A. D. 1655, the French scholar Peyrerius broached the theory of "Pre-adamite Man." But that view made the preadamites to be our still surviving human race complete as we are now; while Adam and his family were regarded as merely the selected Jewish race, preserved afterwards in part from the flood, which was looked upon as only a limited disaster confined to the Jewish or Adamic family. Such a crude theory we of course utterly repudiate. Our hypothesis is, on the contrary, that of an *extinct* prehistoric race, physically but not spiritually human, and only namable as preadamite man in the sense, that they were the unfinished race of men,—the bodily mould for our humanity; which *mould was broken* (so to speak), in the common fate of other lost fossil species, when the consummated perfect Adam was reached.¹

¹ If any one, accepting our hypothesis in general, should proceed to imagine that some at least of the primeval imperfect race may have survived, and furnished the much-inquired-after *wife of Cain* in the "land of Nod" (Gen. iv. 16, 17), as well as the "daughters of men" put in contrast with the Adamic "sons of God," producing "giants" bodily, and *monsters* morally (as told in vi. 1-4);—such a speculation is of no practical account, since the *universal flood* (vii. 21-23) soon swept away all races except a remnant from Adam and Eve. Not until scientific research shall have positively found some human race actually without a conscience or spirit-soul, can any question be raised against the presumption of *universal extinction* for all humanity save the family of Noah.

There is nothing contrary to reason or to science in the claim of such a loss of an imperfect human species. Indeed, the indications of geology suggest *two stages* of advancement in the most ancient human fossils discovered. Says Professor G. F. Wright in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*:¹ "Between the polished-stone period (or Neolithic, according to Lubbock's classification) and the Palæolithic period, or the period in which flint implements show no signs of having been ground, there is a wide separation, which no student of the subject can fail to recognize as of great significance. It is the evidence of the great antiquity of the Palæolithic period that now attracts the principal attention of students of this subject." Moreover, the certainty that there was some cataclysm or crisis extinguishing species between the earlier, or Palæolithic, and the later, or Neolithic, age of human remains, appears from the geologic fact mentioned by the same writer, thus:—

"The explorations by a committee of scientific men—of whom Mr. Evans and Sir John Lubbock are members—of, among others, Kent's cavern, in Torquay, England, fully substantiate the evidence that had been before adduced in proof of the fact that the cave was inhabited by men of the Palæolithic period, at a time when the mammoth (*elephas primigenius*), the woolly rhinoceros, the cave bear, the cave hyena, the reindeer, and many other *extinct* gigantic mammalia, abounded in England. These remains are separated from later species and more recent marks of man's presence above them by a continuous layer of stalagmite, from one to three feet thick; and bones of existing species are conspicuous for their absence from the lower deposit."

Now, since various other species of animals became extinct after man in some condition was present, as seen by the Palæolithic fossils; there is no reason known why the then-existent species of animal man may not also have become extinct, between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic age, that is, at the end of "the sixth day,"—being succeeded by the now-existent and newly created or perfected human race of Adam, the fossils of which are those found in the new, or Neolithic, age of geology. Our view of "the six days" of creation as *actual days* of "light" followed by *actual nights* of "darkness" (their length being undefined), will corroborate this view, of darkness (and consequent crisis in nature) as following "the sixth day."

Nor is there wanting in the Bible narrative some intimation of a possible cataclysm or crisis in creation at the close of the sixth day, as well as of the previous days. *After* the full perfecting of Adam (at ii. 7), and the establishing of Adam in the Eden fitted up for him (at ii. 8-17), we are next told (at ver. 18-20), "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helpmeet for him. And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them. . . . And Adam gave names to all cattle. . . . But for Adam there was not found an

¹ April, 1873, p. 382.

helpmeet for him." Here are two singular points given, which need to be accounted for.

(1) An *interval of time* between the existence and action of the complete Adam, on the one hand, and the strange originating of Eve, on the other hand. Whereas, the earlier account (at i. 27, 28) represents the creation of male and female as if simultaneous, with an immediate direction for propagating the race. This seeming discrepancy is at once adjusted, if we suppose that the sexes of the unperfected man at once existed and propagated as in chapter i., which is according to the teachings of natural science; but that after a time, at the close of the sixth day, some crisis obliterated the unperfected race,—except that the physical form of one drowned individual was providentially rescued and used for perfecting a new and complete humanity, as in the second chapter.

In this view, chap. i. 26–28 is a first exhibit of the divine *plan* and its execution *summed up as a whole*,—so as to complete the "six days" and bring out the Sabbath institution (at ii. 1–3); while chap. ii. 4–25 is a second exhibit of the executed plan, with fuller details (especially of the sixth day's work); the creation of man being shown in its *two stages* at ver. 7, and the new and strange production of woman being shown afterwards (as a necessity of the race extinction), coming in the "deep sleep" that naturally closed the sixth day of creation.¹

This view is not affected, whether we consider the two chapters as two different *documents* used by the writer (Moses), or as merely two recitals,—one in general, the other in detail,—prepared by one and the same writer. But such a view as presented by our theory throws light on the peculiar and non-scientific creation of Eve, which has always puzzled students of the Bible. Only a *single human body* was recovered from the extinct race, as the man-form which God had "formed"—through undefined lapse of time—"from the dust of the ground"—this being the record of a first stage given at ver. 7. And this one human form, when perfected into Adam, seems to have contained the elements of both sexes; so that woman came forth by separation, not by simultaneous double creation, as at the start (in chap. i.). Perhaps the anomalous re-creation of Adam required this anomalous non-scientific evolution of sex.¹

(2) A second difficulty in the account is the fact that at ii. 19, *in the midst* of divine planning as to a needed "helpmeet" for man (begun at ver.

¹ Gen. ii. 2 says: "And on the SEVENTH day God ended his work which he had made." The Samaritan copy avoids this seeming discrepancy by reading here "on the SIXTH day." But may it not rather be true, that *the work of creation* ended with the sixth day at ii. 7, with *the work of providence* going on the seventh day through chap. ii. (as it still goes on); so that, the furnishing of the Eden residence, the instructions given to Adam, and the providing of a helpmeet (which items finish up that chapter), were indeed a providential ending on the seventh day of the created work of the sixth day? If so, man's first day of life being the seventh day of creation, the first day of Adam and Eve together was the eighth day, or *the first day* of a new week.

18 and continued to the close of ver. 20), we have the statement: "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field," etc.,—as if here came in the creation of animals, *after* the completed formation of man in ver. 7. This looks like a contradiction of chap. i., which finishes the creation of animals before the creation of man. But the Samaritan Pentateuch has a different reading,—"the Lord God ONCE MORE formed every beast," etc. So also, the Septuagint has "*ἔτι*," still or *yet further formed*. As if there had been a crisis or wasting of animals, now followed by a new furnishing of species here at the close of the sixth day. However, this is not decisive; for, instead of the Samaritan reading, we may suppose that our Revisers should have translated the Hebrew as a *pluperfect*, "had formed," as in ver. 8.

The striking feature here is, that the interposed arraying of all the animals in sight of Adam, for him to inspect and to name, was evidently meant to convince Adam that there was no creature to be found as a fit companion to him. This review and naming of creatures is begun by God's statement, "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helpmeet for him." And it closes with this statement, "Adam gave names to all, . . . but for Adam there was *not found* an helpmeet for him." Whereupon, God proceeds at once to the formation of Eve. In view of this account, how plausible the idea, that God, having chosen for completion but one individual from a perished race, thought best to impress upon this perfected individual the fact that he was the sole survivor of his kind; and that only Sovereign Power could give him a suitable mate, as he saw that all other creatures had. This then is a rational ground for the hypothesis of a *perished race*, as here presented.

FURTHER QUERIES.

2. Another question may be asked: Is not our theory inconsistent with 1 Cor. xv. 45 (Revision), "And so it is written, THE FIRST MAN Adam became a living soul"? We reply: He who when finished "BECAME a living soul," was indeed "the first man Adam" COMPLETE. The Bible was given for the use and benefit of our present historical human race; and it knows nothing and cares nothing about pre-existent races. Our theory does not pretend to be Scripture teaching; it is extra-biblical, and only asks to be received as *not forbidden* by the Scriptures. As to Gen. v. 1, 2, it is certainly true, that God called their name Adam IN THE DAY WHEN THEY WERE CREATED"; namely, in the sixth day wherein *both stages* of their creation were completed.

If any one should deem our theory too great a modification of the current literal understanding of Adam and Eve's creation, we would simply

¹ "Adam was created, and his wife in his side, and (afterward) he showed her to him."—Book of Jubilees, A. D. 100. "That is, she was created at the same time with Adam, but in and within him, and it was only afterward that she became a separate creature."—Professor Schodde, in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Jan., 1886), p. 58.

suggest,—that the other scheme, for lengthening the antiquity of man by destroying the chronology of Genesis, looks far more like a wresting of Scripture, and a rending of its plain import in chap. v., xi., than does anything here proposed concerning the account of double formation in chap. i., ii.

3. There is a still further question: Since the primeval man is here treated as a mere unfinished or animal race, before the first complete man Adam existed, could the primeval creature be rightly called "man"? No, we answer, not in the biblical sense, as denoting the present race of morally accountable beings, possessed of a spirit from God as well as a body from the dust. But for the uses of geology, and in the discussion of fossils as indicating the age of races and of species, the title "man" applies simply to the physical creature of that structure, with no great capacity required. And in the sense of words as used by modern science, no higher than *the highest animal* nature is requisite to express the geological status of man. For, animal intelligence in its fullest development greatly resembles human thought.

Indeed, many of our most distinguished scientists are agnostics and sceptics, denying that man has any higher or spirit nature, or that he is anything more than the highest species of the animal races. Of course, all such thinkers must regard the unfinished primeval man that we speak of as being full manhood complete: with no new creation or new nature given to Adam, but only an evolution of primeval faculty. With such unbelievers we can have no contention. If *they* have not been able to find out that they have a spirit-soul, and insist on ranking themselves as merely the highest grade of animals, they put their origin just where we put it,—in the times of the earliest human-like fossils; and our theory remains unimpaired.

We simply add to their materialistic view our spiritualistic biblical doctrine; declaring, as in Job (xxxii. 8), "But THERE IS A SPIRIT IN MAN, and the breath of the Almighty hath given them understanding." And we see this higher bestowment announced in Gen. ii. 7 as *the second stage* of human creation:—"AND (God) *breathed* into his nostrils *the breath* of life, and man BECAME a living soul" in God's image, no longer merely human but also divine. The perfect man is *later* than the first formed physical humanity; and, according to the theory here broached, there may have been a long interval between.

Our view is exactly the scientific view; only we carry the development a step farther on, and insist that ever since Adam (if not always before) man has a soul as well as a body, a spirit-substance as well as a matter-substance. And we are sure that whatever physical humanity may have existed before Adam, it was with the finished Adam and Eve of the Bible that accountable *human spirits* began.

ARTICLE XI.

CRITICAL NOTES.

THE OLD SYRIAC VERSION OF THE LORD'S PRAYER: ITS
RENDERING OF 'ΕΠΙΟΤΣΙΟΣ.

THE recent discovery of a MS. of the entire Curetonian Syriac Gospels has awakened fresh interest in the Syriac versions of the New Testament. A new edition of Dr. Murdock's translation has also appeared.¹ This is from the Peshito version, which, though certainly as early as the fourth century, is, in the general opinion of scholars, later than the Curetonian. Both these versions have been called in to aid in the interpretation of that much discussed word in the Lord's Prayer, *ἐπιούσιος*. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον, "our daily bread."

I wish to recall attention to the rendering found in the Curetonian or Old Syriac. The word in Hebrew characters is אַמִּינָא, and may be Anglicized with Continental vowel sounds, *amina*, showing its correspondence to the English *amen*. Our two questions are, of course, What is the meaning of the word? and What is the value of its testimony to the meaning of its Greek original?

The meaning of the Syriac word is sufficiently attested by its biblical usage. In the New Testament it is used once, adverbially, to translate *διαπαντός*, "always a conscience void of offence" (Acts xxiv. 16); several times, *προσκαρτερέω*, "continued steadfastly" (Acts ii. 46); also *πυκνός*, "thine often infirmities" (1 Tim. v. 23); *προσμένω*, "continueth in supplications" (1 Tim. v. 5); *ἐκτενῶς*, "prayer was made without ceasing" [Rev. earnestly], (Acts xii. 5); *ἀδιάλειπτος*, "remembering without ceasing" (1 Thess. i. 3). These examples, being outside of the Gospels, are from the Peshito version.

In the Old Testament, where *amina* is of frequent occurrence, it regularly represents, often adverbially, the Hebrew אָמֵן. It is found in every part of the Old Testament, except the Psalms, which are acknowledged to be peculiar. Thus Aaron's breastplate is a memorial "continually" (Ex. xxviii. 29). The burnt offering is "continual" (xxix. 42). The fire is to be "ever" on the altar (Lev. vi. 13). The shew-bread is "continual" (Num. iv. 7). Nine times in the twenty-ninth chapter of Numbers the word is applied to the "daily burnt offering." The eyes of the Lord are "always" upon the land of prom-

¹ The Syriac New Testament. By James Murdock, S. T. D. With an Historical Introduction, by Horace L. Hastings, and a Bibliographical Appendix, by Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D., Litt. D.

ise (Deut. xi. 12). Elisha passeth by "*continually*" (2 Kings iv. 9). The trumpets sound "*continually*" before the ark (1 Chron. xvi. 6). And so on in Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Isaiah ("*continually* upon the watch-tower," xxi. 8), Jeremiah, Ezekiel ("men of *continual* employment," xxxix. 14), Daniel, and elsewhere. I have verified more than sixty examples in which *amina* translates תמיד. The Syriac word, then, according to biblical usage, means continual, constant. The dictionaries, covering a wider than biblical usage, give the meanings, *stabilis, constans, assiduus, perpetuus*. The meaning, then, of the whole phrase would be, "Our constant supply of bread."

Next, what is the value of this testimony as to the meaning of *ἐπιβόσιος*? Mr. Chase in his "Lord's Prayer in the Early Church" says: "It is difficult to see that it represents any probable meaning of *ἐπιβόσιος*." Carrying out a suggestion of Dr. Cureton, he thinks that the Greek word, not being understood by the translator, was represented "by a classical phrase about bread in the Old Testament, slightly changed."¹ Now it is true that among the great variety of actions to which the Syriac word is applied in the Old Testament, it is two or three times applied to eating bread. Mephibosheth is to "eat bread *continually* at David's table (2 Sam. ix. 7, 10), and Jehoiachin "did eat bread *continually*" with the king of Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 29; Jer. lii. 33). These, so far as I can discover, are the only cases of association with ordinary bread. Twice, also adverbially, it is used of the shew-bread (Num. iv. 7; 2 Chron. ii. 4), but I can find no example of its use as a *descriptive epithet* of bread. Even if we assume, perhaps ungraciously, that the translator was in serious doubt, it is hard to see how his mind would be influenced much by any "classical phrase about bread in the Old Testament."

Without admitting any presumption against the Syriac rendering, in estimating its value I would say:—

1. The rendering is simple and clear, and betrays no wavering and no effort to solve an etymological difficulty. In this last respect it is in contrast with the Peshito rendering, which means "bread of our necessity." This seems like an attempt to carry out a certain theory of the etymology of the Greek word, viz., that it is compounded of *ἐπι* and *βόσιος*, the latter meaning *essence*, that which is essential, then that which is necessary, or *βόσιος* meaning *existence*, as is advocated by Cremer in his Lexicon, and the compound adjective meaning "for, i. e., necessary for, existence." The Jerusalem Syriac rendering seems to have a similar origin—"bread of our abundance," *βόσιος* having the sense of *substance*, then wealth, abundance.² We have a striking—I might say, huge—example of this kind of translation in Jerome's *supersubstantialis*, rendered in the Wyclif Testament "over other substance," though in Luke Jerome left standing—or others restored—the Old Latin *cotidianum*. In contrast with all this, the Old Syriac gives a simple, intelligible word that

¹ The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church. By Frederic Henry Chase, B.D. p. 51. In the Series of Texts and Studies, Cambridge University Press.

² I know nothing at first hand of this version, but am indebted for the rendering given above, as for other favors, to my friend Dr. Isaac H. Hall.

has the appearance of being based on known usage, or on some ground other than philological reasoning.

2. Although *amina* does not indicate a conscious attempt at etymologizing, it distinctly supports the derivation of *ἐπιούσιος* from *ἐπιών*, the participle of *ἐπιείναι*. This participle, in taking the suffix *-ιος*, would by regular euphonic changes become *ἐπιούσ-*, very nearly as its feminine becomes *ἐπιούσα*. We must distinguish, in meaning, the participle from the adjective. The ending *-ιος* is like the English *-y*. Compare "snowing" and "snowy." 'Ο *ἐπιών ἄπρος*, literally "the on-coming bread," might mean the next loaf that should come on the table, but *ὁ ἐπιούσιος ἄπρος* would mean, not the *next*, but, if we had such a word, "*next-y* bread," i. e., bread that we expect continuously, continually, the constant supply of bread. If the point be pressed that *ἐπιούσιος* is a very unusual word, and unlikely to arise in the way now supposed, the answer is that it comes from a very common participle by means of a suffix that is very common. The participle is so common that it is even used substantively, *ἡμέρα* being understood, for "the next day," *ἐπιούσα*. To illustrate again from English, if one should coin the word "*freez-y*," it might seem strange, and might never be adopted into the language, but it would be perfectly intelligible, so long as we say "freez-ing."

3. The Old Syriac rendering connects, indirectly, *ἐπιούσιος* with the Hebrew *למחר*. If the Septuagint and later Greek versions had translated this Hebrew word by *ἐπιούσιος*, no one would ever have doubted the meaning of the latter, and a world of discussion would have been saved. No such translation is found, but we do find that this one Syriac version makes *ἐπιούσιος* the equivalent of a well-known equivalent of *למחר*. This does not amount to much, but it is something. So far as it goes, it serves to identify the rare Greek word with a very common Hebrew word.

4. The early date of the Old Syriac version ought to be taken into account. Bishop Westcott places it in the second century. The fact that we hear only of the Gospels in this version points to a very early origin. Is it, then, improbable that the version reaches back into the influence of tradition, and that the Syriac rendering gives us a traditional meaning?

5. We may, I think, go further, if we go carefully. I assume that the speech of the Jews in the time of Christ was bilingual—Aramaic, or early Jewish Syriac, and Greek. This matter is fully discussed by Professor Hadley in Smith's Bible Dictionary.¹ For our present purpose it is sufficient to take the case of Paul speaking to the Jews in Jerusalem, as described in Acts xxii. He at once gained the attention of his hearers by speaking in Aramaic ("Hebrew tongue"). They evidently expected to hear him speak Greek. It seems that they would have understood him in either language, but the Aramaic pleased them. This may have been because the Aramaic was their national and domestic tongue, and they were more familiar with it. If this was true of the multitude in their chief city, it would be emphatically true of

¹ Vol. ii. p. 1590 (American Edition).

the dwellers in Galilee, and the country districts generally. It must be, therefore, that Jesus largely used the Aramaic in his teachings. The Lord's Prayer certainly was spoken by him in Aramaic, and may also have been spoken in Greek.

In regard to the bilingual character of this Prayer, two suppositions are possible. (1) Two forms of the Prayer may have existed side by side from the first. Then if *ἐπιούσιος* was in the Greek form, *amīna*, or some modification of it, would very likely have been in the other; so that both words would come down together, and a very early Syriac translator of the Gospel would find his word supplied by tradition. (2) The other supposition is that the prayer in Aramaic was strictly the original, but that the translation into Greek was made in Palestine, while both languages were familiar. Now a large part of the mystery of *ἐπιούσιος*, viz., its isolation in the language, will vanish, if we think of it as itself a translation. Translators are inclined to coin words,¹ But if the Greek word is a translation, where shall we look for its original? I would not for a moment entertain the idea that it came from the Curetonian version, but why may it not at some earlier time have come from the Aramaic, or popular Syriac, word which, in meaning if not in form, was afterwards represented by the Curetonian *amīna*?

It is pleasant to think that the rendering "daily bread" is not far from the meaning of the Greek original, as interpreted by the early Syriac. It came to us, no doubt, from the Old Latin *cotidianum*, but this might come easily from the notion of continual. The affinity of "continual" and "daily" is well illustrated in the parallelism of the Received version of Psalm lxxii. 15.

"Prayer also shall be made for him *continually*,
And *daily* [Rev. all the day long] shall he be praised."

With this may be fitly joined, from a modern Jewish Prayer-Book, the closing words of The Grace after Meals—"Thanks for the food wherewith thou dost feed and sustain us *continually* [the original is תָּמִיד] every day and hour."

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II.

SEMITIC LITERARY NOTES.

A REVIEW of the products of recent Semitic study shows that there is not only no diminution, but on the contrary a steady increase of interest in the questions connected with Old Testament philology and criticism, and, in connection with the same and as a part of the same movement and endeavor, in the collateral and related lines of Semitic work. It may fairly be said, in re-

¹ The Septuagint abounds in new words, many of which, but not all, lived to find place in the New Testament.

spect to the variety of the results and the multiplicity of methods revealed in reaching them, that the past year has had no equal among the recent years of the revival of Semitic investigation.

Naturally the largest part of the material is connected with the Old Testament, and is important chiefly because of that fact. But in the reconstruction, of religious ideas and in the philological influence upon comparative religious study, important results have also been secured. In this connection it must be noted that the centre of the discussions in this department has changed, from the mere consideration of texts, manuscripts, and their interpretation, to the consideration of the ideas they represent, as in force at the time of their writing, and the bearing of this fact upon the natural history of religion. The Tell-el-Amarna tablets are a striking illustration of this fact. Important as they are in themselves, and interesting as affording a fair picture of the practices in vogue, of the relation of the Egyptian court to its subject dependencies, and of the diplomatic methods employed, the main question upon which they cast an almost decisive light is upon the possibility of extensive literary operations in Palestine and vicinity at that early period, among other peoples than those immediately concerned. To be sure, conservative scholars have hastened with a great many inferences to claim that their views have been confirmed, though it is a juster estimate to wait for more decisive data on some of the most contested points.

In America comparatively little has been produced that is either new or important, though there have been some notable advances made in the recognition and acceptance of the results of European scholarship. Germany continues to be the productive mother of the science, and to her we must look for our main results. French scholars have given us something too, but not very much. In England the battle rages most fiercely, because of the diversity of the conclusions which appear to be drawn from exactly the same facts. How this works out will appear in the examination of some of the more recent books.

The death of M. Renan removes from the ranks of Semitic scholars a figure who has laid the whole world under a large debt for his immense and erudite work in connection with the *Corpus*,—a work the magnitude of which only those who have carefully gone through it can fully appreciate. Although his position with reference to the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments was of the character described as “destructive” in the hands of experienced and well-trained men, their minds could not but feel a healthful impulse from contact with so ardent a nature as his. Renan was not only a critic, but a poet as well, and could not hold in check sufficiently for the purposes of the most enduring results in criticism his exuberant fancy and his restless and productive imagination. These two circumstances will always vitiate more or less the reliability of much that he wrote, but his suggestiveness and realistic appreciation of the genesis of religious ideas will always invest his books with an enduring charm. With familiarity his works lose their terrors for sober thinkers, just as the similar vagaries of Matthew Arnold are charming but harmless.

Perhaps the best symbol of the progress made in the past year is the appearance in English of a new edition of Schultz' OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY. Dr. Toy has justly remarked in the *New World* that this book is an example of "continuous and healthy evolution." He might have added, what is equally true, that it is an example of moderation and careful progress as opposed to unbalanced radicalism. Dr. Schultz' views with reference to the Hexateuch are now well known; though it is sufficient to say that his positions are yet in advance of the prevailing conservative American views. They are, however, in the main just, and are fairly representative of those of advanced conservatives. This work is perhaps as good an example as any of the change of base which we have already alluded to, namely, in the increasing preponderance given to the development of religious ideas and to the philological results as dependent and illustrative of these, rather than in themselves independent and conclusive evidence of historical setting and situation. His view of the relation of monotheism and prophecy is sound and fruitful, and it is this alone which can preserve the unity of the Israelitish religion. To be sure, the evidence is not always complete, but it is always suggestively forthcoming. His treatment of the religious ideas of the Old Testament is refreshing, in view of what we have been hearing so frequently of late concerning the character of the Jews and the real nature of their religious practices. It will be a healthful stimulus to Old Testament study with the right method prevailing in the acceptance of new ideas and the rejection of old ones.

Dr. Dillmann's KURZGEFASSTES EXEGETISCHES HANDBUCH ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT, DIE GENESIS is another noteworthy book that has recently appeared. The five preceding editions have been fruitful and helpful, but this seems to make considerable advances upon them in many ways which in themselves are minor, but on the whole quite extensive. He is still firm in his adherence to what is substantially the Grafian theory, though concessions seem inevitable, together with the final adoption of the practical consensus of scholars with reference to the analysis of the primary sources. The work is characterized by the same minuteness and painstaking care that was the most striking characteristic which was impressed upon his pupils in the lecture room and seminar.

The publication of the remaining fragments of Wellhausen, while adding a considerable bulk in material of various value, gives us nothing new with respect to his well-known position or influence. The same may be said of Reuss's INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT and Renan's HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. These are all parts of larger works, or continuations of old ones, which have been before the public a long time and are pretty generally known and understood.

The publication of Driver's INTRODUCTION seems to have been the beginning of a very considerable movement in England which for intensity has not been equalled by any recent discussion, unless it be that begun by Mr. Gore and his associates in the publication of "Lux Mundi" and the controversies which have grown out of it. This is especially interesting when we come to

Cheyne's book on the FOUNDERS OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM, and hear the words which he has for Driver with respect to the advance and attitude of scholars in England, and their relation to the great body of the uncritical members of the church. Briefly stated, he accuses Driver of withholding from the public his (Driver's) own views, which Cheyne alleges to be as advanced as his own while printing less radical ones, in order to retain the confidence and support of conservative minded people. Whether Professor Cheyne's charges be true or untrue, it is not less significant that they should be made, and should be made so earnestly and with so much strenuousness. Professor Cheyne has himself advanced with marvellous rapidity and apparently without fairly weighing all the evidence or employing the same reasoning at all times. The same spirit is manifest in his criticism of Professor Sayce, which we must allow to be in the main true and well taken. Whatever may be Dr. Sayce's abilities as an Assyrian scholar,—and he certainly does rank with the leaders,—it is yet true that there are many signs which reveal a too great eagerness to "defend" accepted ideas, rather than fairly represent the results of Assyrian scholarship and let them have whatever effect they will. There is a golden mean between Professor Smith's notorious contempt for the Assyrian material and Professor Sayce's anxiety to stave off supposed dangers to traditional views. By all means let us have all the material, but let us have it without prejudgment: as to what it must and shall prove. In this respect all of Sayce's work must be taken *cum grano*.

Cheyne's book will no doubt stir up other writers to reply. In his presentation of the work of American scholars we have another illustration of the singular inability of Englishmen to appreciate American conditions. Thus Dr. Briggs, of Union Seminary, and Professor Moore, of Andover Seminary, each of them receive a very much larger consideration than does Professor Toy, of Harvard, who in point of scholarship, and productive power, and original research has at the present moment no peer in America. This is not saying that from their relation to the American public, especially in the case of Professor Briggs, the former may not have been in the public eye more, but that the Harvard professor has been the most real and pregnant force in Semitic critical work in America for at least a dozen years or more.

In this connection we must note, in passing, Dr. Briggs' THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH. Here we have what perhaps is as fair a statement of the relation of the higher criticism to the divine character of the revelation to Israel as can be produced. Without yielding the ground to the naturalistic theory of development, he yet explains the growth of the ideas of the Old Testament, the Hexateuch in particular, and shows how it can be traced back to Moses himself, substantially, and may with perfect propriety be called Mosaic. This does not prevent his acceptance, for the most part, of the conclusions of other leading scholars in the world. It does, however, meet the scientific necessities of the case, and give what is at once a rational and yet an evangelical conception of the writings in question. This is not the place to go into details, or to state what objections may be fairly brought against Dr. Briggs' views where these are distinctly his own, but it is just to state

that this is to our judgment somewhere near the true line of deliverance, and will serve as a suggestive beginning for a larger development along the lines which Dr. Briggs has laid down.

The publication by the British Museum of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets deposited there is another one of the evidences of the worth of just such institutions. The work itself is handsome, and of great value because it enables Assyrian scholars everywhere to examine practically at first hand the original material. The importance of this discovery has recently been set forth in this magazine with great fulness. Probably no one discovery in recent years has had so great an influence in the adjustment of theories of Semitic national and linguistic development. In the light of these tablets, and of the state of international relations and civilization which they reveal, not a little of all that has been written in the past twenty-five years becomes ridiculous. It is but another of those admonitions which archæological science and effort is constantly giving to scholars not to be in too great haste in the formation of conclusions, since a day's work in the proper place may overturn whole half-centuries of conjecture. This occurrence both in the Old Testament and New Testament departments so very recently, should at least tend to eliminate the positive and final tone of some critics on the questions at issue. Pastors will find in the examination of this material much suggestion for both doctrinal and expository sermons which cannot but be very stimulating and interesting.

In this same connection one cannot but regret the unhappy differences between Messrs. Rassam and Budge, both eminent in Semitic scholarship, culminating in a libel suit against the latter which did not help the matter very much in its conclusions. The labor of securing the remains of valuable material from the Orient is at best attended with great hardship and sometimes peril. It is very unfortunate that some of the workers have been more anxious for their own reputations than that the material should find the light, and in this respect have followed the example of an American scientist who is said to have destroyed hundreds of valuable specimens in Colorado which he was unable to carry away with him, lest they should fall into the hands of rival experts in the same line. We have been told that hundreds of cuneiform tablets lie buried on the banks of the Euphrates, planted there by an American who proposes sometime to get them, but who, if he had been more devoted to pure science than to his own reputation, might have caused them to see the light long ere this.

In the June issue of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* there was an article of great interest, by Mr. William Simpson, on the "Tower of Babel and Birs Nimroud," which was very suggestive, and full of material for a further study of the Mesopotamian Tower Temples and of the interesting comparisons which he there presents. Mr. Simpson's own researches in China and India gave him abundant knowledge to draw from, and altogether this article is the most interesting thing we have seen on the subject.

A late book of the year, and one which is worthy of careful reading, is Klostermann's *DER PENTATEUCH*. Dr. August Klostermann is professor in

the University of Kiel, and his book is of a pungent and breezy character, especially the appendix to the first chapter, on the "Necessity of the Conjectural Criticism to Biblical Exegesis," in which, by the way, he adds an interesting little section to the Driver-Cheyne controversy, to which reference has already been made. He discusses with considerable vigor in his opening chapter the "Fundamental Mistakes of the Current Pentateuchal Criticism," and makes in the course of the same an earnest plea for his own literary historical method which is not without a certain force. He then discusses much of the stock material of this discussion, that on the Song of Moses having special interest, and finally lays down what he conceives to be the "Safe Starting-Point" (*Sichere Ausgangs-punkt*) in this criticism. It is a book well worthy of study, especially since the standpoint is not the conventional one in Pentateuchal criticism.

From the same author is the first of a series of Hebrew-German texts with Critical Notes, the subject being the "Deutero-Isaiah." The design of these little volumes is very good, and they are just the thing for students who are desirous of a manual of small compass in which a good text and German translation, together with notes of a helpful and useful character, are appended.

The second part (to *Epainos*) of Hatch and Redpath's CONCORDANCE TO THE SEPTUAGINT is out, and is a work of monumental industry and utility. Undoubtedly there is a very much larger use of the Septuagint to be made in the search after the Old Testament text, and such a concordance as this will help greatly toward it. Indeed a critical edition of the Septuagint itself, with notes and parallel readings from the Masoretic text, would be invaluable as a time saver and reference volume. The enormous labor requisite to this work can only be understood when it is remembered that in numberless cases the very words themselves are matters of grave doubt and discussion. The late Dr. Hatch's minute carefulness is everywhere evident, and it is regrettable that the remaining parts will not pass under his own eye.

The publication of the first number of the Johns Hopkins edition of the "Sacred Books of the Old Testament" in Hebrew is elsewhere noticed in these pages. We will only add that special interest awaits the forthcoming number on Ezekiel from Professor Toy, and that on the Psalms from Wellhausen.

In the recent numbers of the *Biblical World*, Professor T. H. Root, of the University of Chicago, has some very interesting articles on the "Self-Consciousness of Jesus" which are interesting ventures into a field that is by no means well worn, if indeed it may be thus spoken of at all. Jesus was a Jew, with the common consciousness of the Jewish nation of his time. We have recently pointed out that one of the important departments of the study of the Semitic life and development which must receive larger attention in the future was psychological. The part that the "Aryan" consciousness has played in the Indo-Germanic development has been abundantly commented upon, and a similar investigation is needed in the same direction of the Semitic consciousness. How far the self-consciousness of Jesus was Semitic, and how far, if at

all, Greek, will be a fruitful study. Mr. Root discusses the subject more especially from the philosophical point of view, but there is an important fund of data to be secured from the philological elements in the question.

An interesting experiment in a direction where the same will be greatly appreciated is Dr. Archibald Duff's OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY, which might better be called by its second title, however, *The History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B. C.* The plan to be carried out in this work, which by the way is to be followed by other volumes continuing the subject, is not merely to trace the history, genesis, and form of the documents through which this history has come down to us, but to reproduce, so far as may be, the subjective conditions under which the Hebrew of the period worked out his religious life. This is, it seems to us, very effectively done, though there is throughout a trace of the assumption and use of ideas which properly belong to the New Testament period. The David revelation which plays so important a part in Dr. Duff's scheme as leading up to the ideas of the prophet Amos is not to our thought so clearly established as it is here presented, though the idea in the main is undoubtedly soundly based. It will be interesting to see how the conclusions which are here set forth will be made to harmonize with the later books, and the progress of thought and the regular development of religious ideas still be preserved.

An instructive book on this general subject is Dr. George Matheson's DISTINCTIVE MESSAGES OF THE OLD RELIGIONS, which, though popularly written, has in it nevertheless some of the most suggestive ideas on the comparative religious development of the world we have seen anywhere. It seems more and more incredible that the religion of the Jews in particular, and of the Semitic peoples generally, should be absolutely unique and have no points of contact and assimilation with the remaining of the pre-Christian faiths. The universality of Christianity would seem to require a power which is at once able to overcome and embody whatever of permanent truth is lying dormant in the ancient faiths. Yet Christianity is a Semitic religion, and as an historical outgrowth from Judaism must have received not a little of its assimilative power from Judaism. This idea is further suggested when the progress of thought from the earlier to the later prophets can be clearly seen to be an advance from provincial or national religion to universal religion. Undoubtedly Greek thought and the Greek forms which Christianity assumed early in its history had much to do with the speedy and revolutionary acceptance of Christianity in the first three centuries. It is always to be remembered, however, that its progress was made as a variant from the religion of the Hebrews; the Romans at first hardly perceiving any difference between Christianity and Judaism. Indeed, had that difference been known and recognized, it is extremely doubtful if the gospel could have received so extensive a hearing as it did, or have found the immense opportunity for its full presentation which Paul everywhere enjoyed in the synagogues of the Jews.

Dr. Matheson says that the "Semite is distinguished from the Aryan by the predominance of the sense of mystery." And working from this notion

upward, he holds that the message of Judæa to the world is one of the "inwardness of the religious life," quite contrary to the prevailing opinion that it was chiefly a religion of ritual and external form. This conception is both right and wrong. In his earliest stages the Semite has no more spiritual conception of religion than the Aryan, while there are many things to indicate that he was bound by an external code which was rigorously imposed and enforced. Dr. Smith has abundantly shown this in his "Religion of the Semites." But the underlying idea of kinship between the worshipper and the deity gave an inwardness to the ceremonial which is decidedly unique when we examine how the conceptions of God and Man were evolved by other peoples. The great superiority of the Hebrews and the reason for their earlier development of spiritual religion are due to the fact that the national consciousness of sin apparently reached national recognition among them first, and with this came the ethical religious sense which set in motion the whole machinery of an organized religious life based upon sin. The great questions of critical research in the future will not deal so much with form as with matter. In Dr. Matheson's book there is a notable lack, namely, a discussion of the religion of Assyria and Chaldea, which he omits for the reason stated in the preface, that the material is hardly in shape to warrant any generalizing and he is unwilling to go into the region of conjecture where data are wanting. The spirit which prompted this omission is creditable, but in point of fact there is already sufficient material at hand for a reconstruction of the Assyrian religious life. The Izdubar epic, with its story of the flood, the prayers to the goddess Ishtar, the structure of the Assyrian pantheon with a classification of the gods and their duties, are not only suggestive, but constitute a fairly abundant quantity to warrant a history of the religious life and ideas of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Professor Sayce, we believe, has issued a small volume on the subject. But there is need that these ideas with a critical comparison of the same with the similar ideas of the Old Testament should find full and careful exposition. We venture to say that the spirit of the penitential psalms will be found as keenly sensitive and as sadly eloquent in some of the Assyrian prayers as anywhere in literature.

Another great need is a good but compact History of Arabic Literature. Arbuthnot's "Arabic Authors," which appeared a year or two ago, was well enough in its way, but by no means what is needed for students and others who wish a general survey of what Arabic literature has to offer to the literary student. This is especially true if we are to be compelled finally to revise our notions of Semitic sacrifice after the conceptions derived from modern bands of roving Bedouins, as Professor Smith seems to suggest. It will give great light certainly to the interpretation of many Old Testament customs which are now very greatly misunderstood.

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ARTICLE XII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY: Including the Fathers and the Chief Heretical Writers of the Ante-Nicene Period. For the Use of Students and General Readers. By Charles Thomas Crutwell, M. A., Rector of Kibworth, Leicester, and Rural Dean; author of "A History of Roman Literature." In two volumes. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1893. (Pp. xxvi, 685. 3½x6½.) \$6.00.

The first thing to be said of this treatise is that it is readable; and this, in view of much that has been written on the subject, is high praise. He who can so write of the church fathers as to induce men to read them and about them otherwise than from a sense of duty or to prove a position, does not simply make two leaves of grass to grow in place of one, but makes a conspicuous clump of verdure to grow with vigor in a rather barren soil. Mr. Crutwell deserves this credit. He has made some mistakes; he has depended too much upon the work of others, but his book is fresh and readable. He has taken the fathers down from their obscure pegs where in the thought of most people they hang in a monotonous and dusty row, and has made them appear like living men, who once had some vital relation to the age in which they lived, and may still affect our thought of living themes. It is to his credit, further, that he treats the writings of the fathers as literature: his interest is literary rather than dogmatic. True, he loses no opportunity to mention with at least sufficient emphasis the alleged early indications of episcopacy, as in his consideration of Irenæus, but in general his spirit is that of the historian, and not that of the advocate of a theory. In many of his conclusions he has followed Lightfoot, and, in our judgment, has done well in so doing.

The two volumes are paged continuously, and the chapters in the second volume are continued from the first; the division between the volumes is made for the sake of convenience alone. The make-up of the work indicates that the original plan was for a single volume and that the work slightly outgrew its intended limits. The beautiful heavy paper and the handsome appearance of the volumes appear in part to be the result of this enlarged plan. The work includes five books. First, following an introduction, is the book of the Apostolic Fathers, among whom he classes the author of the *Didache*, which he dates with some hesitation 90 A. D.; and Barnabas, whose epistle he regards as almost certainly genuine, and earlier than some of the New Testament writings, probably dating from about 75 A. D. Here, also, we have Pseudo-Clement, placed between 100 and 140, and of course Clement and Ignatius and Polycarp and also Papias and the Shepherd of Hermas. In the second

book, devoted to The Heretical Sects, we find *inter alia* the early apocryphal literature, in which class is included the newly discovered "Gospel of Peter," whose text is presented in full, in a careful translation. Book III. contains a consideration of the Apologists, among whom are classed not only Justin and Tatian and Irenæus, but Hegesippus, the Muratorian Fragment, and others less easily classified. Book IV. treats of the Alexandrian School, and Book V. of Latin Christianity, the whole bringing us well down to the Nicene period.

To find occasion for difference of opinion were easy, but needless and ungracious. Questions of authenticity, date, purpose, and interpretation are not easily answered. The period is too remote, and the works that have come down to us are many of them too fragmentary, and rest on too uncertain evidence, to give occasion for dogmatic statements concerning them. The author of this work seems to us to have been fair-minded and reasonably thorough. We hope that the book will meet a large sale, and that a cheaper edition in a single volume will bring it within the reach of many theological students and young ministers who now may feel constrained to deny themselves the profit and pleasure of owning it.

THE CREEDS AND PLATFORMS OF CONGREGATIONALISM. By Williston Walker, Ph. D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893. (Pp. 604. 4x6¼.) \$3.50.

In a day when the endless making of books is so manifest, and the press exhibits its unprecedented fecundity, it is no small thing to assert concerning a new book that it meets a long-felt want. Professor Walker's new book merits precisely this salutation, and more careful examination but strengthens the reader's happy first impression. Did the book contain nothing more than the text of the creeds and declarations, with all their quaint spelling and misprints, it would be most valuable; for many of these are inaccessible to the general student and the busy pastor. The historical setting which is given in each case, however, adds greatly to the value of the confessions, and makes the book one which it is difficult to imagine a pastor's allowing himself willingly to forego. It is to the student of the Congregational system what Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom" is to the general student.

The table of contents offers to the reader the text, and a discussion of the following: Robert Browne's Statement of Congregational Principles, 1582; the First and Second Confessions of the London-Amsterdam Church, dated 1589 and 1596; the Points of Difference between Congregationalism and the Church of England, 1603; the Seven Articles of 1617 and the Mayflower Compact of 1620; the Development of Covenant and Creed in the Salem Church, 1629-1665; the Covenant of the Charlestown-Boston Church, 1630; Hooker's Summary of Congregational Principles, 1645; the Windsor-Creed Covenant, 1647; the Cambridge Synod and Platform, 1646-1648; the Half-Way Covenant Decisions of 1657 and 1662; the Savoy Declaration, 1658; the Reforming Synod of 1679-1680, and its Confession of Faith; the Heads of Agreement, 1691, and Other Union Efforts of the Seventeenth Century;

the Massachusetts Proposals, 1705, and the Saybrook Platform, 1708; the Plan of Union, 1801; the English Declaration of 1833; the Burial Hill Declaration, and the Statement of Principles of Polity, 1865; the Constitution of the National Council and the Oberlin Declaration, 1871; and the Commission's Creed of 1883.

From the first to the last of these is a far cry; but the more carefully they are studied the more do the essential principles appear throughout unchanged. In the independence of the local church, it is important for Congregationalists to emphasize the sisterhood of the churches, and the essential unity of their faith in any given period, and it is no less important that the continuity of the body should be manifest, not in an unchanged symbol binding men to errors of past ages, but in the exhibition of consecutive statements of the faith of representative bodies, manifesting consistent adherence to certain fundamental principles which have remained unchanged while the churches have advanced in wisdom and in adaptation to changed conditions, under the guidance of the Spirit's progressive revelation of the truth. In proportion as these truths are understood and regarded, will the liberty and the safety of Congregationalism be apparent. As a contribution toward such an understanding of the real spirit of the Congregational body, the importance of Dr. Walker's work can hardly be rated too highly. It deserves a place between Dexter's "Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature" and a yet to be written but much needed work on the "History of New England Theology."

THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE, BEFORE A. D. 170. By W. M. Ramsey, M. A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen; author of "The Historical Geography of Asia Minor," etc. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Pp. 494. 3¼x6.) \$2.00.

This book contains two parts, of which the second consists of lectures delivered before the students of Mansfield College in 1892, and the first has been written to preface the lectures in their printed form. The first part follows the steps of Paul in the planting and visiting of the churches of Asia Minor; and the second deals with the rise and progress of the Church as an event in the history of the Roman Empire. The time covered by the first part is the years of Paul's ministry; the second part covers the century from 70, or more exactly from about 64, to 170 A. D.

It is not too much to say that this volume will prove indispensable to students who wish the latest information concerning the field of Paul's labors. To the wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject which the author shows, he has added a most careful study of the ground. At first following Lightfoot in regarding the Galatians to whom Paul addressed his epistle as "the Celtic people of the district popularly and generally known as Galatia," he came at length to the view which he now warmly advocates, that the Galatians addressed were the converts of a much wider area, including parts of Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia. This would cause us to read the epistle as addressed, not merely to the rural communities of Northern Galatia, but also,

and perhaps primarily, to the churches of Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. This is no new view, but Professor Ramsey brings to its support a fund of new argument based on his own researches; and his conclusions must be reckoned with by future students of the history and literature of the Apostolic Church.

The author also finds important matter bearing on the date of Acts, or at least the "Travel Document," contained in the latter part of it. He holds that the different sense in which the name Galatia was applied after the first part of the second century, forbids the view that this portion of Acts should have originated afterward in the interests of a union between two parties in the early Church.

The volume has still another value, in that it follows rigidly the methods of the latest criticism, whose results the author for some time accepted fully, but in the main tends to confirm the most conservative conclusions.

Only the very learned and the very ignorant will pass at once upon the conclusions of the book, which involve a most minute study of the geography and history of Asia Minor in the first and second centuries. Unquestionably it adds to our knowledge of the subject, and lays students under great obligations to the author.

THE BOOK OF JOB. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes by C. Siegfried, Professor in the University of Jena. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. Brünnow, Professor in the University of Heidelberg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1893. Part 17 of *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament. A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colors, with Notes by Eminent Biblical Scholars of Europe and America.* Edited by Paul Haupt, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Pp. 50. 4½x7¼.) \$1.00.

This volume is part of an undertaking which includes so strong a corps of contributors that we give the list entire.

Genesis: C. J. Ball, London. Exodus: Herbert E. Ryle, Cambridge. Leviticus: S. R. Driver and H. A. White, Oxford. Numbers: J. A. Paterson, Edinburgh. Deuteronomy: Geo. A. Smith, Aberdeen. Joshua: W. H. Bennett, London. Judges: Geo. F. Moore, Andover. Samuel: C. Budde, Strassburg. Kings: B. Stade, Giessen, and F. Schwally, Grossgerau. Isaiah: T. K. Cheyne, Oxford. Jeremiah: C. H. Cornill, Königsberg. Ezekiel: C. H. Toy, Cambridge, Mass. Hosea: A. Socin, Leipzig. Joel: Francis Brown, New York. Amos: John Taylor, Keswick. Obadiah: Andrew Harper, Melbourne. Jonah: Friedrich Delitzsch, Leipzig. Micah: J. F. McCurdy, Toronto. Nahum: Alfred Jeremias, Leipzig. Habakkuk: W. H. Ward, New York. Zephaniah: E. L. Curtis, New Haven. Haggai: G. A. Cooke, Oxford. Zechariah: W. R. Harper, Chicago. Malachi: C. G. Montefiore and I. Abrahams, London. Psalms: J. Wellhausen, Marburg. Proverbs was assigned to the late A. Müller of Halle; his substitute is not announced. Job: C. Siegfried, Jena. Song of Songs: Russell Martineau, London. Ruth: C. A. Briggs, New York. Lamentations: M. Jastrow, Jr., Philadelphia. Ec-

clesiastes: Paul Haupt, Baltimore. Esther: T. K. Abbott, Dublin. Daniel: A. Kamphausen, Bonn. Ezra-Nehemiah: H. Guthe, Leipzig. Chronicles: R. Kittel, Breslau. The list promises a high grade of excellence for the undertaking, and the sample before us is also a delight to the eye.

Parallel with these Hebrew texts, and based upon them, there are to be published new English translations of the various books.

The Editor is to be congratulated upon his very simple but effective "invention," by which different compositions are indicated by different colors. The passages are printed not with, but upon, ink of various colors. The color forms the background on which the text is printed in black. The result is a beautiful page, legible, soft to the eye, and yet showing perfectly the distinctions desired.

The book is printed upon heavy smooth paper. The page is large, broken into two columns, with generous margins. The text is left unpointed except in words otherwise ambiguous. The type in the body of the page is clear and good: but that in the footnotes and the "Critical Notes" at the end of the book, twenty pages, is smaller and not so clear.

The critical notes give the authority for the numerous variations from the Masoretic reading and pointing. They also aim to justify the editor in discarding now and then an emendation suggested by some commentator before him.

The text, to which the notes refer by page and line, contains signs indicating when a word or letter varies from the Masoretic text, whether on the basis of the version, or as a conjecture, or simply in pointing. Variation in verse ending is also indicated. "Hopelessly corrupt" lines are omitted with a frankness that is refreshing. Why should some translation or other be required when there is a moral certainty that it does not give the original meaning, and when even our keenest critics cannot restore the original? These signs usually indicate notes to correspond: but in a few cases there are no notes; moreover, when the reading adopted is the Masoretic reading, proposed emendations being discarded, the note to that effect is left unindicated. In these comparatively few instances there might well be some symbol to indicate that a note treats of the word. It is a question whether the greater definiteness gained by referring to the text by page, column, and line is not more than offset by the confusion involved by such a system. A student using another text and wishing to refer to Siegfried's notes must first find the place in the text, by chapter and verse, then try to forget the numbers, and refer to the notes by the place on the page.

The footnotes comprise short phrases that in the judgment of the Editor are not a part of the original composition—glosses upon the text. In some but not all cases there is an explanation in the notes.

The principal peculiarity of the work, and the one that furnishes to the whole enterprise the name of the "rainbow Bible," is the attempt to distinguish the different compositions and parts of composition as above described. Blue indicates parallel compositions; green, polemical interpolations directed

against the tendency of the poem; and red, correcting interpolations conforming the speeches of Job to the spirit of the orthodox doctrine of retribution. The blue passages are: vii. 1-10; x. 18-22; xii. 4-6; xiv. 1, 2; xiii. 28; xiv. 5, 7, 8-12, 14, 18-22; xvii. 11-16; xl. 6-xlii. 6. The red passages are: xii. 7; xiii. 1; xxi. 16-18; xxiv. 13-24; xxvii. 7-23. Green are: xxviii.; xxxii.-xxxvii.

For the arguments for these distinctions we must wait until the appearance of the translation. Doubtless the translation will also present the reasons for the numerous rearrangements of verses within chapters. The shuffling has been pretty thorough in chapters xiv. and xxix. The arrangement of chap. xiv. is as follows: xiv. 4, 3, 6, 13, 15-17, 1, 2; xiii. 28; xiv. 5, 7-12, 14, 18-22; of xxix.: 1-6, 19, 20, 7-11, 21-23, 12, 13, 15-17, 24, 25, 14, 18. Such modifications of the traditional order will demand justification. Is the new order satisfactory? How was it disturbed so seriously as appears in the Masoretic text?

LETTERS OF ASA GRAY. Edited by Jane Loring Gray. In two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1893. (Pp. 838. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.) \$4.00.

The publication of these letters will be welcomed alike by the scientific, the theological, and the general public. From boyhood to old age, the career of Dr. Gray is fraught with intense interest to all. Descended from Scotch Presbyterian stock from the north of Ireland, his childhood was spent in Central New York while it was yet a part of the frontier. His school education was limited to that of an academy which prepared for college, and to a four years' course in Fairfield Medical College, from which he was graduated at the age of twenty; but his interest in botany early brought him to the attention of the eminent Dr. Torrey, who was already at work upon his "Flora of North America." It was only after nine years of prolonged struggle and study that he was rewarded by an appointment as professor of botany at the organization of Michigan University, with leave of absence to spend a year in Europe. During this year's travel he formed that wide acquaintance with European botanists and other leaders of thought which became so serviceable during his later life.

Dr. Gray's strong religious bent was developed chiefly under the influence of Dr. and Mrs. Torrey, who were staunch Presbyterians. Throughout his life he was deeply interested in the religious questions which were agitating the world, and sought the sympathy and friendship of the eminent leaders of religious thought. One of the most conspicuous among these was Rev. R. W. Church, whose acquaintance was formed while he was still in Oxford, and who at the time of his death was dean of St. Paul, and a prominent candidate for a bishopric. The Christian public is even yet hardly aware of the great service rendered by Dr. Gray in breaking the force of the shock to which their inveterate associations were subjected in the development and spread of Darwinian ideas.

While Dr. Gray accepted the main views of Darwin, he did so upon a the-

istic basis, which he first, last, and everywhere defended with great dialectic skill and cogency of reasoning. Thus in his earliest preserved letter to Darwin in 1862, he writes to him in defence of design in nature, and draws arguments for design from Darwin's own instances, playfully adding, "You see I am determined to baptize ["The Origin of Species"], *volens, volens*, which will be its salvation. But if you will not have it done, it will be damned, I fear" (p. 480). Later he writes again, "The implication of a designing mind must bring with it a strong implication of design in matters where we could not directly prove it. If you grant an intelligent designer anywhere in nature, you may be confident that he has had something to do with the 'contrivances' in your orchids" (p. 485). Again, in writing to De Candolle, he remarks, "Under my hearty congratulations of Darwin for his striking contributions to teleology, there is a vein of petite malice, from my knowing well that he rejects the idea of design, while all the while he was bringing out the neatest illustrations of it!" (p. 498). Again he writes to Darwin, "I think your gradual way more likely than Heer's jumps. Apropos to Heer, you ask me if it is not impossible to imagine so many and nice coadaptations as we see in orchids being formed all by a chance blow. I reply, Yes, perfectly impossible to imagine (and much the same by any number of chance blows). So I turn the question back upon you. Is not the fact that the coadaptations are so nice next to a demonstration against their having been formed by chance blows at all, one or many? Here lies, I suppose, the difference between us. When you bring me up to this point, I feel the cold chill" (p. 508).

In a letter to Professor Dana in 1872 a single remark clearly brings out the fundamental question at issue in all the Darwinian argument concerning design,—a question which has of late become more prominent than ever before,—namely, How are you to account for variations occurring in such lines that the conditions of existence can select them, and lead on to specific results? Recently Herbert Spencer has made a vigorous attack upon the adequacy of "natural selection" because of the impossibility of chance variations affording any basis for progressive lines of development. The variations must show marks of design if they are adapted to preservation. Hence Dr. Gray's invulnerable conclusion, so elaborately illustrated and proved in the closing chapter of his "Darwiniana" (entitled "Evolutionary Teleology"), that "variations, however originated, are evidently not from without but from within—not physical but physiological" (p. 386). So, also, in the letter to Dana referred to, he wrote, "By the way, 'variation (inherent) in particular directions' is your idea and mine; but is very anti-Darwin" (p. 627). His repugnance to materialistic forms of evolution strikingly appears in a letter to Dean Church during his visit to England in 1869, "As to Exeter meeting of British Association, I am on the whole glad enough to keep away, especially from Darwinian discussions, in which I desire not to be at all 'mixed up' with the prevailing and peculiarly English materialistic, positivistic line of thought with which I have no sympathy, while in natural history I am a sort of Darwinian" (p. 592).

Our limits do not permit us to pursue the subject farther in this notice, but we cannot close without again emphasizing the great service which Professor Gray has rendered to Christian apologetics, and without commending anew to Christian teachers the invaluable Essays which he from time to time published in defence of his theistic views, and which are collected in the volume entitled "*Darwiniana*."¹ The publication of the present volumes containing his letters sheds much new light upon these discussions, and adds intense interest to all of Dr. Gray's writings. The careful perusal of the volumes is in itself a liberal education.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
By John H. Kerr, A. M., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Rock Island, Ill. With an Introductory Note by Professor Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D., of Princeton Theological Seminary. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1892. (Pp. xx, 333. 6¼x3¾.) \$1.50.

In this volume Mr. Kerr has done excellent service by putting together in compact form the main facts from which are to be inferred the authorship, date, character, and canonical standing of all the books of the New Testament. The volume shows evidence of the author's familiarity with the original sources of information and with the latest discussions of the subjects treated. His conclusions are conservative, the author seeing no reason to reject the authenticity or canonicity of any of the books of the New Testament. We could only wish that he had enlarged the book by twenty-five or thirty pages, allowing him to put the references to the early Christian literature which would direct the reader to the sources of original information. But as it is, one can find them by consulting indexes to the ante-Nicene literature which accompany the recent translations. Pastors desiring a compact and trustworthy reference book upon the subjects treated will find this of great value.

CHRISTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY. By Rev. John Thein. With an Introduction by Professor Charles G. Herbermann, LL. D. Second Edition. New York and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. (Pp. 576. 3¼x6½.)

CHRIST IN TYPE AND PROPHECY. By Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, Md. Same Publishers. (Pp. 485. 3½x6.)

These two recent works by Roman Catholic authors emphasize the common elements in our Christian faith, rather than those held exclusively by the body which they represent. Both are conservative and thoughtful. The work on Anthropology is largely scientific, and is a protest against materialism. In some places the author seems hardly to allow due weight to the evidence of his opponents, but his argument in the main will carry the assent of all who reject the theories of evolution adduced to account for man's origin and place in nature. The work on Prophecy shows a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, both Catholic and Protestant, American and foreign. It refers not only to Dillmann and De Wette and Delitzsch, but also to Robertson

¹ *Darwiniana: Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism.* New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1876.

Smith and W. H. Green and W. R. Harper and E. C. Bissell. It opposes not only Kuenen and Reuss, but also Riehm, who is far less rationalistic; but admits a development of prophecy, which it compares, not to the progress of vegetable and animal life upon the globe, but to the dawn and growing brightness of the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

SERMONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS FOR 1894. By the Monday Club. Nineteenth Series. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society. 1893. (Pp. 409. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x3 $\frac{3}{4}$.) \$1.25.

In noticing this volume we can do no more than reiterate the opinions expressed upon previous numbers. Mainly by the same authors, the series increases in value through the increased skill and experience of the contributors. The superior value of this method of treating the Sunday-school lessons, which enables the authors to emphasize in due proportion the main points of the passages under discussion, is evident at a glance, and becomes more and more manifest as one from year to year peruses these volumes.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES: A Guide to the Study of the Sunday-school Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, Diagrams. For 1894. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Robert Remington Doherty. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1893. (Pp. 396. 7x4 $\frac{3}{4}$.) \$1.25.

For the study of the Sunday-school lessons in detail the present volume is one of the best issued. The illustrations and maps are abundant and excellent, and the comments judicious, and helpful in every respect. It is, in fact, a cyclopædia in itself.

TEMPERANCE IN ALL NATIONS. History of the Cause in All Countries of the Globe; together with the Papers, Essays, Addresses, and Discussions of the World's Temperance Congress, held by the National Temperance Society, in Chicago, Ill., June, 1893. Edited by J. N. Stearns. In two volumes. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House. (Pp. 584, 434. 4x7.) \$5.00.

The first of these two volumes is historical; the second contains the papers presented at the Temperance Congress. The amount of information contained in the former, and of inspiration in the latter, is something surprising to the reader. The historical papers are by many authors, and are for the most part prepared on the ground, by men of unquestioned knowledge and ability. The value of these sketches is enhanced by reports from American Consuls in many lands on the present status of the temperance question. The papers presented at the Congress deal with so many phases of the question,—social, educational, legal, medical, reformatory, and religious,—that no one in the slightest degree interested in the liquor problem can fail to find in them food for thought, and material for effective work. The temperance advocate who fails to secure this work loses much that is available nowhere else.

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THE
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR E. J. WOLF, D. D., GETTYSBURG, PA.

THE very nature of Christianity warrants the assumption that it promotes the highest and fullest culture. It is not a mere ceremonial, a perfunctory ritual. It is a religion of ideas, of living truths. It is addressed to human thought. It aims at enlightenment and conviction. Its principles seek to impress themselves upon the mental and moral faculties. These ideas possess inherent energy and force. They stimulate thought. The Word of God is quick and powerful. It arouses intellectual action, starts inquiry, awakens reflection, provokes often to opposition, counter-argument, controversy, and in many ways exerts a drastic and enduring effect upon the whole intellectual life. Note the transcendent sweep of gospel themes! The revelation of God, the prospect of eternity, the exhibition of moral perfection, of infinite love, of omnipotence and omniscience, the incarnation, the atonement—themes tending to excite to their utmost tension the noblest powers of the human mind. A missionary who labored for a while on the Dark Continent tells of a rude African chief who was so deeply impressed by some of these mighty truths that he exclaimed, "I feel as if my head were too small, and would swell and break with these great subjects."

The essential duties of Christianity are of a nature to exercise the highest attributes of the mind. How can a man worship the Spirit without summoning his intellectual energies to a strain of eager and sustained attention? How can he live a life of faith without the thoughtful survey of unseen things, the apprehension of spiritual realities, and the contemplation of issues that compass eternity? How can he raise his prayer to the Most High without a degree of mental exertion that is most favorable to the growth of intellectual power and refinement? How can he cherish the sublime hopes which Christianity kindles and supports, and not find all his views broadened, all his endowments enlivened, and especially his imagination set aglow with heavenly fire? How can he offer supreme and adoring love to God, and not feel an excitement of the higher aspirations, while at the same time the mind is turned from grosser and lower pursuits, which do so much to fetter and degrade it? By this dominant principle of love, the soul experiences a transforming and refining power which in the nature of things must impart a new life to all the faculties, and have a quickening and ennobling effect upon every branch of culture. Christianity makes moral conformity to God a cardinal virtue. Thus the mind is moved not only to study the divine perfections, but to turn inward upon itself, to apprehend its godlike properties, to recognize its inherent dignity and its boundless capacities—a process of self-contemplation which results inevitably in the advancement of self-culture. What is designed primarily as a source of help and new life to the heart, becomes a means of strength and growth and polish to the intellect.

Christianity is peculiarly adapted to foster culture by the circumstance that it aims intrinsically at the development of the entire man. It stands alone in its appreciation of human nature as a whole. Every faculty in man has exalted and sacred worth. Every faculty is God-given, and attains the end of its creation only when it reaches the full measure of its

development. And the attainment of that goal is the avowed purpose of Christianity. It is content with nothing short of animating, disciplining, sanctifying every power. Proposing in the first instance the invigoration and normal expansion of the moral and religious parts, these so interblend with the rational and æsthetic, that any thorough training of the former imparts an impulse and quickening to all. The gospel not only gives peace to the conscience, it strengthens the will, enlightens the reason, refines the affections, kindles the imagination, educates the taste, exercises the memory. By proper self-abasement, on the one hand, by the sense of need, and childlike docility, which the spirit of the gospel begets, it creates in the mind a peculiar and ready susceptibility as the most favorable condition for the process of improvement. By the recognition of the divine element in man, on the other, the discovery of measureless possibilities, and the prospect of a life that runs parallel with and close to the life of God, it opens up the most powerful incentive for the fullest intellectual development.

Add yet to this the diffusive power of Christianity. As the leaven of the new life penetrates the entire organism, it vivifies the whole man, it excites to endeavor every faculty; as it seeks to pervade the individual, so its spirit of aggressiveness strives to bring the whole race under the inspiring action of Christian principle. It aims to impart a new life to the world. Kindled by the missionary flame, Christians go forth to communicate the knowledge of salvation. They are not only disciples of the truth. They are witnesses of the truth. They are set for its dissemination. It is their calling to make the all-awakening gospel the common property of mankind, and by doing this they become the pioneers of universal culture. The action and reaction generated in men's minds by the cause of missions offer an interesting phase of the advantage which culture has reaped from Christianity. The very endeavor to spread exalted and saving truth has a surprising

reflex influence upon those so engaged. A thorough knowledge of the doctrines to be disseminated is a primary requisite. The acquisition of this knowledge for so lofty an aim creates enthusiasm in the contemplation of truth and in the study of man, and enthusiasm for truth and for man is the mainspring of all liberal culture. The effect of the truth on those to whom it is brought, as has been already noted, cannot be divorced from a certain momentum in the mind. The preached word stirs up thought, and even with those who offer resistance it calls forth intellectual effort. The antagonisms which the gospel has provoked, and the controversies which it has elicited, have in all ages impelled men to intellectual labor, stimulated speculative and philosophical studies, and brought into service the keenest mental weapons.

Let us, furthermore, not overlook here the intercourse of different nations and widely removed countries which Christian missions have brought about. Consider what an exchange of ideas has thus been effected, what a transfusion of literary treasures has been derived, and what an impetus this must always give to liberal and scientific pursuits. The commerce of thought, like the commerce of material products, owes an unspeakable debt to the missionaries of the Cross.

Thus any one who understands the intrinsic nature of Christianity must recognize in its principles the best foundation, the strongest incentives, the soundest methods, and the highest standard of human culture. And were the church to begin to-day her steady and triumphant march over the earth, we should anticipate from what is clearly known of her teachings and tendencies, that her progress would be marked by a pathway of light, and that her advent or her absence would determine the refinement or the barbarism which distinguishes a nation. Both the genius of Christianity and its own necessities forbid its neglect of the interests of culture. The greatest and the most comprehensive intellectual and moral force that has ever appeared among men must impart a powerful

momentum to the training, ennobling, and refining of the human mind. Everything points *a priori* to that conclusion.

But, though the conclusion be irresistible, we are not left to such a process of reasoning to show what the church could, would, or must do. The indicative mood and the past tense clearly shows what the church has accomplished in this respect. A brief survey of undisputed facts makes the revelation that the History of Christianity is the History of Culture; that the church and the school-house stand in close proximity; that since the downfall of the institutions of classic antiquity all culture worthy of the name owes its rise, its progress, and its highest achievement, to the spirit and toil of the Christian church.

Because the gospel is peculiar in addressing itself to the untutored, it has often been reproached with hostility to letters. It has been termed the religion of the uneducated. It has at times repelled the wise of this world. But why does it approach the unlettered, except to lift them from their low stage of barbarism, to soften their rudeness, and to implant within them the seeds of a new life which contain the principles of all culture? Ancient paganism held the chasm which separated the barbarians from the polished Græco-Roman world to be the effect of an original difference of nature, and therefore doomed to remain impassable, but the gospel not only proposed to bridge the chasm, but to raise the savage tribes to civilization and to refine them even beyond the Greek and Roman. Its sympathy for the ruder and coarser elements of society, therefore, only attests its enthusiasm for the widest diffusion of mental and moral improvement.

A signal illustration of this meets us in the fourth century at Constantinople, where the eloquent Chrysostom had a church assigned for the use of the Goths, in which the Bible was translated to them and sermons preached in their vernacular. While the conceited Byzantians looked with scorn upon these barbarians, a cultured Christian bishop pointed out to

them, in the example before their eyes, "the transforming and plastic power of Christianity over the whole of human nature."

It was charged by Celsus, that, if all behaved like the Christians, the emperor would be left without an army, the Roman Empire would fall a prey to the wildest barbarians, and consequently all culture would become extinct. To which Origen replied: "If all did as I do, then the barbarians also would receive the divine word, and become the most moral and gentle of men." Christianity would subdue the rudeness of the savage stock, and nurture and mould them into civilized peoples.

The gospel made its first appearance among the most cultured races. Its great champion stood upon Mars Hill addressing the philosophers of Athens, surrounded by the most splendid monuments of Grecian art. Instead of shrinking from the encounter with the highest forms of intellectual development ever known, or antagonizing the culture of the age which confronted them in the learned cities of Asia Minor and Europe, the apostles intuitively recognized its merits, and, permeating its forms with a new life, they appropriated the treasures of Greek and Roman culture for the service of the church. As soon as the supernatural guidance of the Christian community came to an end through the death of the apostles, the need of utilizing scientific attainments was generally acknowledged. An Irenæus in the second century declared that Christianity could nowhere long maintain itself with purity, unless it entered deep into the whole intellectual development of the people, and unless, along with the divine life proceeding from it, it gave at the same time an impulse to all human culture. Clement of Alexandria said: "He who would have his thoughts enlightened by the power of God must already have accustomed himself to philosophize on spiritual things," i. e., he must have logical training. The second century witnessed in Alexandria a school for the religious instruction of educated pagans,—a school marked by

a strong intellectual tendency, whose teachers aimed at inculcating the faith in such a way as to stand the test of scientific scrutiny. They had received a philosophical training; and, as they had learned Greeks for their catechumens, they were charged not to be shy of much learning, but to gather from every quarter what would be to the advantage of their pupils. Men of Greek discipline, it was felt, must be taught by men of universal culture, who could employ the best intellectual skill in the defence and enforcement of Christian truth. The teachers of the church must be familiar with Grecian philosophy "for the very purpose of pointing out to the educated pagans its errors and its insufficiency."

In the Syrian church a powerful impetus was given to intellectual activity by the zeal of the learned presbyters of Antioch in diffusing a taste for the thorough study of the Scriptures, and among the young candidates for the ministry it was a common practice to frequent the schools of general education at Athens, Alexandria, and elsewhere. Afterwards they would pursue the study of ancient literature, and then, often in retirement or in the society of monks, by silent contemplation and the study of the Scriptures, prepare themselves for the spiritual office.

Thus in its infancy, and in the face of the opposition and scorn of all the cultured elements of the period, the church was the nurse of liberal studies. And the institutions founded by her were then already recognized as bestowing on their education a care and a thoroughness, in marked contrast with the vanity and love of display which were among the first lessons in the schools of the sophists. When the cross had in the course of a few centuries won to its sway the most enlightened nations of antiquity, and had assimilated and reanimated their richest intellectual products, its further progress was opposed by the enormous mass of barbarism which had overturned the civilization of the classic world, and converted Europe into a howling wilderness. After the vast inundations

of Gothic, Vandal, and Hunnic paganism, there remained only a universal chaos of mind and morals. Upon this vast, rude, and formless mass, the church now laid her moulding hand, and by the slow but effectual process of her missionary, educational, and humanizing forces she created first the chivalrous nations of the Middle Ages, and later on, by the action of the same subtle and powerful agencies, she lifted them gradually to the high summits of modern civilization and culture. That the mighty states of Europe have sprung from the barbarians, no one questions. That the prime and most potent factor in this transmutation was the Christian church, is the unchallenged testimony of history. The church has proved the civilizer of the fierce barbarian. She has been the school-master of the world. The first men to represent even the elements of culture among these rude and savage nations were the missionaries sent among them for the establishment of Christianity. No previously existing form of culture springing from some other root being found among them, the seeds of the gospel which they scattered furnished the sole root and vital sap from which have grown up the splendid institutions which are the pride of the modern world.

The starting-point of all intellectual progress is a written language. Christianity as a religion of ideas, a system of truth, requires, first of all, a vehicle for conveying an intelligent and permanent exhibition of its principles. The barbarians possessed no written tongue. Hence, the first requisites of their calling constrained the missionaries to invent an alphabet, to construct a grammar, and organize a language for each of the barbarian races.

In Italy and France, it is well known, the Latin remained the basis of the dialects spoken by the races which settled those countries, but the first trace of written speech among the Germans is the invention of a Gothic alphabet, of twenty-four letters, by Ulfilas, a missionary among the fierce tribes on the Danube in the fourth century. Of St. Patrick, the

famous saint of Ireland, it is recorded that he "not only infused into his monks the love of learning," but that he gave the people "the first means of all culture by composing an alphabet for the Irish language." The same service was done for the Slavs, a few centuries later, by the missionary Cyril. Further examples could readily be adduced from other nations, whose rude and imperfect idiom, incapable of communicating spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated into the higher forms of written speech by the genius of the missionary, and who thus received the first condition of intellectual training. The origin of European languages is found in the history of Christian missions. "The further we go back in time the more closely connected is the history of language and civilization with the history of the Bible." Christians, it must be remembered, boast a book, the book of books, the book of life, a volume that holds God's truth, of which God is himself the author. This book the church has from her primitive days prized as an invaluable treasure, and to make its contents universally accessible is her specific and avowed mission. It was a marked feature of the persecutions to get hold of the sacred writings which distinguished the Christians. These people were known to have Scriptures which they held in special veneration, and to be deprived of which would be felt as a serious blow. By the tedious process of copying, their number was multiplied to sixty thousand before the end of the second century. Believers were admonished not to rest satisfied with what they heard in the churches, but to read with their families at home. It was considered the peculiar task of Christian mothers to make a constant study of the Scriptures, so as to make their children early acquainted with the oracles of God. Christians have always been a reading class, and the impetus given the interests of culture by their unflagging determination to spread the contents of the divine volume can never be fully measured. How can the Scriptures be circulated among a people who have no language

sufficiently developed to convey and preserve its truths? How can they understand them unless they first receive the rudiments of an education and the beginnings of mental development? How can they sing the praises of the Redeemer except in terms capable of expressing refined and lofty ideas? The rude barbarian must be taught to think. He must learn to read—if Christianity is to become his faith.

The basis of culture having been laid in a language, and the people having acquired the art of reading and understanding it, the sacred book in their mother tongue was put into their hands. The most ancient monument of the Teutonic languages is Ulfilas' translation of the Bible. All through the twilight of German and Scandinavian civilization this is the one volume that ever turns up to the eye of the antiquarian. St. Cyril repeated this stupendous task of translating the Sacred Scriptures for the Slavonians. Where, in those ages, complete translations into the vernacular were impracticable, Christian ideas were still imparted to the people through various adaptations of the Scriptures to their vulgar dialect; and it is with these metrical versions and popular adaptations that the national literature of the German tribes began. The translation of the Bible, itself a superb literary achievement, gave in this way a most powerful influence to the elevation of the barbarians. The simultaneous history of missions and of culture repeated itself in Russia. No sooner had the conversion of these rude people been effected, than schools were established, and both the alphabet of Cyril and his translation of the Bible were used for Christian instruction. With the founding of churches and schools went hand in hand the work of translating religious and theological books from the Greek into the Slavonian tongue, and these constitute the dawn of Russian letters.

But the church was not content to give a language and a book. The same interests and incentives which had furnished these proceeded also to establish institutions for the

promotion of intellectual pursuits. The founders of Christianity became, all over Europe through the Middle Ages, the founders and directors of schools, and for a period of fifteen hundred years the ministers at the altar stand the pioneers in educational work. To teach all nations was the final charge to the little group of disciples, and history is a witness to the fidelity with which, notwithstanding intervals of declension, they have observed the commission. Everywhere in Europe the church and the school-house have raised their walls together, combining often to form one grand architectural structure. And while in this country the independence of church and state has rendered less apparent the vital connection between our religion and our general educational system, yet no one acquainted with the history of our colleges and the growth of our common schools need be told that, our own land offers, with few exceptions, hardly anything worthy of the name educational that does not owe its establishment to the spirit, the enterprise, the intelligence, and the liberality of the Christian church.

The genetic connection between Christianity and the cultivation of the intellect becomes more obvious the further back we go. After the evangelization of Ireland, by St. Patrick, that island became the seat of monasteries and missionary schools which acquired renown over the world for their study of the Scriptures and their pursuit of the sciences, according to the standard of those early times. "From these monasteries proceeded both the conversion and the culture of the people." Many young Englishmen in the seventh century resorted to these schools, which offered them not only all the instruction in the various branches of knowledge then to be obtained, but furnished them at the same time also subsistence and books. Such was the enthusiasm kindled in England by the books and science which were obtained from the Irish monasteries, that merchant vessels were sent to Gaul and to Rome to transport books, and especially Bibles, to England.

But the religious zeal of the ecclesiastics would not suffer them to remain in their cloisters to teach such as would knock at their doors for knowledge. Acquiring the languages of surrounding nations, they passed over country and city, enlightening all classes, and setting the laity and the clergy to the reading of the Scriptures. Numbers of the educated Irish and Scotch monks crossed over to the Continent, with a book chest as their only luggage, to carry Christianity and the various branches of knowledge to the untutored Frankish nations. And thus throughout Germany, France, and Spain, provision was made by the church, in the seventh century, for the instruction of youths. Institutions were founded primarily for the training of a native clergy, but they proved fountains of instruction and training for the people. A great momentum to general enlightenment would indeed have been given, had their work been confined to the preparation of missionaries, who in their turn became the educators of the rude people, but they provided for this also directly by the general instruction of youth. A scholarly archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, in connection with the learned Abbot Hadrian, has the honor of having made the first general effort for the advancement of culture in England. They founded schools in which, besides Latin, Greek, and grammar, instruction in mathematics and music was also given. From these schools went forth many who spoke Greek and Latin like their mother-tongue, among whom we must mention Bede, the venerable, who is known *par excellence* as the teacher of England, who from his seventh year never left his monastery, who trained a generation of the church teachers of his own country, and many of other countries, who spent the last two weeks of his life in translating the Gospel of John into Anglo-Saxon, and who was engaged in the instruction of his pupils to his last dying breath. Egbert, a learned disciple of his, superintended the famous school of York, where instruction was given in all the then existing branches of knowledge. This

school in turn produced an Alcuin, the teacher of his times, whom Charlemagne selected to supervise his vast scheme of popular education for the empire. Just before this period, Isidore, a learned ecclesiastic, had scattered in Spain the seeds of scientific and theological culture which continued to thrive long after the Saracen conquest. And everywhere on the Continent the same spirit of the church occupied itself in promoting intellectual advancement. The work of culture was united with that of christianization—not only in the first stage of a nation's conversion, but ever and uniformly they are found side by side in all stages. When the one interest languishes, so does the other. When evangelization is zealously prosecuted, so is education. From the monasteries founded by Boniface in Germany proceeded the general enlightenment of the people. Monks and nuns from England were introduced into these, "who brought with them various arts and sciences, and books of instruction." His contemporary, Gregory of Utrecht, founded a school which attained such celebrity that boys from England, France, Bavaria, Friesland, Suabia, and Saxony were sent there to be educated. Even in the sixth century the Franks of every rank had committed their sons to St. Columban for an education. The successors of these pioneers followed in their steps, and for centuries the education of youths was in their hands.

Great princes like Charlemagne and Alfred recognized the power of Christian education as a civilizing force, and encouraged the founding of monasteries as being peculiarly adapted for this purpose. The bishops and the parochial clergy were enjoined to found schools for giving instruction in other sciences as well as in the Scriptures. Charlemagne gathered around him a galaxy of learned monastics from England, Ireland, Spain, and Italy, established a school in the palace for the youth of the nobility, and the great monarch himself became one of the most diligent pupils. The course of instruction embraced the exposition of the Scriptures, gram-

mar, ancient literature, and astronomy. He required his Saxon captives to attend the Frankish monasteries, so that after having received a suitable training they might return to lift their own people from their deep ignorance. And of the monastery which these Saxons on their return founded on their native soil, it is said that "many young men of noble parentage applied for admission into it, and many boys were placed there to be educated." And this could be said in general of all the famous monasteries that flourished from the eighth to the twelfth century. It was his personal experience of the power of the gospel to awaken mental development in all directions, that kindled the zeal of Alfred for the promotion of learning among his people. And as ecclesiastics were the only men of his day who could lay claim to liberal training, he summoned these around him from the cloisters of his own realm, and from those of Ireland, Wales, France, and Germany to lay the foundations of Anglo-Saxon culture. Like Charlemagne, he subjected himself to a course of liberal study under the tuition of learned and pious monks, while in his plans for general education it is claimed he even surpassed the great German. In the schools which were to be everywhere planted, all should learn to read and write in English and be instructed out of English books. How close the sympathy between the interests of culture and of piety is here again attested by the project which this Christian monarch formed, of having the Word of God translated into the vernacular.

When the subsequent ravages of the Danes once more frustrated all these noble endeavors, it was again a prelate of the church, Ethelwold of Winchester, who took the initiative in advancing schools and promoting a vernacular Anglo-Saxon literature. Conjointly with him labored another Anglo-Saxon monk, Aelfric, whose contributions to education won for him the title of "Grammaticus." For the use of the forty monasteries which the king had founded at their instance, this

learned ecclesiastic constructed a Saxon grammar and glossary, a Latin text-book, and, besides, a number of homilies, translated most of the historical books of the Old Testament into Anglo-Saxon, and made earnest exertion for their circulation among the people. His writings became the model of Anglo-Saxon prose. The German monks during the same period were busy in making paraphrases of the Psalms, and composing German versions of parts of the Bible. As early as the ninth century Otffried, a monk in Alsace, made a Frankish poetical version of the Gospel narrative, aggregating fifteen thousand verses, which were to be sung with the harp. The religious houses became in many respects the sole fountains of culture, the exclusive seats of literary activity. Literature found here an asylum from a rudeness and vandalism that threatened its total destruction. Whatever literary treasures from either classical or patristic authors survived the successive inundations of barbarism were here carefully collected, sacredly preserved, scrupulously transcribed, and faithfully handed down to posterity. All that remains to-day of ancient classic lore, we owe to the liberal taste, scientific activity, and literary devotion of the monks. Even Gibbon, makes the admission that "the curiosity or zeal of learned solitaries has cultivated the profane as well as the ecclesiastical sciences; and posterity must gratefully acknowledge that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens." They wandered sometimes from Chrysostom and Augustine to Virgil and Homer. The rich mediæval libraries were found within the walls of the cloisters. That at St. Gall was one of the largest in the world. There was a large number of classical works, these monks having excelled both in copying them and in the artistic execution of this work.

What a mistake to imagine that monastic institutions confined instruction to theological science. All the great churchmen aimed to make them centres of light in the Eryp-

tian darkness that prevailed everywhere. The candidates for the sacred office, it was always understood, must have broad and thorough culture. The exposition and enforcement of the truth requires training in the liberal arts by which the human mind can be most effectually influenced. And where the faith taught encounters intellectual opposition, knowledge of the sciences and of history are prime prerequisites: Specious error must be distinguished from truth, the inadequacy of opposing systems must be so demonstrated as to compel acquiescence and surrender on the part of their votaries. Philosophy had been esteemed in the early church as the wall and hedge of the vineyard. And so it came again and again to be realized that philosophical studies and scientific learning were indispensable to the interests of the church. Some of the grandest monuments of the human intellect arose from the necessity felt by the scholastics of unfolding and vindicating scientifically the Christian dogmas.

The high stage of culture attained by the Moors, who were themselves indebted to Nestorian monks for their first love of letters, impelled the mediæval church to follow the example of the Greeks in appropriating science as a means of spreading the gospel and checking the progress of Islam. Hellenic paganism had been thus overthrown by the Alexandrian school, and men of Christian zeal felt that scientific weapons might shiver the armor that encased this monster of error. From the idea of writing a book to demonstrate to the infidels the truth of Christianity, Raymond of Lull was led to the idea of a universal science. But the Saracens could not be approached with any language but the Arabic. The next step was to urge upon the authorities the establishment of foundations for the study of Arabic as well as other languages spoken by infidel nations. The Council of Vienne in 1311 was accordingly moved by missionary zeal to provide professorships of the Oriental languages,—Arabic, Chaldee, and Hebrew,—especially at the universities of Paris, Oxford,

and Salamanca. Contemporary with Raymond was Roger Bacon, who advocated the study of the Old and New Testaments in the original text, and devised a universal grammar by means of which any man could gain sufficient knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to understand the Scriptures in each of these tongues. Like Raymond, Bacon was possessed of a zeal equally intense for the cause of faith and the interests of reason and science. The historian calls him "a star of the first magnitude." His true greatness appears in his marvellous breadth of learning. "He trod the whole circle."

Thus we see the interests of missions uniting with the translations and expositions of the Bible the conditions of all thorough culture in fostering linguistic studies. What they have jointly done for the national languages of Europe would offer material for a large and important volume. While in times of barbaric rudeness the Christian priesthood was far from being always learned, yet it has been on the whole a distinguishing feature of Christianity that it was represented by an educated clergy, with whom the priesthood of no other religion was ever able to cope, and the superiority of Christian missionaries in knowledge and culture made such impressions upon the ignorant pagans that they often believed them possessed of supernatural powers.

The church, again, has always felt called to prosecute the work of educating youth as well as that of training preachers—whose very office is that of teaching the ignorant. The Master who commanded, "Go teach all nations," said likewise, "Suffer the little children to come unto me." No better age could be urged for the benign work of the cloister. No better period for the reception of divine things. Orphans were received gratuitously. The superintendence of their education was entrusted to persons of years and experience, and if a familiar knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was made one of the first objects, we challenge any one to produce a better form of mental discipline.

It is surprising to see how here again the interests and the mission of the church coalesce. How nearly the education of the young and the multiplication of ministers become in the end one and the same work. By the education of youth the church procured the very material out of which to train her clergy. The first trace of any thought of culture among the Anglo-Saxons was the purchase of some fair-haired, noble-looking boys in the slave-market of Rome by a priest who intended to educate them and send them back as missionaries to their own people. Ansgar, the apostle of the North, laid the foundations of Christianity, of civilization, and of culture, in the borders of Denmark, with a school of twelve boys, whom he first purchased, and then educated to be the teachers of their country. Of Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs in the tenth century, a man of indomitable zeal for everything that could further the advancement of the people, it is said that he selected thirty-five hundred young men, to whose Christian education he devoted himself, and from whom he endeavored to train up teachers for the nation. "He took pains," says Neander, "to instruct the very children in reading and writing and to make them understand what they read." Among the Poles, Otho of Bamberg, the missionary bishop, turned his high intellectual attainments to good account by opening a school, and receiving under his care the children of many eminent families. This bishop, like many others of his order, was obliged through his extensive knowledge and superior training to serve the secular government in important embassies and other matters of state. In fact, the intellectual skill, the varied learning, the knowledge of languages, etc., have made ecclesiastics the trusted and all-powerful advisers of kings from the days of Charlemagne. It is a great error to suppose that only religious instruction was imparted by the ecclesiastics. The monasteries were the seats alike of secular and sacred education. The synods (of the ninth century) urged the establishment of public schools in which it was provided religious

and secular knowledge should grow together. At Fulda, for instance, which remained for ages the fountain of German culture, the study of letters was zealously promoted. Servatus Lupus, in the ninth century, procured from Rome manuscripts of the ancient Roman authors—and through these he became eminent not only for classical learning, but for uncommon mental discipline, logical acumen, lucid exposition, and great mastery of theological and philosophical questions.

When a new spiritual life emerged from the darkness and disorder of the *seculum obscurum*, it was priests like Abbo of Fleury and Gerbert who united their endeavors to excite a new intellectual life in France, laboring earnestly for the advancement of science and the diffusion of a taste for letters. The Abbacy of Fleury and the Bishop's School at Rheims became rivals for the restoration of literary culture in France. Thence it spread to Chartres, where Fulbert, its bishop, directed a flourishing school "in which was given a large variety of preliminary instruction in different sciences, and which was visited by young men from the remotest parts."

A century later, it is said of Anselm, a man of profound speculative intellect, that he gave his personal attention to superintending the education of youth in the monastery at Bec, that he excited in them an interest in the study of Virgil and other ancient authors, and that he interrupted his philosophical studies in order to teach boys to decline.

The zeal for science which was kindled among the clergy of France by Berengar, a canonical priest, about the same time, is said to have reached all over the kingdom. Youths from all parts gathered around him, and to such as were poor he furnished the means of support. And Lanfranc, who preceded Anselm in the monastery of Bec and the see of Canterbury, and who was the soul of the English conquest, was famed all through the Middle Ages as a teacher and author, converting his monastery into a seat for the revival of the liberal arts and the restoration of scientific culture. We find

also at an early day even country priests enjoined to pay attention to schools, and to labor for the elevation of the rude masses by general instruction.

The church never lost sight of her primary function as a teacher. The apostles of Him who is the Truth stand forth as the learned men of successive ages, the advance guard of intellectual progress. And it is a touching story, when outside of the church reigned total darkness, to read of missionaries subsisting on herbs and the bark of trees, and often destitute of adequate clothing, engaged in imparting the elements of an education to the barbarians.

Scarcely had the missionary work of the church been completed in Europe, when the heretics began to arise, and through these the hierarchy was again called to promote the interests of culture. Heretics are commonly distinguished by intellectual acuteness and activity, and they stimulate the pursuit of letters by making them an instrument of propagandism. The Catharists, for instance, persuaded of the value of a religious education, took the daughters of indigent noblemen and educated them gratuitously, thus winning them over to their doctrines, and through them disseminating their tenets among the higher ranks. To counteract this anti-hierarchical influence, the Dominicans, who had ardently given themselves to scientific pursuits for the purpose of reclaiming the bible-reading heretics, erected a convent right in the midst of the Catharist movement, especially for the daughters of the nobility.

The connection of the hierarchy with the interests of culture throughout the entire mediæval period is beyond dispute. Century after century the church furnished everything worthy of the name of scientific attainments or the liberal arts. Outside her pale, excepting the Moors of Spain, there was no culture. Blot out the luminaries of the church, and there remains for ages a starless vault of darkness over mankind. Time would fail us even to name the learned monks who in successive centuries devoted years of quiet leisure to literary

pursuits, who gave the impulse to a general diffusion of existing science, who shrank from no sacrifice necessary to master the languages of different countries, and to transplant among their uncivilized people the forms of culture which they had acquired, and who, when the great universities arose, eclipsed by their intellectual splendor the proud professors who had been airing their contempt for the friars of the cloister.

The precursors of the Reformation fully sustained the prestige of the church on this point. Gerson and his collaborators were men of enlarged views and classic culture, the intellectual leaders of the day. Nicholas of Clemangis was the great light of learning in the University of Paris. Jerome of Prague was one of the few Bohemian knights distinguished by their zeal for science and literary culture.

The Reformers not only stood in the front rank of the culture of their day, but their services in behalf of education are among their strongest claims to the gratitude of the modern world. The moment Luther was able to organize his reforming work, he made provision for the founding of schools. Melancthon's attainments and pedagogic labors won for him the title "Preceptor Germaniæ." He is the founder of the learned schools of Germany. To Calvin, Geneva was as much indebted for a new education as for a restored faith, and what John Knox did for Scotland in the way of schools is one of the most familiar pages of the Reformation.

This article is confined to a single aspect of the debt which culture owes to Christianity. By proofs equally indubitable and illustrative it can be shown that all the liberal arts—music, poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture—had their birth in modern ages in the bosom of the church, and received their inspiration, their infant nursing, their development, their guardianship, and their patronage, from the same holy mother.

"Siloa's brook, that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God,"

has opened a richer and a more exhilarating fountain to the muses than that of the far-famed Pierian spring.

ARTICLE II.

THE ADAPTATIONS OF NATURE TO THE HIGHEST WANTS OF MAN.

BY PROFESSOR G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, OBERLIN, OHIO.

The Moral Paradoxes of Theism.

TO the end of time it will be difficult to maintain belief in the omnipotence of God while holding fast to confidence in his wisdom and goodness; for, disguise it as we may, there is an enormous aggregate of natural evil in the world, while the existence of the smallest amount would seem either to compromise the character of the Creator or to contradict the infinity of his power. Indeed so numerous are natural evils, that, if one concentrates his attention upon them, it requires no small effort to escape the morbid sensitiveness which characterizes the pessimist, and leads him to ask, in despair, whether life is worth living. So far as personal comfort of mind is concerned, it makes little difference which horn of the dilemma the pessimistic philosopher accepts. If he maintains the omnipotence of God, he rests under the gloomiest forebodings respecting his goodness, apprehensive not lest we are in the hands of a God who is justly angry because of sin, but lest we are in the hands of an implacable tyrant whose tender mercies are cruel, and who loves to tantalize his creatures, as a beast of prey delights to prolong the struggles of its helpless victim. Such a representation is by no means a caricature of a certain phase of the pessimistic philosophy, but is a fair statement of the views of a considerable class of modern writers who make no small stir in the literary world. It is also essentially the conception of deity underlying the great mass of heathen religions, both past and present.

The other horn of the dilemma supposes, indeed, that God is good, but that he is limited in power, and is thwarted by an original principle of evil. Such was the gloomy apprehension of John Stuart Mill, who from the study of nature concluded that, as philosophers, we must rest content with a Creator less than almighty, and that the limitations of that power were not those interposed by such a personal opponent as the devil is ordinarily thought to be, but "more probably result either from the qualities of the material—the substances and forces of which the universe is composed not admitting of any arrangements by which his purposes could more completely be fulfilled; or else, the purposes might have been more fully attained, but the Creator did not know how to do it; creative skill, wonderful as it is, was not sufficiently perfect to accomplish his purposes more thoroughly."¹

Such objections to the commonly received opinions concerning the power and benevolence of the Creator cannot be altogether ignored. But fortunately a satisfactory answer can be presented in short compass. We cannot, indeed, follow out all the objections in detail, and positively demonstrate their irrelevancy; but, by the consideration of certain fixed principles, and certain difficulties inherent in the nature of things, it is easy to show that these objections are not necessarily destructive either of the doctrine of divine omnipotence as properly stated, or of the perfection of the divine benevolence.

Omnipotence Defined.

The omnipotence of God is his power to do everything in the range of possibility. It is not within the range of omnipotence to do absurdities; that is, to do things which in their very statement are self-contradictions. Such are the childish puzzles, Can God make a stone so heavy that he cannot move it? Can God make two hills without a valley between them? Can God add two and two so that the sum shall

¹ *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 186.

be five? A teacher once asked a young lady pupil if she supposed God could make a triangle the sum of whose angles would be more than two right angles. The unsuspecting pupil replied, "Yes." Whereupon the teacher asked, "What kind of a triangle would that be?" Only the wit of a young lady could have saved one from utter confusion at such a time. But she triumphantly answered, "I think it would be an omnipotent triangle." And so it would.

The answer to all such statements of the question is, that they are in their very statements absurdities: they are mere collocations of words without any real meaning. They do not signify things, but *nothings*. In answer to the objections brought against the doctrine of the divine power and goodness based on the existence of natural evil, it is sufficient for us to show that possibly the objectors make as absurd demands upon the Creator as are involved in the foregoing puzzles. The defence of divine power and goodness is sufficient which maintains that in creating and sustaining the present universe the Divine Being, for all we know to the contrary, secures the highest *attainable* good of the whole. In order to make this proposition a component part of our faith, it is only necessary for us to be made to see the superior worth of certain classes of joy which are logically connected with incidental evils. Perhaps there is a logical contradiction in the choice of the higher good without these incidental evils. If so, it would be neither wisdom nor benevolence to decline the higher good because of the accompanying evils, though they do subtract somewhat from the absolute value of the whole. In order, therefore, to justify the ways of God in creation, it is necessary, first, to take a proper measure of the various orders of being which may come into existence, and of their various susceptibilities to pain and pleasure. Such a view **must** consider, also, the permanence of the system, and **must** keep in mind the possibilities of the future, as well as the embarrassments of the present.

According to the true doctrine of theism, there was no absolute necessity for the creation of the universe. The universe is not a mere emanation from the Deity. That is pantheism. The world was created by a free act of the Almighty. So far as the necessities of his own nature were concerned, God could have continued to exist forever without creating anything. For his own part, the Creator could have taken as great satisfaction during the last half of eternity as he did in the first half of it without the society of man and the angels. When God created man he had no counsellor, but created according to the discretion of his own benevolent and all-wise mind. The universe itself is the record of the Creator's wisdom. From this record we properly infer that there are inherent difficulties in the way of realizing the highest conceivable good.

It is clear, for example, even upon a superficial examination, that the highest satisfaction of finite beings cannot consist in a dead level of experience. If finite beings would enjoy the sweet to the fullest extent, they must also have tasted the bitter. If they would appreciate the sunlight, they must also see the shadows. But it is far better to possess the sweet with an admixture of bitter than not to have the sweet at all. It is better to have light *and* shadow than never to rise above the gloomy shades of non-existence.

If we are asked, why God could not have endowed his creatures with the capability of highest bliss, without the incumbrance of such liability to suffering, we need not hesitate to answer, that we do not fully know. We are not bound to know all the reasons for the actions of a personal being in whom we trust. As finite creatures, we are limited in our capacity of knowledge, and can more readily discern the grounds for confiding in the character of a superior being, than we can discern the principles on which that being would justify his conduct. It is a necessary incident in human experience, and indeed of all finite intellectual existence, that its

knowledge should be limited, and that the secrets of the Lord should be reserved for future unfolding. But while this is all true, it is no small satisfaction to direct our vision to the farthest extent of its penetrating power, where we can dimly discern the deep foundations upon which our structure of hope and faith reposes. While we cannot hope fully to explain the mystery of God's permission of evil, we can show by way of illustration the direction in which a solution may be possible.

If the philosophic sceptic will go with the geologist to the highlands of Canada, he will there behold some of the oldest fossiliferous rocks in the world, and will have pointed out to him that the little cells in the tubular masses composing the limestones of that region are the skeletons of something like the coral-building polyp, whose low form of life manifests itself not in highly organized centres, but in a general sensitivity pervading the whole mass. In very early times the whole bottom of the Laurentian sea, stretching from Lake Huron to Labrador, and from the St. Lawrence River far up towards Hudson Bay, was covered with this slimy, gelatinous sort of jellyfish, whose life was centred nowhere, but was diffused, like the grey twilight, through the whole mass. If the winds and waves tore off a part of it, and floated it away from the main body, this part would still continue to live and grow. If this nondescript animal was capable of pleasure or of pain, it was only in the lowest degree. No ordinary enemy could do it harm, and nothing but a sweeping change in the general conditions of the period could destroy its life.

If even a Hottentot should be asked if he were willing to be absorbed into such a life as that, he would answer in the negative, rightly insisting that there was more joy beneath the shelter of a single Hottentot's hut than in an oceanful of jellyfish. If reminded that he was subject to headaches and rheumatic pains, to bruises and sores, to hunger and thirst, to the ravages of fever and pestilence, to the hazards of war, the oppression of enemies, and the cunning guile of crafty

neighbors,—he would still answer, and answer correctly, that the well-being of a single tribe of his fellows was of more worth than that of the whole animal creation. That morbid state of mind which pronounces life not worth living, and leads the victim to leave the ills he has, and rashly fly through suicide to encounter others that he knows not of, is a product of civilization and of sin. A high state of civilization simply presents a still more forcible illustration of the truth of the proposition we are now considering. As the mountain peaks grow higher, the valleys between them grow deeper; so, with the increased capacities for happiness produced by civilization, there is incident to them an increased liability to failure and to the existence of incorporate evils. The civilized man is more sensitive to suffering than the barbarian is. Yet who in his right mind would not choose to be a civilized man, with all the attendant disabilities of civilization, rather than to possess the impassive nature of a barbarian?

“Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay.”

The Equation between Hope and Hazard.

Some of the striking points recently made¹ in these pages by Dr. Hayman irresistibly commend themselves to the judgment. Among them are the following:—

“The discipline of pain is necessary on account of present ignorance.” “Pain as a stimulant is more powerful than pleasure.” “Pain is the safeguard of life.” “Pain is a bond of brotherly sympathy.” “Conspicuous pain is a most impressive instructor of the human race.” “Pain is the great stimulant of reflection through the medium of sensation. . . . It lets us into the secret of our weakness, defectiveness, corruption, which would otherwise remain unknown or be inertly known. It is the condition which makes the education of mankind possible, alike in the lower and in the higher sense. It not only safeguards the physical basis on which rest all higher faculties, not only urges on the mind to seek knowledge, not only drives the lesson home, but it draws out what is in man, shows the instinct of self-preservation what to lay hold upon and keeps it in constant exercise.” “It supplies the salt of heroism and the balm of brotherhood. A bond of operative sympathy among living

¹ Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xlv. 1, 465, 585.

humanity, it passes on from age to age a continuous conductor of intellectual effort, and makes the unexhausted balance of pain in one generation the platform of new problems and the pledge of progress for the next. Although most impressive in its vast masses which overshadow a lifetime, it becomes more so because those masses are rare; but most of all so because, rare anywhere, they are possible everywhere. The sparse incidence is multiplied into the ubiquitous possibility; and the two factors unite, the minimum of pain endured reinforced by the maximum of pain endurable, to give the product a maximum efficacy, and thus combine the warp and the woof of a merciful economy."

The anomalous relation of man's susceptibility of pain to the actual amount of suffering will bear further illustration. It is a familiar fact that the poisonous substances which most frequently cause death are not those which are the surest and most prompt in their action. An apothecary shop is a perfect magazine of death-dealing compounds; yet nowhere is a man's life more safe than in an apothecary's shop, for there the experience of the past has accomplished its appropriate results and brought it about that everything is clearly labelled according to its nature, and its distribution guarded by a skilful and properly accredited pharmacist. The greatest danger to human life lurks not in the strychnine, prussic acid, aconite, and the belladonna, of the apothecary, but in the alcohol of the saloon, which only at the last biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder; in the arsenic which goes out of the laboratory to beautify the decorations of our homes or to add attractiveness to our confectionery; and in the opium, forming a constituent of the sedative compounds administered to fretful children, or of the cigarettes calculated to allure and enslave the youth who dally with them. It is comparatively easy to prevent men from jumping off precipices, and from plunging into the breakers that dash upon a rocky shore, but vastly more difficult to prevent them from sliding down the deceptive gentler declivities, or venturing beyond their depth in placid but unknown waters.

The full explanation of this state of things, and the full justification of its place in a benevolent system, we may not be able to give; but, on the other hand, it is easy to show

that its existence is not necessarily inconsistent with the exercise of the highest benevolence on the part of the Creator of the universe. In justifying the ways of God in nature, we must at every step take account of the exalted powers of man, of the superior worth of virtue, and of the relation of the limited amount of evil permitted to the production of virtue, and of all the higher moral qualities which render life most worth living. Were there no continuous, threatening possibility of evil, the human race would be bereft of the nobler joys arising from mutual care of one another. The satisfaction of the protector and the gratitude of the protected would no longer be possible. In balancing the final accounts, it is difficult to tell which renders the highest service,—the self-denying philanthropist, who devotes his life to the relief of unfortunate sufferers, or the sufferers themselves, who afford an opportunity for the exercise of philanthropy on the part of their benefactors. Both suffer self-denial, but, as experience repeatedly shows, both rise to participate in immeasurably higher, purer, and sweeter joys, and all the world is made richer and wiser by the spectacle. Considerations like these are enough to answer all positive objections from this quarter.

The point, however, will bear additional and more familiar illustration. A railroad train in rapid motion has in it at every moment the possibilities of a frightful tragedy. The existence of a poorly cast axle in any one of the cars, of a defective bolt or bar on the engine, of a flaw in any one of the numerous rails, of a hidden spring of water beneath the road-bed, or of an insecure foundation for the abutments of a bridge; a misplaced switch, a fault in the copy of a telegram, a mistake in the adjustment of any one of numerous signals; a misunderstanding or neglect of duty upon the occurrence of some trivial accident; the overweariness or forgetfulness of an engineer; and a thousand other things, are liable to precipitate at any moment a frightful railroad tragedy, in which life and limb will be sacrificed without remedy, and the most precious plans of

many a circle frustrated forever. Yet, with all this liability to incidental evil, which with the application of modern physical forces has grown up to revolutionize our modes of travel, we continue to go on lengthening our trains and increasing their speed, until it is no uncommon thing to have the flower and hope of a whole city or commonwealth crowded together, and flying, as upon the wings of the wind, through deep tunnels, over high embankments and trestles, past innumerable switches, around the ever changing curves of steep river banks, with numerous trains before and behind,—all presenting a combination of hazards most fearful to contemplate. And the hazard is not merely theoretical; but, as experience too often shows, solemnly real. One can scarcely open his daily paper but there comes from some part of the world, and often from the best-managed railroads, the story of accident in which numerous lives are sacrificed, and a larger number of victims receive bodily injuries. And yet no man in his senses would, in order to avoid these hazards, go back to the stage-coach or the canal boat, or, since these also have their perils, to the employment of modes of locomotion which are so deliberate as to involve no hazard. The rapidity of present locomotion so intensifies and increases the experiences of mankind, that it adds indefinitely to the sum of life's well-being.

At the same time, the existence of a hazard sets a high premium upon the cultivation and development of the higher capacities of human nature. We are so constituted that we have a natural admiration for heroism. The heroes of war have ever furnished the most inspiring themes for the sculptor, the painter, the historian, the poet, and the musical composer. Death, which sooner or later comes to all, has in the case of these heroes come in such a manner as to be the inspiration of artists, and an unspeakable satisfaction to all who contemplate heroism through the work of artists. And, now, in the halcyon days of peace which, we hope, are about to dawn upon the world, it is evident that the poet's couplet will

prove itself true in a sense which the poet himself never put upon it—

“Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war.”

The captains and pilots and stokers, to whose vigilance are committed the countless passengers and vast cargoes of our palatial steamships; the engineers, conductors, and brakemen, who through light and darkness, through sunshine and storm, become responsible for the safety of our innumerable railroad trains,—these, and such as they, are fast coming to be the heroes of the present day, and are likely to furnish, in the near future, the most fruitful themes of heroic poetry and song. The forces of nature are so adjusted by the Creator, that man in his conquest of them is not likely to be able ever so to make himself their master that they shall cease to evoke dramatic exhibitions of man's most exalted powers. To be robbed of these exhibitions of heroism—to have taken away from us these high premiums upon the utmost exercises of our intellectual and moral powers, might prove to be the greatest calamity that could fall upon the human race. The endurance of pain does not necessarily rob us of pleasure; but such is the nobility of the human mind that out of pain it can rise to the highest pleasure, and out of the very disabilities of life it may receive the stimulus necessary to the attainment of the most coveted accomplishments.

Seeming Waste in Nature Apparent, not Real.

At this point we may profitably direct our attention to a few of the lower questions which puzzle those thoughtful students of nature who would maintain their belief in an all-wise personal Creator. According to the old-time method, the personality and wisdom of God are proved by the marks of design pervading the system of nature. But in presenting the argument from design, the student of nature at once encounters not only innumerable things in which he can directly see no evidence of design, but many things which seem directly

to militate against the evidence of pervasive design. Nature seems to abound in wasteful processes; at least when considered with reference to the designs for which man assumes it to have been established. If, as was once the case, it is assumed that the principal object of the sun's existence is to warm the earth and the planets, there is a startling incompatibility between that assumption and the relative amount of heat and light actually appropriated by the individual members of the solar system; for, if the light and heat received by the earth and planets be made the numerator, and that dispersed through empty space the denominator, the fraction is so small that in a problem of the higher mathematics it would be regarded as an infinitesimal, and set aside as of absolutely no value.

If, again, it be assumed that the principal purpose served by the clouds is to make the earth fruitful with their showers, and to make perennial the mountain springs which combine to form the majestic river systems of the continents, we find again that, as judged by this standard alone, the waste is enormous. This fact puzzled the students of natural theology as long ago as the days of Job, where the fact is alluded to as beyond the patriarch's comprehension, that "God caused it to rain on a land where no man is; on the wilderness, wherein is no man; to satisfy the waste and desolate ground." If to this question the reply should be made, that the deserts were the gathering-places for the waters which feed the springs and form the rivers, and that even the wilderness abounds in animal life dependent upon the scanty vegetation which it affords, this answer, unsatisfactory as it is, would totally fail in presence of a similar question with respect to the showers which fall upon the ocean. The surface of the ocean is vastly greater than that of the continents, and hence it receives a correspondingly larger proportion of the actual rainfall furnished by the clouds. In the ordinary conception of the doctrine of design, it would seem impossible to give any satis-

factory answer to the question, why so much of the power exerted by the sun in lifting the vapors from the ocean should at once be expended in precipitating the vapors back into the same deep from which they had been lifted.

In the organic world, also, where the idea of design seems more distinct and clearly defined, apparent waste is still a prominent characteristic, at least as judged by some of the earlier standards of purpose attributed to these organisms. It seems to be a clear statement of the case to say, that in the vegetable creation the pollen was designed to fall upon the stigma of the pistil, in order to fructify the seed and make perfect the act of reproduction. Yet in many instances nature would seem to be perfectly reckless in her waste of pollen, creating it in quantities thousands, and even millions, of times greater than the necessities of the case appear to require. So superabundant is the pollen of pine-trees, that it is often wafted long distances by the wind, and made to fall so thickly over regions where no pine-trees are, as to prey upon the superstitious fear of an ignorant people, leading them to imagine that sulphur is falling from the skies, and that some great natural convulsion, like that which overthrew the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, is about to take place. Now every grain of pollen is most delicately and highly organized with reference to its adaptability to accomplish a specific purpose. Its waste when promiscuously scattered over the country by the wind would seem to be a complete frustration of the original design.

Again, even when arriving still nearer the accomplishment of the specific designs in the organic world, waste is still a most puzzling element in the problem. Everywhere nature seems to be needlessly prodigal of life. The proportion of plants and animals arriving at maturity to those which fail to do so is very small. The trees of the forest are, many of them, literally covered with seeds whose fate it is to fall to the earth, and under the influence of heat and moisture begin

to grow. But the most of them only begin. In the presence of unpropitious influences or active enemies, the vast majority of these tender shoots are speedily cut short in their career. Every germinating seed has in it the potency and the promise of a full-grown plant or tree or shrub. But there does not seem to be an economical adjustment between the promises put forth and the provision of the conditions necessary for their fulfilment. The vast multitudes perish, while the few survive.

A similar line of objections arises, also, when we contemplate the operation of the reproductive forces in the animal creation. Even among mankind the most critical period of life is that of childhood and youth. More than half the human race dies before the full attainment of physical growth, and among some classes of animals the proportions of deaths among the immature individuals of the species is startling in the extreme. The number of animals attaining maturity is by no means in proportion to the number of the individuals of a species which start upon a career of life. A single codfish is reported to produce more than three million eggs during a spawning season, and yet the number of mature fish remains nearly constant from year to year. The hazard of life to a young codfish is so great that life insurance companies are not likely ever to take risks upon them. Indeed, both among animals and men, the individuals who die at a good old age, having well rounded out their career, are few in proportion to the whole number.

With the narrow views of design entertained by numerous writers whose works were the standard a quarter of a century ago, this seeming waste in nature was continually growing more and more difficult to explain, until the burden became absolutely unbearable. With respect to the well-being of the irrational part of the animal creation, something, it is true, may be done, by way of relieving the difficulty, by pointing out the alleviating circumstances connected with the

death of animals, since animals do not approach death with that fear which sheds its gloom over the rational part of creation. It may also be plausibly maintained that the total amount of pleasure enjoyed by the animal creation is larger when there is a rapid succession of short-lived generations than it is when the same individuals have their existence prolonged. In the former case, there is the keener joy of fresh-born creatures, and there is an indefinite multiplication of the satisfaction accompanying the reproduction of the species. It is difficult, therefore, to prove that the satisfaction of the animal creation is not higher in the present condition of things than it would be if fewer individuals were brought into existence, and their individual lives prolonged to participate in the dull uniformity of a repetition of past experiences.

But with regard to the seeming waste in the vegetable creation, we must reason without the aid afforded by the existence of sensation in the animal creation. So far as we know, the plants have no feeling of their own. The bleeding of a grape-vine is not connected with pain, such as accompanies the wounding of a dog; nor is the cultivation of the vine connected with the pleasure of the plant, as the care of the master is connected with the pleasure of the ox. In another connection we will consider the possible and probable relations of this seeming waste to the higher intellectual ends conserved by some of the apparently wasteful processes of nature, but at present we are chiefly concerned with the uses subserved by them in the moral world.

To a rational being like man who beholds and studies this prodigality of nature in the use of material forces, certain lessons of great importance are driven in upon his attention. By these spectacles of prodigality in the use of material forces, emphasis is laid upon the relative unimportance of material things, and the attention is irresistibly directed to the higher ends which a rational being is more properly fitted to contemplate and attain. When Coleridge, who did not believe

that other planets are inhabited, was asked by a friend who ardently believed they were, What then were these vast worlds made for? his reply penetrated the very core of the question, "They were made to show how cheap dirt is." As I stood in the ranks of the army, in the early part of the Civil War, I was much impressed by a remark made in my presence by the lamented Garfield. News had just come of the destruction of the ships-of-war and the vast naval stores in Gosport navy-yard to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The penetrating remark of this patriotic defender of his country was, that such sacrifices opened our eyes to the great worth of the Union. The altar of sacrifice is indispensable to the full development and expression of patriotism and other high and kindred moral sentiments. King David expressed the sentiment of all noble-minded souls when he declared to Araunah the Jebusite that he would not offer a sacrifice to the Lord which had cost him nothing. The *cost* of the sacrifice is what evokes the moral quality. This law of sacrifice is everywhere inwrought in nature. By it a high premium is set upon the exercise of virtue of every sort. The very obstacles in the way of attaining the ends enhance their estimated value, and induce that great labor which only can obtain highest excellence. It is thus that lesser evils may be turned to higher good.

A full statement of the reasons justifying an act of creation would involve the presentation of all the uses to which the thing created is ever put. As it is true, according to Scripture, that no man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself, so it is probably true that no single element of creation is limited to a single proximate purpose. The wisdom of the Creator, since he may be supposed to see the end from the beginning, and to weigh every minutest detail of the most complicated system, is, therefore, not to be judged altogether by what finite creatures can see. Still, finite creatures can see in part, and the part which they do

see may be so luminous as to give the surest ground of confidence that the Creator's work is perfect in the unseen realms which lie beyond. The perfection of God's work in realms which we understand is ample ground for belief in its perfection in other realms which remain to beckon us on to pleasant voyages of future exploration. At this point, therefore, we may profitably gather up the threads of the discussion, and from the standpoint attained take a rapid survey of the whole situation.

Nature Subordinate to Man.

We cannot long ponder upon the existing condition of things without seeing that the universe is arranged in a series of ascending orders of being in which the higher utilizes and feeds upon the lower. We are not, therefore, called upon to justify the ways of the Creator by considerations drawn from any one order in this hierarchy. The true way to arrive at a proper appreciation of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator is to acquire at the outset a just idea of the capacity of man,—the crown and summit of the system. It is a remarkable fact that man is the latest born of the creation, and is closely limited in the realms, both of time and space, which he is permitted to occupy. No one claims that man has been an occupant of the world for more than a very brief portion of its existence. It was after countless ages of waiting that he was brought into the world, and installed over it as lord and ruler; and it is only gradually that he has learned to subdue nature, and to enlarge his control over her orderly forces. Still, notwithstanding the numerous inventions tending to annihilate distance by increasing the rapidity of travel and of the transmission of thought, the individual is restricted to what is little more than a point in space.

Much is said about the antiquity of man. But, on the part of those who hold what are regarded as extreme views upon this question, man's antiquity is moderate as compared

with the antiquity of the earth, or even of its various genera of plants and animals. No one has the hardihood to claim that men existed before the latter portion of the Tertiary period in geology. But, relatively to the preceding geological periods, the Tertiary is very short. The longest of all the geological periods is the so-called Azoic, in which the world was entirely devoid of life. How many millions of years the world continued to be devoid of life we cannot definitely say. But, if the nebular hypothesis be true, the lifeless period of the earth was many times longer than the periods since life was possible.

Since the introduction of life, also, the geological periods have been of diminishing length in proportion as organic beings have become complicated. The Archæan ages, during which the very simplest forms of life, like Dr. Dawson's Eozoön, and the Silurian age, during which only invertebrate animals had existence, together fill a space in geological history many times greater than that occupied by all the subsequent periods together. The Devonian and Carboniferous ages, which followed after, and were characterized by fish remarkable both for their form and size, while far shorter than the preceding period, are several times longer than the later ages combined. Again, the Mesozoic age (during which the chalk cliffs of England were formed), characterized by birds and reptiles, while far shorter than either of the preceding periods, is far longer than the Tertiary.

Now, as before remarked, it is only in the Tertiary period, this last born of the ages, that the extremest advocates of man's antiquity would place his advent. This is the age of mammals, that is, of animals which suckle their young, and whose young are born fully developed. In this very fact there is great moral significance. With the mammals begins the dependence of the infant upon the care of its parents; and the order of the classification of mammals corresponds pretty closely with the length of time during which

that dependence continues. With most mammals the dependence of the young continues only for a single season, but with man the dependence of the child continues many years. In law a child is counted an infant until he is twenty-one. The stability of nature requisite for the existence of mammals, with the dependence of their new-born children, has been of short relative continuance.

But the evidence which would connect man with even the later Tertiary period is defective, and fails to convince the mass of investigators. It is not until the Quaternary, or so-called post-Tertiary, period, that unequivocal evidence of man's existence appears. The close of the Tertiary period was marked by changes which lowered the temperature of the earth, (or of the northern hemisphere at any rate,) and brought on the great Ice age. With the contracted ideas of man's chronology derived from Archbishop Usher's tables, it was a startling conclusion which was forced upon us, a few years since, that man was upon the earth before the close of the glacial period. But even if Mr. Croll's calculations were correct, carrying the close of the great Ice age back one hundred thousand years or more, how short a time is even this compared with the millenniums of the Tertiary period, or the far longer cycles of the earlier geologic ages! Recent investigations, however, clearly show Mr. Croll to be in error, and prove that, in North America at least, the conditions of the great Ice age prevailed as late as seven thousand or eight thousand years ago. The famous glacial chronometer discovered by Sir Charles Lyell and Professor James Hall in the gorge below the Falls of Niagara proves to keep much faster time than they at first supposed. They estimated the gorge to be thirty-five thousand years old at least, and that it was more likely one hundred thousand years old. But the experts in glacial geology who visited the gorge with the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1885, and had before them the most recent facts, concluded

with great unanimity that the Falls of Niagara commenced their retrocession from Lewiston less than ten thousand years ago. With this diminution in our conception of the antiquity of the close of the glacial period, we come back again more nearly to the conceptions of man's antiquity held before the science of geology began to exert its influence; and man is again looked upon as the last born of creation, and as but an infant of days.

The Earth but a Temporary Dwelling-Place for Man.

Nor can the future stay of man as a race upon the earth be looked upon as relatively of long continuance. The earth is not fitted to be a permanent abiding-place for a being with such a physical constitution as man possesses. Man must have fuel and food and clothing. But the material for these is limited, and, making allowance for all probable improvements in invention, these will in the near future be a diminishing quantity, relatively to the population of the earth. The forests are limited; the iron is limited; the coal and gas are limited, and the fertilizing elements of the soil are in process of exhaustion. By the present system of railroad extension and rapid colonization of virgin fields, the evil day may be put off for a little, but ultimately the Malthusian law, that the tendency of population is to increase by geometrical ratio, while the increase of the earth's productions can be only in arithmetical ratio, must make itself felt, and the whole race will be forced to the exercise of a degree of economy of which it now knows but little. When, according to the statistician of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, America shall in the twenty-third century attain its maximum population, amounting to 3,600,000,000 souls, and there are no more continents to discover, the present luxury of living will be sadly curtailed, and the conflict of classes competing with one another will be intense beyond anything of which we now have any idea. Indeed, according to scientific calculation, the ultimate con-

dition of things in the world would seem to be both simple and trying in the extreme. Population can reach its limit only when the earth is made to produce the utmost possible for the sustenance of man. And, as it is demonstrated that in the torrid zone, bananas, and in the temperate zone, cabbages, yield more nutriment to the acre than anything else, we seem to see in the distant future naught but endless cabbage fields and banana gardens; while the principal study in our utilitarian colleges will be to find the safest and readiest means of destroying the bugs and worms that, under the operation of natural selection, have survived and developed, and grown more subtle in their power to blast the hopes of the husbandman.

In addition to this prospective pressure of population upon the means of sustenance, in the natural order of present forces, we have, as scientific men, to face the facts of astronomy, which point to a gradual cessation of the conditions upon which all organic life in the world depends. The earth is a cooling planet. Up to a certain period it was too hot for organic life. At a certain period in the future it will be too cold for any of the present forms of life to survive. The larger planets, like Jupiter and Saturn, have not yet cooled down to the condition of the earth in the early geologic ages. The moon, and perhaps the planet Mars, have already passed the stage when organic life, as we know it, is possible. To this stage the world is hastening. The universe is running down. Its heat is dissipating. The old age of the earth is already begun, and ere long it will be a dead and lifeless planet.

How long this catastrophe may be deferred, astronomers are not agreed in telling us. But the latest utterances of our leading authorities upon this subject are to the effect, that from twelve million to twenty million years ago the earth was too hot to admit of life, and that, within far less time than this, life will be impossible on the earth by reason of the cold.

Thus, then, according to science, the stay of the human race upon the earth is transitory. The race, as it had a recent beginning, must also, as a race, have an earthly ending, and that at no distant day, as we speak of geologic time. The earth is a railroad train which stopped at a station a few thousand years ago to take man on, and will as surely stop at a station somewhere in the future to put him off.

What, now, does all this signify with reference to the designs of the Creator? To our mind it is designed to quicken man's moral sense, to emphasize the cheapness of dirt and all material things, and to intensify our conceptions of spiritual things. One of the first lessons taught us by experience is, that the value of things is not to be measured either by their size or their antiquity. Notwithstanding the late arrival of man, and the infirmities of his physical nature, and the restricted sphere to which his bodily organization is confined, it is still a truth which must be everywhere recognized, that "in the world there is nothing great but man; in man there is nothing great but mind." The satisfaction which the mind of man derives from his dominion over the lower orders of creation is the highest and clearest evidence we have that the wisdom of the Creator is embodied in all his works.

Man can, and does, get good from everything. Not only does he get from nature food to eat and clothes to wear, coal with which to warm himself, colors with which to beautify the houses in which he lives, and atmosphere through which to transmit his musical ideas; but he finds the whole universe an object of thought, alluring him on to intellectual activity, and to the delights of ever-widening scientific discovery. Of the adaptation of nature to the intellectual and æsthetic wants, however, we will say nothing further here, but reserve those subjects for treatment in future essays. At the present time, we will limit ourselves to a partial expression of our admiration for that wisdom of the Creator which has so ordered it that good can come to man out of every seeming evil; that

the disabilities of the present serve as a stimulus to future activity and conquest; that the sorrows endured by the individual in the past, and the obstacles surmounted, become the pride of his present experience, and the means of eliciting the admiration, respect, and gratitude of his fellow-creatures. In ten thousand ways we can see that the blessings most highly prized by the human mind rise out of the seeming disabilities, restrictions, and hardships of our existence, just as the gorgeous clouds greeted by the rays of the rising sun, and made to glow with ineffable beauty, are distilled from sluggish stream, and stagnant pool, and pestilential swamp.

The solar system is but a speck in the universe; this earth is but an insignificant portion of the solar system; the historic period is but a flash as compared with the geologic ages that went before. The transformation of inert matter in the living forms of vegetation well illustrates how much of the lower is required as a basis for the existence of the higher. The vegetation which clothes the earth, though but a film upon the surface, is more wonderful than all the rest. The animals which feed upon the vegetable creation are few in numbers, and far less impressive in bulk, but the organization is higher. In them sensation and the rudiments of thought appear; so that animals have to be recognized as possessing rights which man is bound to respect. And, finally, man comes upon the scene, with bodily limitations of a peculiar sort. Unfitted to swim through the sea, unable to soar aloft with the wings of a bird, with no natural covering to protect him from the summer's heat or the winter's cold, with neither teeth nor claws nor horns nor hoofs with which to assert his lordship over the inferior creation, he is, by the very absence of these natural advantages, stimulated to put forth to his utmost the exercise of the higher endowments of his rational nature. He makes tools and weapons with which to cultivate the earth, defend himself, and assert lordship over inferior creatures. He weaves a web with which to clothe his body,

and builds houses and makes fire, to render himself independent of climate. He prepares food for a stomach incapable of digesting the raw products of nature. He invents language by which to impart his ideas to others, and unite them with himself in social organizations. He invents letters by which to transmit the lessons of the past to the inexperienced generations that are to follow. He organizes civil governments and business corporations to accomplish by combination results far surpassing the power of the isolated individual. He creates literature; and embodies his thought in the thrilling epic poem, the witty essay, the brilliant oration, the profound philosophical treatise. He discovers pigments, and displays his thought in the tones of color spread upon canvas. In lines of beauty he imparts his conceptions to the marble statue and to the noble forms of architecture. He invents musical instruments, and expresses his emotion in the tremulous notes of the orchestra, and combines it with the highest spiritual conceptions in the music of the oratorio.

Who can contemplate the variety and the nobility of uses to which man is thus able to make nature contribute, without being overwhelmed in admiration at the wisdom of that adaptation of man to nature which has rendered such past progress possible, and which opens up such immeasurable hopes for growth in the future! It matters not from which side we view the adaptation. We may say that nature is adapted to meet the wants of man, or we may say that the human mind was created to make this use of nature. In either case, the adaptation proves both the infinite foresight of the Creator and his inconceivable wisdom and power; since he brings so much light out of darkness, so much order out of seeming chaos, such supernal rapture and bliss out of the seeming disabilities of man's earthly habitation.

But, as before remarked, we are not able to explore the whole of the field, and to behold with undimmed vision the full extent of the wisdom and goodness of God. That can be

seized only by the eye of faith. We see enough, however, to establish that faith upon an immovable basis. Like the patriarch of old, we have evidence enough of the power and goodness of God to believe that he will make all things work together for good, enabling us to say, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

The Summum Bonum.

It is impossible to overestimate the satisfaction to be derived from the development and exercise of the moral powers of man. And to such development man is urged by the whole constitution of nature. It is this constitution of nature, emphasizing at every point the vanity of transitory things and man's dependence upon supernatural sources for the sustenance of all well-grounded faith and hope, which compels him to be, what he is aptly termed in some systems of classification, a religious animal.

Our strong defence, therefore, of the doctrine of the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator is not to be drawn from the mechanical adaptations of nature, wonderful as they doubtless are. That the eye was made to see, and the ear to hear, there can be no doubt. But the existence of such instruments of sense illustrates only to a limited extent the power and skill of the Creator; and they fail directly to prove his goodness. For the eye is compelled to see many revolting and ghastly sights, and the ear to hear many piercing and despairing cries of distress. But by the very disappointments and forebodings of our earthly life we are impelled to a higher range of spiritual activities. Evidently the world is not perfect as a continuing city in which man either as an individual or as a race is to abide forever. The earth is but a temporary abode, and to a large extent a house of correction, for the tutelage of man; and the natural conditions of life are his stern but beneficent masters, inviting and urging him on to the development and exercise of his noblest powers. In response to the stimuli

furnished by these agencies, the whole world becomes knit together by the tenderest ties of sympathy. The dependence of childhood evokes the mother's love and the father's care. It creates the bond of brotherly affection, and brings into being all the satisfying and sacred experiences of the home. The necessity of combination to overcome the disabilities of nature and the encroachments of enemies brings out all the noble qualities of national life, culminating in its sublime heroism on the field of battle, and compels us to learn how to obey, as well as how to win respect by appropriate commands. The common liability to evil develops the noble qualities of the philanthropist, and causes the sweet emotions of gratitude to well up from every well-ordered heart. All these results are of pre-eminent and permanent value. They are leaves which never wither, and flowers which never fade.

Finally, the very limitations of our knowledge of the universe, in revealing to us the infinity of the Creator, show us the possibilities of trusting him beyond the horizon of our vision, where darkness envelops his pathway. The inscrutability of the universe is but a type of the inscrutability of God's own nature, and is a ground of the sweet hope and belief that he doeth all things well. The joy of this well-grounded trust in the unseen is the highest which can enter the human heart.

It is often truthfully said, that the best thing which can be done for a struggling youth is to give him a chance. The gift of ability, opportunity, and stimuli to make a fortune, is far better than the direct gift of a fortune. It is thus, pre-eminently, that the Creator has manifested his wisdom and goodness in behalf of the human race. It was the prayer of Agur, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, but feed me with food convenient for me." In respect to the human race, we believe that this prayer was answered beforehand, and that the world was prepared with consummate wisdom to afford scope for man's highest development, and provide stimulus for the noblest exercise of his most characteristic powers.

ARTICLE III.

THE COMPOSITION AND DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

BY THE REV. T. S. POTWIN, HARTFORD, CONN.

[*Concluded from Page 19.*]

THE period of the judges was a time of disintegrating and barbarizing tendencies. Often recurring wars and frequent subjugation could not fail to demoralize the people. If they had not lost, during their nomadic life, the culture they must have had in Egypt, they certainly could have retained but little of it at the close of these centuries, and indeed but little of the influence of their great leader and teacher. When we think of the length of it, and look over the effects of somewhat similar periods in the Dark Ages of Europe, we wonder that the worship of Jehovah survived at all, and say to ourselves, It would not, if it had not been for the abiding purpose of God to continue to reveal himself to his chosen people, as said the angel of the Lord at Bochim: "I said I will never break my covenant with you" (Judges ii. 1). In addition to their wars of conquest and civil conflicts, they were seven times subjugated for considerable periods, and the Lord had to send them special deliverers. The habits of idolatry and immorality which they contracted in these conditions would perhaps have exceeded our power of imagination, had not the veil been drawn a little in the closing chapters (Judges xvii.-xxi.).

One result of this period which is very plain, was the almost utter demoralization of the priestly and Levitical orders and their service. Neither the word "priest" nor "Le-

vite" occurs in the book of Judges until we come to those appended chapters which were added perhaps with the design of letting us know what the religious condition of the people had become. And the book of First Samuel is little but a repetition of the same sad revelations. The natural avarice of the people of course conspired with the untoward political conditions to throw the Levites, especially, out of their appointed means of living. Their duties in bearing the tabernacle had ceased with the settlement in Canaan; but the demands of the subsequent temple service had not begun, and perhaps had been lost from the expectations of all. The Levites doubtless had to shift for themselves as best they could, and must have become largely merged in the mass of the other tribes. If they preserved a knowledge of their descent, they probably did little more. At the mustering of the tribes for the induction of David four thousand and six hundred Levites appeared as soldiers.

Wherein then lay the hope of true religion in the nation? It was in the prophetic office. Samuel was the first great successor of Moses. Samuel had divine authority for the reorganization of the nation and the constitution of the kingdom. His authority must also have extended to the preservation and the development, i. e., adaptation, of the sacred national literature to the new condition and needs of the people.

Critics have passed lightly over what Samuel said with regard to the coming kingdom. First Samuel viii. 10 was admonitory, and not specially important for history, but not so of 1 Sam. x. 25. What Samuel "wrote out in a book and *laid up before the Lord*" we may be sure was something extended and most important. Here was a written constitution which antedated the State of Connecticut! Another thing we may be sure of, viz., that it was written on Mosaic lines. There is no doubt that Moses spoke of the coming kingdom in his farewells. Samuel, now at the realization of what was

then foreseen, under the same inspiring spirit, wrote out details which he could see that the time and place demanded. We have here, then, the second element of the law of the kingdom, or, in other words, of the book of Deuteronomy.

There must have arisen, also, by Samuel's time, a necessity for a revision of the Mosaic writings, from the changes in language which time and linguistic growth had brought in. These changes must have been exceedingly rapid and very great from four centuries of rough commingling with the inhabitants of Canaan. A single hint of them is given at 1 Sam. ix. 9 in the substitution of נָבִיא *prophet* for שֵׁרֵף *seer*. Four centuries of English would carry us back to within a century of Wickliffe's Bible, and we know what changes have arisen since, even with a printed standard and in times of comparative peace and culture. Moses had required that the coming king should keep a copy of his words, and read in them constantly. In David's time this most certainly could not be done readily without revision. There was every reason, therefore, in connection with the consolidation of the monarchy, for revising and adapting to the times the ancient literature. First in order would come the "manner of the kingdom" and "the law" for the people. We therefore place here the origin of our present Deuteronomy. If we are right in doing so, it became *the written constitution of the Hebrew monarchy*. This early origin would account for the fact that no trace appears in Deuteronomy of the revolt of the ten tribes, although such traces do appear in all the literature of the nation known to have arisen after that event.

Again, the historical books contain positive evidence of a great religious and literary reorganization in the times of David and Solomon. Thus, when Josiah set himself to keep the passover, he commanded the Levites "to prepare themselves by their courses according to the *writing of David, king of Israel, and according to the writing of Solomon, his*

son" (2 Chron. xxxv. 4, 5, 15). He does not go back to Moses directly at all. Again, when Ezra was rebuilding the temple, he set the priests and Levites to praise the Lord *after the ordinance of David, king of Israel* (Ezra iii. 10; viii. 20).

These notices are sufficient to show that the times subsequent to David and Solomon looked back to their age as one of renewal and authority in respect to divine worship. In this connection I refer again to 1 Chron. xxiv. 1-3, where the houses of Zadok and Ahimelech were established in the priesthood by David. With this agrees Ezekiel in his ideal sketch. In xl. 46 the priests are distinguished from the whole body of the Levites as "the sons of Zadok *which from among the sons of Levi* come near unto the Lord to minister unto him." Also in xliii. 19; xlv. 10-15; xlvi. 11 the faithfulness of the sons of Zadok is contrasted with the demoralization of the Levites. More than a half-century later we find Jehoshaphat the king sending princes, Levites, and priests among the people, having "the book of the law" with them, to teach the people. Granting its existence at this time, no one would doubt that this law-book was Deuteronomy. Indeed it has been claimed that Deuteronomy originated at this time, because this king established a central judgment at Jerusalem. But how much more natural to suppose that he, during the revival of worship, endeavored to carry out, more fully than had been done, its requirements.

We come now to the inquiry, What other material must have been in existence at this epoch beside the Mosaic farewells, which were laid up by the ark, and Samuel's "manner of the kingdom," also "laid up before the Lord"? All admit that there must have been some record of the Sinai legislation, and some itinerary of the thirty-eight years between Sinai and Moab. Klostermann argues, with some plausibility, for a different and more extended form of the book of Numbers preceding the production of Deuteronomy, and that this was

largely transferred, i. e., its moral instruction, to Deuteronomy. We see no probability of a remodelling of this kind in the age of Josiah, where Klostermann would place it; but, if Deuteronomy was compiled at the time of the consolidation of the monarchy, the book of Numbers would most certainly be drawn upon for material. Any one can see the want of harmony in the way the book of Numbers now closes with even the existence at all of Deuteronomy. The last verse seems to cover the whole ground as a finality of that which is immediately taken up again in Deuteronomy. It would seem that that verse at some time summed up what are now the first and last parts of Deuteronomy, or some equivalent for them, but was allowed to remain because of its pertinence to much which was left in Numbers.

There are good reasons for supposing that, during the time of the judges, a literary chaos arose analogous to the political and religious. The absence of a political centre, and centre of worship, for four centuries, opened the way for all sorts of disorganization. Tribal and personal ambition would lead to various efforts to build up sundry local centres. We know that there were bodies of priests and Levites for these centres. The last chapters of the book of Judges reveal the fact. The same comes out very clearly in the time of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 8-9). These priests and Levites would all desire to lean upon Mosaic authority in their sacred service of Jehovah. This would lead inevitably to a copying, with more or less abridgment and error, of the Mosaic literature. In this every one could do what was right in his own eyes, or was thought to be sufficient for his own purpose. When the period of reorganization came, somewhere between Samuel and Solomon, the exclusive claim of what was with the priests at Shiloh may have come into doubt and dispute. How many like the unworthy sons of Eli had had to do with the sacred writings, we do not know. But in some way confusion enough had arisen, so that the final revision for the

kingdom which has come down to us *bears the aspect of varied authorship* from its recurring repetitions and apparent discrepancies. This it is which has engaged so much the attention of modern critics, and led to their theories for its solution. If we discern, however, in these phenomena the evidence of a style of redaction essentially unlike the modern, we shall hold to a single author or commission of authors. The ancient method of preserving the truth of a text seems not to have been collation and reduction, but inclusion of all that bore marks of verisimilitude, that *thus the whole truth might be conserved.*

An additional source of variants for Deuteronomy existed in the monument of plastered stones ordered by Moses, and set up by Joshua (Deut. xxvii.; Josh. viii. 32). While this remained it would be copied fully or partially, correctly or incorrectly, and the results would find more or less currency in priestly circles. No one at all familiar with the history of literature before the art of printing will fail to see that a great uncertainty must have arisen in four hundred years as to the authentic form of all Mosaic texts. The spirit of prophecy and inspiration must have been needed to guide in the restoration of what inspiration had originally called into being. And this gift did not fail the chosen people in the time of their extremity. The times of Samuel and David were equal to the task.

I take occasion here to remark that the critics who place the development of Hebrew literature, prose or poetic, in a period of national decline or decadence, violate all the analogies of history. Literature, unless the philosophic be an exception, belongs to the blooming period of a nation, and not to its seed-time and decay. Every people of antiquity witnesses to this; and it will require vastly stronger evidence than has yet been brought forward to make the world believe that this was reversed with the Hebrews. No: it was the period of the first empire, and of the dawn of the arts, that

was the time of national self-assertion in sacred history and lyric poetry, and not the age of subjugation or the fierce life and death struggle with the cruel successors of Alexander. It is time enough to look for a thing where it does not belong, when we fail to find it where it does belong.

We are now in a position to go into the details of our analysis of the book. The most striking surface feature is the form of direct address by Moses to an assembly of Israel ". . . this day." When we try to reproduce the circumstances to the imagination, we bethink ourselves that, at the census recorded in Num. xxvi. 51, the children of Israel were "six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty," from twenty years old and upward. The possibility of a personal oral address to "all Israel" disappears therefore at once. Whatever Moses did by way of oral address must have been done in some representative way, and the matter of it repeated by others, or merely intrusted to writing, for the benefit of the whole body. The form also of being delivered on "this day," especially as it is "this day" when they are to cross over Jordan, must plainly be understood as accommodation in the Mosaic original, and retained subsequently as a rhetorical feature. Then, with the evidence before us that the present Deuteronomy was a compilation, some centuries after Moses, we must pronounce the form of continuous address as merely the rhetorical form into which the whole book was thrown, for the sake of condensation and continuity, while at the same time it represented the whole under the original form of the part, as all Mosaic instruction was originally, without doubt, addressed to hearers at some time and place.

But the compiler, having chosen this form, would naturally obscure the welding of the different sections, little conscious of the literary puzzle he was preparing for his successors after nearly three thousand years. He did his work so well that a perfect dissection of all the elements which entered

into it will probably ever remain impossible. But though we cannot undo the sutures to a line to the satisfaction of all scholars, yet it is quite easy to point out the distinct features of the different sections of the book, and also to trace more or less of the matter to its sources. Critics have often remarked the similarity of relation between Deuteronomy and the rest of the Pentateuch to that between the Gospel of John and the other Gospels. The Deuteronomist did a harmonistic work in which he also brought into new prominence certain features of the great lawgiver's instruction.

After the victories over the Amorite kings, at least a month's time was spent before Moses' death in preparation for the final move across the Jordan. Moses doubtless filled this time with the outpouring of his great soul in his final teachings and farewell exhortations. The first part of Deuteronomy is precisely what we might expect from such conditions. Up to chap. iv. 41 we have an historic review from Sinai on, and especially from Kadesh Barnea, where the real wandering began, mingled with words of hope and warning. The incidents of this portion still stand in more or less fullness in the book of Numbers. Moses could not have done otherwise than recall the minds of the people to the way in which they had been led. Parentheses, geographic and ethnic, explain the situation to the contemporaries of the writer. And when we reach verse 41 of chapter iv. there is interposed a section of three verses which can hardly be called a welding. It is rather a separating clause before the introduction to the second section of the book. This introduction is of six verses, closing the fourth chapter.

With the fifth chapter begins Moses' emphatic rehearsal of the decalogue. With a prophetic prevision of the power this was to be in the world, he could not do otherwise than repeat it. Certain critics have made much of the variation in minor points of the ten words here given from the form in Exodus. But who of all men should feel at liberty to make

such variations as would Moses himself? He knew the authoritative original was graven in stone in its essential parts, if not as it now stands in Exodus xx. If, therefore, he saw fit, as a master dealing with his own work, to introduce slight changes of form or append additional "reasons," it should not seem strange to us, but rather an additional evidence of genuine Mosaic authorship.

Closely connected with this rehearsal, beginning with verse 32 of chapter v., is a strain of lofty ethical conceptions and spiritual fervor, based as upon the words of God himself (ver. 28), "Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always." This section plainly runs on into the tenth chapter. But its height of moral exaltation is reached in the fifth, where love to God, fear, and obedience are enjoined upon the hearts of the people as nowhere else in the Old Testament, and scarcely in the New. This section may well have belonged to Moses' farewell. In fact we can hardly conceive it to have proceeded from any other source. The "old man eloquent" of the Bible, through whom, a generation before, had been given to the world that form of the divine law which was to shape the moral life of the ages in their advance and consummation, was the man of the whole human race to say: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words . . . thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up,"—words which the Son of God himself, ages after, could but re-echo as a part of his gospel.

But with the sixth verse of the tenth chapter the welding process begins. We have repetitions which look like a gathering up of snatches from variant accounts, until, at the twelfth chapter, we reach an entirely different style of thought,

and details of administration are enumerated which, as I have said, are entirely unsuited to a solemn and final farewell. This portion of the book runs on to chapter xxviii., where the lofty tone of the section preceding the central part is resumed. The style is again admonitory, as can hardly have failed to be the case with the actual Mosaic leave-taking. We are struck with the similarity of Moses' forebodings to those of the apostle Paul as he drew near "the time of his departure."

This return in the last of the book to the tone of the earlier parts has led Klostermann to his conclusion that the Book of the Covenant has been made to include, as in a frame, a section of a book of history and practical precepts. The "covenant," also, gets its proper form (xxix. 1) by joining this last part of the book with the first, to the exclusion of the intermediate details which must have constituted a portion of the general instruction of the wilderness period.

The intermediate portion consists of practical directions on more than sixty different topics, interspersed with exhortations to obedience. Here it is that we may suppose that we have Samuel's "manner of the kingdom" as an elaboration of what Moses had said on this topic. And here we have "the words which Moses spake unto all Israel in the wilderness in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, by Di-zahab." The author has combined all into a continuous fundamental "law," which, in our opinion, is what was known as "the law" during all the regal period, or, if not, at least after the reign of Solomon. The details can most of them be traced here and there in the other books of the Pentateuch, either in identical form or developed as the spirit of prophecy may have directed.

We have in Deuteronomy, therefore, a culmination and codification of what the books of Exodus and Numbers give us in the circumstances of its origin and historic sequence. Deuteronomy was the working law both for magistrates and

people. This codification would not, of course, take from the sacredness of what Moses had written and put in charge of the priests just before his death—the final covenant. That must have been preserved in the original, or by copy, as long as the ark with its sacred arcana. And, as has been said, the bringing out of this revered original—the *ipsissima verba* of Moses—would have been quite sufficient to produce the highest pitch of the reforming excitement in the time of Josiah.

It remains to consider the two lyrical compositions with which the work of Moses concludes. "The Song" has been the subject of much criticism independently of the rest of the book, as also "the Blessing." The general verdict in regard to the former has been that it is as old at least as the rest of the book, even from those who have denied its Mosaic origin. There is abundant reason for regarding it, like the rest of the book, as of Mosaic origin, but having been subjected to subsequent editing under prophetic authority. Such lyrical compositions are characteristic of early non-literary ages, and have always been the first steps from purely oral tradition to literary records. In the first place, the Song is thoroughly in the spirit of Deuteronomy, and may almost be called a summing up of its moral instructions. Besides, it is woven into its very texture by chap. xxxi. 19–29.

Again, it supplements in an essential manner the method of Deuteronomy for keeping in mind the law of God, so as to make it possible to fulfil the directions for the constant instruction of the young. We have spoken of the apparent insufficiency of the public reading of the law once in seven years. But with the great truths in a form easily committed to memory the case is changed. Moses was bidden to "teach the song to the children of Israel, put it in their mouths as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed." The Song and the Blessing were probably not alone in this use; but we must suppose that other poetic

compositions by Moses and different authors, like those spoken at the Red Sea and the books of "the wars of Jehovah" and of "Jasher," were in constant repetition among the people. Everything, therefore, points to Moses as the author of the original of this song.

But if we find that it must be held to be an indissoluble part of Deuteronomy, we gain new evidence that Deuteronomy, as we know it, was known to the prophets Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea. Their references to it are frequent and clear, considering its length, just as we should expect if the song was in the mouths of the many. (See Isa. i. 2; xxvii. 11; xxx. 9, 17; Amos v. 25, 26; Hosea iv. 7; vi. 3; ix. 10.) Of all literature, however, popular lyrics have ever been most subject to change, both accidentally in passing from mouth to mouth, and of purpose in revision and adaptation. It is not strange, therefore, that some have seemed to detect late forms in the Song. Indeed, it would be strange if they were not there. Nor would it be strange if the matter itself had undergone any changes that did no violence to the original spirit and intent.

The Blessing has much more of the appearance of an appendix to the rest of the book, especially as it occurs in the midst of the account of the death of Moses.

It is like, in this, the blessing of Jacob, which is a part of the narrative of the end of that patriarch. A number of writers have discussed the two together. Professor H. Zimmer,¹ perhaps the latest critic of the blessing of Jacob, speaks of the "blessing of Moses" as "dependent throughout" upon the former. This critic seeks to relate these poems with Assyrian poetry based upon the mythological beast-forms in the zodiac. One would think from such writers that when animal forms were placed in the sky, they left the earth altogether, and that thereafter all illustrations drawn from the animal kingdom had to be taken from the zodiac! There is

¹ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Aug. 1892.

no doubt that the astrology and the astronomical mythology of the East were known to the Hebrews, and that their thought was more or less affected by this knowledge, but not so but that illustrations from the animals occurred to them at first hand. The lion, e. g., is used for illustration in the Old Testament some eighty times, and the wild bull and serpent frequently. The astronomers went to the animals for illustrations, and so must every other class of thinkers have done with a like independence.

The thought of the Blessing, from the twenty-sixth verse on, seems supplementary to the Song. This latter is made up largely of foreboding and threatening, and does not by itself seem to be exactly what the great leader would have been likely to leave for the thoughts and mouths of all, but, taken in connection with the last section of the Blessing, all would be complete, and the goodness of Jehovah and the prosperity of his faithful people be set in strong bright colors. In these features, too, we begin to see evidence of the date of the Blessing. Whether we regard it as prophecy or as idealized history, it certainly could not have been written after the revolt of the northern tribes. It is as a whole that "Israel dwelleth in safety." "Israel is happy . . . saved by Jehovah the shield of thy help." No such period of prosperity as is here depicted can be pointed out before the reign of David. It is to be remarked, also, that the word *Jeshurun*, a poetic designation of the people, occurs only in the Song and the Blessing in the Pentateuch—a circumstance which seems to place the two together in time.

We are unable to think, however, that Moses wrote or spoke the Blessing entirely in its present shape. The omission of any mention of the tribe of Simeon would seem decisive of this. According to the preceding narrative, Moses had just assigned Simeon his part in the great drama of blessing and cursing on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal; and we cannot suppose that he would immediately after pass this tribe

entirely in a special mention of all by name. To suppose that all the text in which Simeon was mentioned has accidentally fallen away from its connection is a desperate refuge. The ideal form does not so easily disappear from literature. Indeed the ideal Simeon reappears in Ezekiel and Revelation. It is also quite certain that a writer who was aiming to pass off a deceptive fiction as the work of Moses, would never have thought of omitting one of the tribes. In this light the omission of the name of Simeon is strong evidence of the real historic character of the composition at its true date. We know that Simeon declined in importance and became more or less merged in Judah; and here probably lies the key both to the omission and the date of the Blessing in its present shape.

The blessing of Jacob had said: "I will divide them [Simeon and Levi] in Jacob and scatter them in Israel." In the sin and destruction by plague in the matter of Baal-Peor, Simeon seems to have had a large share (Num. xxv. 14). When the division of territory for the tribes was made, Simeon's share was "*in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah*" (Josh. xix. 1, 9). The chronicler says that Simeon "did not multiply like to the children of Judah" (1 Chron. iv. 27). But in David's time they brought out a respectable contingent for his installation in the kingdom (1 Chron. xii. 25); and there were Simeonites in Hezekiah's time (1 Chron. iv. 41-43); and in Josiah's time (2 Chron. xxxiv. 6); and in the time of the book of Judith (vi. 15). It therefore seems a not unreasonable conclusion that the lowest point in Simeon's history was during the period of the wars and oppression under the judges. If, in the eyes of their contemporaries, they ever became practically one with Judah, their part in the "Blessing of the tribes," supposing it to have started with Moses, may have been dropped.

Then, in the flowering of the monarchy under David, Simeon may have regained something of its lost position.

But still Simeon does not appear to have been accounted of at all in the revolt under Jeroboam. If he had been strong and so disposed, his position in the very bowels of Judah would have enabled him to have paralyzed David's kingdom; but we hear of no disturbance of this kind. Thus while no demonstration of the exact state of the case seems possible, yet the omission of Simeon's name among the tribes must be said to correspond in a general way with the facts of history after the time of Joshua.

In conclusion it is pertinent to remark that the placing the date of Deuteronomy not later than the reign of Solomon affords the only rational explanation of the fact that the Pentateuch entire, and none of the later Hebrew scriptures, was received by the Samaritans.

ARTICLE IV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE OF THE RELATION OF CHRIST'S DEATH TO THE OLD TESTAMENT SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM.

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THE present paper is not a study in constructive theology. Its sole and simple purpose is to collect and report, with not the least theological design, the evidence which shall give the view of the New Testament writers as to the relation of Jesus Christ to the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. I have tried, so far as I could, in reading the New Testament over and over again while studying the subject, to put aside all prepossession derived from any system of theology, and ask simply, What does the New Testament say on this subject? The question is not as to Christ as a Saviour, or as a suffering Saviour, or as one who saved us by his blood and death, nor is it any question about Christ's sacrifice in any tropical or figurative sense of the word, meaning simply his self-denial or suffering or death. On that there can be no question—it is only the question what the New Testament teaches about the relation of Christ's life or death to the Old Testament sacrificial system, and what was the thought of those writers as to Christ's having or not having, as antitype, fulfilled a type found in the Jewish sacrifices, and provided and ordained to foreshadow the true and sufficient sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The New Testament writers believed that Christ suffered and died that men might be saved. Did his death have anything to do with the old sacrifices, and if so, what?

It is necessary, by way of introduction, to recall what are the Old Testament ordinances of sacrifice. We must remember that there were a number of different kinds of sacrifice, having different meanings. The following may be mentioned:—

1. *The covenant sacrifice.* This is not provided for in the Jewish ritual. The illustration of it is the sacrifice at the time of the covenant of God with Abraham, when God passed between the severed parts of the she-goat, the ram, the turtle-dove, and the pigeon. Its purpose was to add solemnity and sanction to the immutable promise made in the covenant between the parties.

2. *The peace offering.* This was a sort of thank offering, an expression of gratitude to God, and thousands of animals were offered on special occasions, such as the dedication of the temple. It was the kind of offering made on festal occasions; and accordingly the household which offered it ate it before the Lord, the Lord being conceived as partaking of it and pleased with its sweet odor, while a portion, the breast and right shoulder, was given to the priest. The sentiment, or purpose, connected with this sacrifice was grateful acknowledgment and joy.

3. Similar to this, and indeed representing the same thought of loving and grateful fellowship with God, were *the meal offerings and the drink offerings.* They consisted the one of wine, the other of flour, salt, oil, and incense, and were offered at the regular times of the burnt offerings.

4. *The regular burnt offerings, offered every morning and every evening.* The animal offered was a lamb, except on Sabbaths and certain high feast-days, when it might be two lambs or two bullocks, a ram and seven lambs. These were wholly consumed, wholly offered to God. The first offering of Abel was of this sort, and the purpose is to express loyalty to Jehovah, obedience and honor, by offering to him the choicest possessions. Occasionally these whole burnt

offerings were presented as a freewill offering, differing from the peace offering in that it was wholly consumed, but having substantially the same meaning of gratitude or loyalty; only God was supposed to take the whole of it, instead of the worshipper eating the most of it in a feast with his household.

5. *The passover* may be mentioned here, though not strictly a sacrifice. It was not offered, at least at first, at an altar, but was killed at the home of the household, but afterwards it was slain at Jerusalem, and the blood sprinkled on the altar and the fat burned. It was roasted and eaten by the household. At first the blood was sprinkled on the doorposts, so that the destroying angel might distinguish the homes of the Jews from those of the Egyptians. The Egyptians were God's enemies, and the Hebrews his friends, recognized as such by the blood, the sprinkling of which was a sort of profession of faith. The passover became the great festal occasion of the year, like our Independence day, and the roasted lamb was like our Christmas or Thanksgiving dinner. It reminded the people of their escape from Egypt and the deliverance of their first-born when the first-born of Egypt were slain.

6. With this may be barely mentioned such sacrifices as those offered under the form of the redemption of the first-born, and the purification of women after childbirth, expressions of gratitude to God.

7. *The sin offering* was offered for an entirely different purpose,—that of confession of sin, and placating the anger of God, and thus atoning for sin. The sacrifice was a goat or a bullock, and it was offered with special solemnity on the day of atonement, and occasionally, if not frequently, at other times.

8. *The trespass offering* had much the same regulations as the sin offering, and though it is somewhat confused with the sin offering, one may conjecture that it was offered for in-

advertent offences. Like the sin offering, it was not to be eaten by the worshippers, but was the perquisite of the priest who represented God. Unlike the sin offering, it might be a ram instead of a goat.

9. *Sacrifices with a view to ritual cleansing*; such as, the slaying of a bird whose blood should be sprinkled on a leper, or the burning of a red heifer whose ashes should be kept to mix with water for sprinkling those who were impure by touching a dead body. This was called "the water of separation," and said to be a "purification of sin."

The distinction between these various kinds of sacrifice, as well as their varying ideas or purposes, must be kept in mind by one who studies the application of the term or figure of sacrifice to the death of our Lord. Some sacrifices were to make atonement for sin, while others were intended to express gratitude or fellowship or loyalty or covenant faithfulness. Some were expressions of sorrow and penitence, which should bring forgiveness, while others expressed gladness and festivity.

Before turning now to the New Testament treatment of our Lord's death as a sacrifice, it may be well to recall some one typical statement of the doctrine as it has come into our modern theology. I quote from the Assembly's Shorter Catechism:—

"Q. 25. How doth Christ execute the office of a priest?"

"A. Christ executeth the office of a priest in his once offering up of himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us."

The Westminster Larger Catechism says:—

"The covenant of grace was administered under the Old Testament by promises, prophecies, sacrifices, circumcision, the passover, and other types and ordinances, which did all fore-signify Christ then to come, and were for that time sufficient to build up the elect in faith in the coming Messiah, by whom they then had full remission of sin and eternal salvation."—A. 34.

The Confession of Faith says:—

"There are not two covenants of grace differing in substance, but one and the same under various dispensations."—vii. 6.

In the three synoptic Gospels there is no mention anywhere of any connection between Christ and the sacrifices of the law. He is nowhere called a sacrifice, nor is the figure of sacrifice used in connection with him. He is called a Saviour, and it is stated that he should save his people from their sins (Matt. i. 21), but that he should save them by becoming a sacrifice for them is not stated anywhere. The only passage in which we might look for it is in the formula for the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, "Take, eat. This [bread] is my body given [or broken] for you. This do in remembrance of me." "This cup is the new testament [or covenant] in my blood, which is shed for many unto remission of sins."

Here there is no mention of sacrifice, and probably no thought of the Jewish sacrifice is here suggested. If it were a sacrifice, it would be a covenant offering, solemnizing a new covenant, and the participants of the covenant on the human side would be eating and drinking the sacrifice accompanying it. But this is making too much of the word "covenant." The early Christians did not discover in the words of institution any picture of sacrifice. In "The Teaching of the Apostles" the prayers preceding the distribution of the elements are thus prescribed:—

"Now concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks; first concerning the cup; 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy Vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy Servant: to thee be the glory forever.' And concerning the broken bread: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy Servant; to thee be the glory forever. Just as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and having been gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto thy Kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.'"

Here we see that the Gospel story of the institution of the Supper suggested not a sacrifice, but the Vine of David. It is worth while to mention that the ambiguity of the English version in the words "given" (or "broken") "*for you,*" "*shed for many,*" is not in the Greek. The original does

not allow the thought of substitution here; it is "broken *in behalf* of many," *ὐπὲρ*, not *ἀντὶ*, *instead* of; and the blood is "shed *with reference* to many," *περὶ*.

The "Apostolic Constitutions" equally fail to suggest, in the ritual of the Eucharist, any thought of a sacrifice, whether covenant offering or sin offering.

The Gospel of John is equally silent as to any reference to Christ as a sacrifice therein fulfilling a type found in the Lord. We are told that "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up" (John ii. 14); but this is a simile which has nothing to do with a sacrifice of any sort. Christ also calls himself "the bread of life," and "the water of life"; but these are figures of sustenance, not of sacrifice. He says "I lay down my life for my sheep" (John x. 15); but here, again, it is not the figure of sacrifice under which our Lord illustrates his death, but that of a faithful, protecting shepherd.

There is in the Gospel of John just one passage, a very interesting and important one, which may seem to suggest the sacrifice of the Mosaic law. It is the utterance of John the Baptist to his disciples when he seeth Jesus coming: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world" (John i. 29). Let us inquire how such words would strike a Jewish believer, such as were those to whom John spoke.

If there be a sacrifice here alluded to, it must be the sin offering—he "taketh away the sins of the world." But could the expression suggest a sin offering to a Jew? I think not, and especially for this reason, that the lamb was not used for a sin offering, but a bullock or a goat. The author of Hebrews spoke with exactness when he said that the "blood of bulls and goats" cannot take away sin, for these were the animals offered, not lambs. What, then, was the figure, or thought, in the mind of John the Baptist, if it was not a sin offering? I think it comes from the fifty-third chapter of

Isaiah. The word is not the *ἀρνίον* of the Revelation, but the *ἀμνός* of Isaiah. There we have the lamb brought in connection with bearing our griefs and carrying our sorrows, but it is not a lamb of sacrifice. What we are told is that he opened not his mouth, but was as patient and speechless as a lamb in the hands of a butcher, or a sheep in the hands of a shearer—certainly not a sin offering. “He was wounded for our transgressions: he was bruised for our iniquity: the chastisement of our peace was upon him: and with his stripes we are healed.” These figures of wounding, bruising, or chastising with stripes are certainly not those of a sacrifice, and yet the bearing of our sins and the picture of a slaughtered lamb (or a shorn lamb, as the Septuagint has it) come together as they do not anywhere else in the Old Testament. In verse 10, however, we read, “When his soul shall make a trespass offering [not sin offering] he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days,” etc.

In the book of Acts there is no passage which bears on our subject. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, his address to Cornelius, and equally the story of Paul's own conversion, and his directions to inquiring converts, to the Athenians and to the elders of Ephesus, as also his speech to the priests and elders at Jerusalem, contain no reference to Christ's death as being an atoning sacrifice for the sins of men. We should know as little from the book of Acts as from the four Gospels that Christ's *sacrificial* death was any part of the Christian faith. Of course I do not mean by this that Christ's death is not declared to be an essential part of the Christian faith, nor that he did not die as the Saviour of Jew and Gentile; but that this death was in the nature of the Mosaic sacrifice, or that it was the antitype, of which the sacrifices on the altar were the type, nowhere appears in the Gospels or the Acts.

We now turn to the epistles of Paul, curious to discover whether so important an element in modern theology is made

prominent in Paul's own writings, while it was overlooked by Luke in his account of Paul's missionary tours. We shall find that Luke did not fail to understand and interpret the great apostle. In not one of his epistles is the thought that Christ fulfilled the sacrificial type, or was such an atonement or expiation for sin as were the sin offerings of the Mosaic law, either developed as a doctrine, or assumed or implied with any clear distinctness as a matter of common faith. The importance of Christ's death is again and again declared. "His blood," we are told, taketh away our sins. We are "reconciled through the death of his Son;" we are "baptized with his death;" we are "crucified with him;" "one died for all;" "for whose sakes Christ died;" we are "made nigh in his blood." In these and other passages the efficiency of Christ's death or blood is asserted and assumed, but nowhere are we told that this death was a fulfilling of the sacrifice of the law, or that they were a type of him. I think we must be on our guard against an acquired prepossession which assumes that the mention of blood is any reference to sacrifice. Not much was made of blood in sacrifices. It was not burned or cared for, but thrown away. Blood is the symbol of life, not of sacrifice.

One passage, however, must be considered in this connection, "For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ" (1 Cor. v. 7). This is not a statement made with any doctrinal intent. Paul is bidding the Corinthian believers to excommunicate a member guilty of incest. He tells them that such impurity defiles the whole church. Such a leaven as that may corrupt the whole lump; they must therefore purge out such old leaven, regarding this as passover time, for Christ our paschal lamb has been killed, and the feast must not be kept with the leaven of fornication or malice or wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. The metaphor of the leaven removed at the passover Paul carries out and completes by comparing Christ with the lamb

No! From first to last ut most importance attaches to the disposition of the blood
 cf. G.F. Moore's article on "Sacrifice" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1903) IV, 4183-4233.
 Moore says: "Indeed, it may be said that this is the one universal and indispensable constituent of sacrifice."

slain for the paschal feast. It would not be fair to draw from it any doctrinal teaching, especially as the paschal lamb was scarcely a sacrifice, and was killed not in the least as a sin offering, but to make a joyful feast.

There are two other passages in Paul's epistles where we very easily read into the apostle's words a reference to the sacrifices, although they are not mentioned. One of these is Romans viii. 5: "God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and *for sin*, condemned sin in the flesh." Here the Revisers insert the words "*as an offering* for sin." But a note in the margin allows the inserted words to be omitted, as I certainly think they should be. If any word is to be inserted, it is *redemption*, not *offering*, for Paul was not accustomed to think of Christ's death as an offering or sacrifice. The other passage is 2 Cor. v. 21: "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin in our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him." This is often interpreted so as to read, "he made to be a *sin offering* on our behalf," but that would be intensive, defining what is not elucidated, and would add a figure not expressed nor really implied. The thought simply is that Christ was treated like a sinner, and so made sin.

It will thus be seen that the thought of our Lord's having fulfilled the sacrifice type, and thus done away with sacrifice, was not a part of Paul's thought. He did not think of the sacrifices as a type fulfilled in Christ, but as an outworn ordinance now passing away. It had served its time, was transitory and effete, but it was not fulfilled. The two thoughts do not harmonize. Paul's thought of an outworn ordinance, "that which passeth away" (2 Cor. iii. 11, 13), is incongruous with the thought of its fulfilment and completion in Christ. At any rate, Paul does not give any expression to the latter idea.

What then was Paul's favorite way of illustrating the efficacy of Christ's death? It was by the use of the figure im-

plied in the words *redeem* and *redemption*, not *sacrifice*, or *offering*. Indeed he was more apt to use the term *sacrifice* or *offering*, as applied to himself and other believers than to Christ. He bids them present their bodies, "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God" (Rom. xii. 2), and he is himself "ready to be offered upon the sacrifice and service" of their faith (Phil. ii. 17). This use of the figure of sacrifice is easy and familiar to him; not the other which applies it to Christ. It is remarkable that in none of his compact epitomes of Christian faith,—such as 1 Tim. iii. 16, where we are told that Christ "was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up unto glory,"—in none of these is Christ's sacrificial work alluded to. Indeed his death is apt to be omitted entirely, as in the above, or mentioned only as the necessary prelude to his more important resurrection.

I say it was not the figure of sacrifice,—but of a redemption, redeemer, a ransom,—by which Paul preferred to illustrate the efficacy of the death of Christ. We are justified "through the *redemption* that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood" (Rom. iii. 24-25). This redemption is from the bondage and slavery of the law, whose penalty is death, but from which we are now discharged and delivered by this redemption, for "God sent forth his Son, born under the law, that he might *redeem* them which were under the law," giving these redeemed slaves "the adoption of sons," instead of their old bondage (Gal. iv. 4, 5). We now have *redemption* through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses" (Eph. i. 7). He is the one "mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a *ransom* for all" (1 Tim. ii. 6). He "gave himself for us that he might *redeem* us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works" (Titus ii. 14). The figure of a redeemer and a ransom is a different one from that of a

sacrifice. It does not connect itself with the Mosaic sacrificial system. It is built on a different thought, that of a slave to be purchased, and is, indeed, more clearly and positively substitutionary than is the sacrifice in general, or even the sin offering in particular. The words *ἀγοράζω, ἐξαγοράζω, λύτρον, λυτρόω*, are words of the market and of price, not of the altar. The familiar doctrine of a substitutionary atonement, whether general or of the elect only, is founded not on passages which have to do with sacrifices or sin offerings, but chiefly and wholly, so far as Paul is concerned, on those that use the figure of the ransom of a slave. Indeed Paul himself gets it probably from the very words of our Lord, who, as reported both by Matthew and Mark (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45), says that the Son of man came "to give his life a *ransom* for many." We are apt to wonder that the early Christian church could ever have explained Christ's death as having purchased a ransom from the devil; but that theory has its basis in a better understanding of Paul than is that which is concerned only with finding a fulfilment of a sacrificial type.

What is true of Paul is true of the general epistles of Peter, James, Jude, and John, and of the Revelation. There is not a passage in any one of these eight books in which Christ's death is in any way definitely connected with the Jewish sacrifice. The figure of cleansing is used by John—"The blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John i. 7)—to denote sanctification, and perhaps refers to ritual sprinklings with the water of separation. Similarly Peter speaks (1 Peter i. 2) of those who are elect "unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." In both of these passages there is an illustrative allusion to sprinkling of those who are ceremonially impure, as by touching a dead body, in which case the water of purification, mingled with the ashes of a heifer, was sprinkled; or of the cured lepers, in which case they were sprinkled with the blood of a bird. But these are hardly references to sacrifices. Peter commands the faith-

ful "to be sober, to be holy, not after the former lusts, to pass the time of their rejoicing in fear, knowing that they were *redeemed*," not by the purchase of such contemptible things as silver and gold, with which redemption from slavery is usually purchased, but with precious blood, "as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ," who was foreordained, manifested in due time, raised from the dead, and received unto glory (1 Peter i. 13-21). Here the figure begins with redemption, but the mention of Christ's blood suggests another simile, "as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," the sort of lamb used in sacrifice; but this mention of a lamb is subsidiary, and has no doctrinal significance, and certainly does not suggest the sin offering, which was not a lamb, but a goat or a bullock. A similar figure of ransom by purchase is found in Rev. v. 9, "Thou wast slain, and didst *purchase* us unto God with thy blood." Such being the predominating figure used in all these books, it is not strange, I say, that the early church gave pre-eminence to the thought of redemption as explaining the atonement. They only developed the figure a little further, supposing it to be the devil from whom Christ purchased his redeemed, instead of from an abstraction like sin or death or the law. They had, however, a further suggestion of their theory of the atonement in a passage from the only book of the New Testament which remains for us to consider, the Epistle, written by an unknown author, to the Hebrews.

That parallel, or contrast, between Christ's death and the sacrificial system which we miss in all the rest of the New Testament we find in abundance, in the book of Hebrews. Nor is it anything accidental or subsidiary, but it is the very purpose of the book, and the essential thing in its thought, to connect Jesus Christ's priesthood and sacrifice with those of the Mosaic ritual. The object of the Epistle is to encourage the Hebrew believers to patient constancy by showing the superiority of the Christian to the Mosaic dispensation;

and this is developed from the text "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." The writer has to show that the Melchizedek style of priest is superior to the Aaron style. That is his way of defending and exalting Christianity as addressing the Hebrews. His argument requires him constantly to disparage and belittle the Mosaic ritual by showing that it was temporary and inferior to the priesthood of Melchizedek and Christ. He therefore gathers a great many points of comparison, all of which centre about his Messianic prophetic text, "Thou art a *priest* forever after the order of Melchizedek." Let us look at these points of comparison.

And in a preliminary way we may notice that the author of Hebrews, although he does not make the figure of redemption a prominent one as he does that of sacrifice, yet in a single passage, before reaching his text, develops the thought of it in a peculiar and unusual way which gave the key to the early Christian theology of redemption. He says: "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, he also himself in like manner partook of the same; that through death he might bring to naught him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." Here we have specified the bondage or slavery through fear of death, and the deliverance through Christ's death, which brought to naught the devil who had the power of death. That is, Christ died, and his death redeemed from death and the devil those whom the devil had under his power condemned to death. I cannot see but that this thought is clearly expressed in this passage and was properly deduced from it in the early Christian theory of redemption. If they erred, it was only in elevating a figure of speech into a dogma, a common error of literalists. It will be observed that this is an entirely different figure from that of sacrifice, and that the author of Hebrews has developed it farther than Paul ever did, so as to apply to the devil what Paul applied to sin and death.

The text of this Epistle as quoted from the Psalms calls the Messiah "a priest after the order of Melchizedek." The author, however, calls Christ not a "priest," but a "high priest"; indeed he twice quotes this passage from Psalm cx., substituting "high priest" for "priest." This was most natural, as the dignity of Christ required the designation. The high priest of that time was the chief officer of the nation, both religiously and politically. Christ could be no ordinary priest, he was "the apostle and high priest of our confession," both its Moses and its Aaron. But this change of the word "priest" to "high priest" brought into special prominence the peculiar functions of the high priest in the Jewish service, as we shall see as we proceed.

The first thing we observe in the argument of our Epistle is that the contrast is made as clear as possible between the order, or nature, of the two dispensations. We are told that a change of the priesthood involves a change of the law (vii. 12), the one being that of "a carnal commandment," the other of "an endless life" (ver. 16): that there was "a disannulling of a foregoing commandment because of its weakness and unprofitableness" (ver. 18); that this is a new and better covenant (viii. 6), necessary because the first, "which is becoming old and waxeth aged," "is nigh unto vanishing away" (ver. 13). The two covenants are different things,—one fleshly and formal, the other spiritual, written on the heart. The thought is not of the first fulfilled in the second, but replaced by it. And yet if Christ is a priest, and a high priest at that, there must be points of parallelism as well as of contrast. There must be priestly functions in both, but those functions executed in different ways. The writer proceeds to show what Christ, if a priest, must do, and does do, and for this purpose he has to compare him with the Jewish priest, and especially high priest.

After opening the proposition that Christ is the great high priest, and connecting him with the text, "Thou art a

priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," the author states the duties of the high priest.

"Every high priest, being taken from among men, is appointed for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both *gifts* and *sacrifices for sins*" (v. 1). There are, as we have before seen, generally speaking, two kinds of offerings,—one, "gifts," including peace offerings, meal offerings, freewill offerings; and the other, "sacrifices for sins," the sin offering. The latter appears to be the most important, at least it is the most impressive and distinctive in which the high priest officiated, for it was the most solemn offering of the great day of atonement. The other offerings, the "gifts," might be offered by any priest, and they were vastly more numerous and familiar, but this could be offered only by the high priest. And so the author goes on to say (ver. 3) that he "is bound, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for *sins*," the sin offering again. After this explanation of the duty of the human high priest to offer both freewill offerings and sin offerings, he goes on to apply this duty to Christ, and says of him: "Who in the days of his flesh, having offered up *prayers*, and *supplications*, with *strong crying* and *tears*, unto him that was able to save him from death, and having been heard for his godly fear, though he was a son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; and having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of *eternal salvation*; named of God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek." It is remarkable here that the author does not have it yet clear in his mind that the offering which Christ made, whether freewill or sin offering, was his own life, his own blood, and that it was this which was parallel to the Jewish sacrifices of goats, bullocks, or lambs. On the other hand, the offering which he presented was "prayers, supplications, with strong crying and tears." This is not what we might have expected if there were developed in his own thought a distinct doctrine of type

and antitype, which must be found in the book of Hebrews, if anywhere in the Bible.

A little clearer the author seems to be in the next passage, which speaks of Christ as offering sacrifice (vii. 26, 27): "For such a high priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens: who needeth not daily, like the high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for the sins of the people: for this he did once when he offered up himself." Here Christ himself is the sin offering. We are not told just how he offered himself, whether it was by his incarnation, or by the "prayers," "supplications," and "strong crying and tears," just mentioned, or by his own death; but it is clearly stated that he himself is a sin offering, corresponding to the sin offering of the law. We must not disguise in this passage a certain difficulty connected with the word "daily," which word, if interpreted strictly, would imply that the high priest offered sin offerings every day, which, as is well known, he did not. The true explanation is not that which would make the daily burnt offering a sin offering, which it was not; but is found in the fact that the high priest probably did offer frequent sacrifices of various sorts, of which the writer specifies only the most important for his purpose, that for sins; or we may suppose that *καθ' ἡμέραν* is used here loosely to mean *again and again*, it being the writer's object to show that Christ's sacrifice was not often repeated like those offered by the Jewish high priest.

We now come to the eighth chapter, in which the writer takes a new start. "Now in the things which we are saying the chief point is this: We have such a high priest, who sat down on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle [that is, heaven], which the Lord pitched, not man." Notice that the important thing is the possession of a high priest better than anything Mosaic, the possession of Christ, of this priest in

the heavens, rather than his sacrifices. The writer will proceed to show that he had sacrifices, so as to prove that he is such a priest. And so he goes on to repeat what he said before, that (ver. 3) "every high priest is appointed to offer both gifts and sacrifices." The word *sin* is here omitted, as not being extremely important; for the same reason that he mentioned "gifts," because he has not yet got it clear in his mind that Christ's great purpose was to offer a sin offering. What he has clear in his mind is that he is a priest, and to him one function of a priest is as good as another. It is as essential to mention that he is a minister of the "sanctuary and true tabernacle" as that he offers sin offerings. He proceeds: "Now if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all"—but was he not a priest on earth, when offering his life? That is not the thought just now, for his priesthood is exercised in the true tabernacle above—"he would not be a priest at all, seeing there are those who offer the gifts according to the law." Notice here that the sin offerings are entirely omitted, and that only the gifts are mentioned as the first sacrifice that comes to mind. And notice that in his thought the Mosaic law and ritual is not yet done away—"there *are* those who offer"—still offer—"the gifts according to the law." It is clearly not his thought that, the antitype having been offered, the type is no longer valid and has ceased to be operative.

The writer continues his thought by showing that a new covenant was promised, which implies that the old covenant was faulty. This new covenant was to be in the heart and the mind. The ninth chapter is devoted to the contrast of these two covenants, the first with its tabernacle, candlestick, veil, showbread: its most Holy place, with its pot of manna, Aaron's rod, the tables of the covenant, cherubim and mercy-seat (altars of sacrifice not mentioned). Into this Holy of holies, he says, the high priest enters once a year, sprinkling the blood of a sin offering. The exclusion of all but the high

priest shows, he says, the imperfection of these "gifts and offerings" and other "carnal ordinances," and that there was need of a "time of reformation"—not of fulfilment, let it be noted, but of change.

Now, under a new covenant, we have a better high priest, whose tabernacle is heaven, into which he has entered, and with blood. The parallel would require him to sprinkle heaven, the true tabernacle, with his blood, but that would seem inept, and so he changes the illustration entirely, and in a way not logically legitimate, to the ceremony for sprinkling people ceremonially unclean, and says: "If the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, sanctify unto the cleanness of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God, cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?" Here purification comes from sprinkling with the blood of Christ, compared with sprinkling those who are unclean from touching a dead body with the water of separation. And notice that the efficacy of this sprinkling is not justification with God by the forgiveness of sins secured by the sacrifice of a substitute, but is to "cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." It secures sanctification rather than justification. But this is a fact that will be observed again and again in Hebrews. It is holiness rather than forgiveness which is secured by the blood of Christ.

Now comes one of the most tortuous bits of argument in the whole Epistle, one that cannot be translated into English, because its force depends on two senses of the same Greek word, which require in English two different words, *covenant* and *testament*. It is incredible that the writer could have had it clear in mind, that as the sin offering was killed, so Christ must be killed as a better substitutionary sacrifice, and could then, when he had spoken of Christ's blood, have branched off from the thought of the *διαθήκη*, *covenant*, to

the *διαθήκη*, *will*, or *testament*, and made Christ's death necessary so that this new *διαθήκη*, *testament*, might become operative. This great flaw in his argument, or rather, this extraordinary side-tracking of his illustration on another sense of the Greek word for *covenant*, is absolute proof that he had no clear theory as to what was the ground of necessity for Christ's death. Had he understood it to be because Christ was a sin offering corresponding to the ritual sacrifice, he would not have here made it to be because "there must of necessity be the death of the *testator*."

After this diversion the writer reverts to the meaning *covenant*, and repeats that the things in the tabernacle were cleansed with blood, and that without shedding of blood there was, under the Jewish ritual, one might almost say, no remission. But this tabernacle was only a copy of heavenly things, and the heavenly things themselves must be cleansed with better sacrifices. This time it is the heavens, inept as it may be, not the people, that are cleansed, by Christ's offering of himself only once made. Here the language is emphatic and important. "Now once at the end of the ages hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment; so Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for him, unto salvation." Here the illustration is unmistakable, that as the high priest once a year, on the day of atonement, sprinkled the blood of a bullock and a goat, in the sanctuary, so Jesus once put away sin, the sin of the people, by sprinkling the heavens with his own blood; and that as men die once and afterwards meet their judgment, so Christ died once and once only, a death wherein he was a sacrifice to bear the sins of many; and that when he appears a second time in judgment, he will not have to repeat his offering for sin, but will simply give salvation to them that wait for him. Here, at last, the writer, after con-

siderable wavering and uncertainty, comes out clear and settles down on the illustration of the sin offering, as that which parallels the death of Christ. This illustration he maintains, where needed, in the tenth chapter, in which, as throughout the book, the argument is that the ritual of sacrifice is annulled by the new covenant, wherein "we have been sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (ver. 10, 12, 14, 29). In the thirteenth chapter a further development is made of the comparison between Christ and the sin offering, in that this offering on the day of atonement was burned without the camp, and so Christ suffered without the gate. Similarly we who have no abiding city should follow him to his place of shame, and there offer our sacrifices, those of praise, confession, and alms (ver. 15, 16).

The book ends with a beautiful ascription of praise to God, which shows how little *doctrinal* value the writer puts on the illustration of Christ as a sacrifice. He says: "Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep with the blood of the eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus, make you perfect," etc. Here the death is that of a shepherd, not a sacrifice, nor a priest. It is true that the "blood of the covenant" is not a covenant offering, as might at first seem to be the case, but if the writer had developed his thought, rather the sin offering with its sprinkled blood. He has, however, not held it clear enough in mind to prevent him from confusing the death of a sacrifice with the death of a shepherd.

One other point, already hinted at, needs notice. What is the effect of Christ's death regarded as a sacrifice? I answer, that while there is no single, clear, consistent statement of the nature of his offering, the prevailing thought is not that it secures forgiveness or justification, but purification, or sanctification. The idea of substitution or purchase is much less clear than in Paul's figure of redemption, a word which the author of Hebrews uses twice, but in a general sense of de-

liverance. That sanctification, purity, holiness, the escape from the control of sin, is the chief advantage secured to us by Christ's death appears from numerous passages. We are told that Christ himself was "made *perfect* through suffering" (ii. 9), that by "learning obedience" and being thus "made perfect" he became the author of eternal salvation (v. 9); that "the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish unto God" will "*cleanse your conscience from dead works* to serve the living God" (ix. 14); that "we have been *sanctified* through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ" (x. 10); that "by one offering he hath *perfected* forever them that are sanctified" (x. 14); that one must not profane "the blood of the covenant wherewith he was *sanctified*" (x. 29); and once more that "Jesus also that he might *sanctify* the people through his own blood, suffered without the gate" (xiii. 12). The most definite statements about the purpose of Christ's death given in Hebrews are those that make it sanctification rather than justification.

In concluding, we need to consider for a moment those passages in Hebrews where we may possibly look for the current doctrine that the Jewish sacrifices were designed to be a type or "pattern" which should be fulfilled and done away in Christ. We are told that heaven is the "true tabernacle," where Christ is, that if he were on earth "he would not be a priest at all, seeing there are"—are yet, after Christ's resurrection—"those who offer the gifts according to the law," and whose priesthood therefore is conceived as continuing after Christ, which could hardly be the fact if he had already fulfilled this type; "who serve that which is a *copy* and *shadow* of the heavenly things, even as Moses is warned of God when he is about to make the tabernacle, for, See, saith he, that thou make it according to the *pattern* that was showed thee in the mount" (viii. 5). It is on this passage that the idea of pattern or type is chiefly founded. The tabernacle was drafted after the pattern of the heavens. The heavens are

the true tabernacle. It is not Christ on earth, suffering here, that is the antitype, but Christ in the heavens and sprinkling his blood there, not here. Accordingly we are told that "it was necessary that the *copies* of the things in the heavens should be cleansed with these" sprinklings of blood, water, scarlet wool and hyssop, "but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these": and accordingly "Christ entered not into a holy place made with hands, like in pattern to the true; but into heaven itself" (ix. 23, 24). In one single passage we come nearer to the thought of type and antitype, where we read that the law has "a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things" (x. 1). But these "good things to come" are not Christ's death, but Christ in heaven, victorious, risen, securing our salvation. The thought is nowhere made clear that the sacrifices were the type of Christ's death. What we really have is a comparison between Christ's death and the sacrifices, and a strong statement of the fact that the new dispensation is something really new, different from the first and better, that inasmuch as the old dispensation had sacrifices the new priesthood must also, and that Christ is both priest and sin offering. It is not that because Christ was going to come and die, therefore sacrifices valueless in themselves must prefigure him; but that because the old had sacrifices the new must also. The order of thought is quite the reverse of that which is often given.

To quote the writer of Hebrews, "in the things which we are saying, the chief point is this," that while the doctrine of Christ as a bleeding, dying Saviour is found everywhere, the doctrine that he died as a sin offering to God, fulfilling the type of the Mosaic sacrifices, is not found in one of the four Gospels, nor in the Acts, nor in any of the Epistles of Paul, Peter, James, John or Jude, nor in the Revelation. The prevalent doctrinal figure used by Paul is that of the redemption of a slave, not the sacrifice of a sin offering. In the

Epistle to the Hebrews the argument against apostasy is devoted to the superiority of the new dispensation over the old, and is founded on the text, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," and this text requires the author to develop the duties of priests and make illustrative comparisons of the earthly high priest and our High Priest who is passed into the heavens, and to enumerate as many points of comparison as possible, making Christ's death sometimes a freewill offering, sometimes the death of a testator, sometimes, and more frequently, a sin offering, with whose blood the things in heaven are sprinkled. As to theories of the Atonement we have none, only assertions of Christ's death and its necessity, but no reason why it was necessary. Illustrations abound, especially parallels with the redemption of a slave and the sacrifice of bulls and goats in sin offerings, and various other illustrations, such as the passover sacrifice and the death of a testator. The doctrine of substitution is deduced not from the figure of sacrifice, but from that of redemption. Any definite and exclusive theology of Christ's redemptive, or vicarious, or substitutionary death, with its relation to the Father's wrath, as connected with Mosaic sacrifices, may or may not be true, but it is extra-biblical. About all the doctrine that Paul himself, or the author of Hebrews has to give us, was uttered by John the Baptist when he had his first view of Jesus coming to him, and said, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."

ARTICLE V.

THE HYMNODY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. JAMES H. ROSS, EAST SOMERVILLE, MASS.

AN English Baptist editor of hymnals for churches and Sabbath-schools, Rev. W. R. Stevenson, has truly said that "the hymnody of foreign missions is, as a whole, practically unknown. . . . Few have ever thought how much has been done by Christian missionaries in the translation and composition of hymns, the preparation of hymn-books, and in general, in the introduction of Christian hymnody among the various nations." There is but one allusion to the subject in the "Encyclopædia of Missions" (Funk and Wagnalls), and that relates to Japan.¹ It is due to the missionaries and to the subject, to the churches at home and to the missions in foreign lands, that the facts should be stated; for the hymn-book ranks next to the Bible or the Prayer-book in the services of the churches of all denominations, in importance and in common and constant uses. A new history and science of hymnology demand that the general theme, in all its departments, should receive more attention than it has received hitherto.

Something has been done to translate English hymns into the continental languages and to reproduce English hymnals. The "Gospel Hymns" of Moody and Sankey have been translated into many languages, and have had a history second only to their history in English-speaking countries. Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., in the historical introduction (p. xii) to his "Plymouth Hymnal," 1894, says: "I desire to put on record my profound sense of the obligation of the

¹ Vol. i. p. 500.

Christian church to those whose musical service has been rendered through what are known as 'The Gospel Songs.'"

The noticeable fact is that all who have been without the gospel, or who have known it only in corrupted and perverted forms, are fond of hymns. The marriage of sacred poetry to sacred music, in praise of God, in expression and promotion of religious experience, and in the advancement of the kingdom of God, appeals to universal human nature. It is a subject which admits only of partial and imperfect treatment, because no known library contains a complete collection of the hymnals.

Moravian hymnody and hymnody in North America require attention first. The Moravian has been the pioneer missionary church. Moravian missions on the west coast of Greenland began in 1721. The Greenlanders obtained their hymn-book in their own language in 1772. They have had a history of hymnody for one hundred and twenty-two years. They sing well in their homes, and churches, and on their fishing-voyages. In 1770, a Moravian missionary from Greenland, Jans Haven, crossed Davis Strait to Labrador, sang to the Eskimos a Greenlandic hymn, and they were reduced from a barbaric dance to silence, by its potent spell. The present hymnal of the Eskimos consists of about nine hundred hymns, mostly modern, translated by the Rev. Theodore Bourquin, published at Stolften, Germany, 1879, and sung to the same tunes as are the English hymns. Bishop Horden, of the diocese of Moosonee, in British North America, has recently published a hymnal, containing one hundred and fifty hymns, in the language of the Cree Indians. With the exception of three or four, the translations are by himself. Bishop W. Ridley has printed at Metlakahtla a collection of nineteen hymns, translated by himself and wife and Mrs. Morrison, for the use of the Tsimean Indians of British Columbia, on the north Pacific coast. J. B. McCullagh, a missionary on the upper Nias, has recently made additions to the collection of

hymns in the Niska dialect prepared by Rev. W. H. Collison. A metrical version of the twenty-third Psalm is very popular there. Messrs. W. H. Collison and C. Harrison have composed or translated some hymns which are sung by the Haidas of Queen Charlotte's Islands, off the coast of British Columbia. Rev. J. A. Hall has prepared a number of hymns for the use of the Kwa Gueth tribe, in the northern part of Vancouver's Island. The missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and of the American Missionary Association, Congregational bodies, have prepared hymnals for the Cherokee, Creek, Seneca, Ojibway, and Choctaw and Sioux Indians in the United States. Various hymns have been translated by Moravian missionaries into the language of the Moskito Indians, in Central America, but the English hymnals of various British denominations are used in Central America and in the West Indies, by the negro and Creole converts. So much is true of hymnody in North America through foreign missions.

In South America, the aborigines are taught to sing in English. For the Chinese and Indian coolies, hymn-books are imported from their native countries. A Dutch hymnal is used at Paramaribo, and a hymnal containing six hundred hymns has had a large sale among the negroes of Surinam. Little is known of the state of hymnody in the missions of the far greater part of South America.

The varieties of nationalities and dialects, akin yet different, in various lands and islands, imposes a vast work upon the missionaries in all kinds of translation. The first hymnal used in the Hawaiian Islands was published in 1823. Hymnody there is aged threescore years and eleven. Hymnody in the islands of the Pacific is in an advanced condition, on a par with the rapid progress in other particulars of the missionary movement there. The Melanesian chants are "monotonous and melancholy." The best Melanesian hymns are originals. Those who have been taught new tunes itinerate

and teach them to their fellows in the villages. The Melanesian poetry "is a kind of elevated prose cut up into divisions like verses, followed by choruses which are chiefly single syllables with no meaning." The life of Bishop Patteson by Miss Charlotte M. Yonge contains interesting references to psalms and hymns used in the language of Mota. Rev. Dr. Codrington says that the most interesting hymns in the Mota hymn-book, lately reprinted, are three by native composers, particularly one by a teacher named Clement Marau. The name is strangely suggestive of Clement Marot (1497-1544), the pioneer French hymnist.

There were in 1887 at least three hundred and fifty hymns in the Japanese language, and six Japanese Christian hymn-books. "Congregational singing is an innovation in Japan. In the Buddhist services the priests alone chant. But thousands of Japanese Christians now sing hymns heartily and even enthusiastically. The use of cabinet organs and harmoniums is common in the churches."

The hymnals of China are in the various colloquial languages. Translations and adaptations abound, owing to the deficiency of original Chinese Christian hymns and tunes. One peculiarity of Chinese poetry is that "the same rhyme is kept up from the beginning to the end of the hymn, an arrangement made easy by the nature of the language."

Over four hundred hymns exist in Siamese. A number of original Siamese hymns are by Kru Phoon, a Buddhist, who for a score of years has been employed by one of the missions as scribe and translator, and who has acquired a fair acquaintance with the letter and spirit of Christianity. Siamese music is never used in temple services. The Siamese are partial to everything in a minor key.

The Burmans regard singing as improper in worship. But the service of song has been popularized by the Christian missions.

Rev. Jacob K. Biswas, tutor in the Divinity School of

the Church Missionary Society in Northern India, has translated and composed a thousand hymns in Bengali and English metres, which have been adopted into various hymnals. The Methodist hymnal for Bengal contains fifty-one lyrics, popular in India, processional, marching, and festival hymns, usually sung to the accompaniment of a drum and cymbals.

In 1828, a small hymnal was published in Madagascar, and it was revised and enlarged in 1835, and several times thereafter. The hymns were chiefly translations of English hymns and adaptations of English tunes. Pathetic stories are told of the comfort they gave to the martyrs. Rev. S. W. Duffield conjectured that "There is a blessed home," by Rev. Sir Henry W. Baker, was the original of the hymn in the Malagasay hymnal which the martyrs sang at Favavohitva. A native Christian wrote (1847) that while burning they sang the hymn:—

" There is a blessed land
 Making most happy ;
 Never shall rest depart,
 Nor cause of trouble come."

The conjecture is improbable, because the English hymn referred to was not published until 1861, in the hymnal of the Church of England, of which Sir Henry was one of the editors, "Hymns Ancient and Modern." The dates as given in Duffield's "English Hymns," p. 546, show the unwarrantableness of the conjecture.

Male Basutos are said to possess superior bass voices and to sing heartily. Their favorite hymn is:—

" If you ask me what is my hope,
 I shall say it is Jesus."

A summary of the facts of hymnody in the history of foreign missions is that hymns have been written in, or translated into, nearly one hundred and fifty languages, and that in many missions large hymnals have been issued; that accommodation has been made to all languages in all degrees

of formation. The native hymnists are not numerous as yet. It could not be expected, reasonably, that they would be. But the best of English, German, and American hymns have been translated well enough to be helpful in services and in private life, and efficient in evangelization. One of the reports of the London Missionary Society says, that from the beginning of the mission in Madagascar "Christian hymnody has aided largely in the promotion of Christian life and knowledge among the people." Human nature essentially is the same the world over and the ages through. It may be assumed that the history of hymns under heathen, Mohammedan, Catholic, and Christian conditions will be more or less uniform, allowance being made for the variety of the conditions.

Two classes of facts deserve to be noticed:—

1. The helpfulness and consolation of hymns, to Christians and churches, under missionary conditions and influences. They have been aids to worship, reliefs under sorrow, stimulants to zeal, and encouragements to faith in immortality and the blessings and rewards of eternal life. They have been valued alike by the bearers and recipients of the glad tidings of great joy to all people. In the life renewed by translations into foreign tongues, the hymns of hymnists who died long ago are proofs that the authors, though dead, yet speak, and as powerfully as when their hymns were first written; that the good which they did and intended to do lives a perennial, enlarged, almost universal life.

"Arise, my soul, arise," by John Wesley, 1739, had a pathetic history in connection with the efforts of Dr. Richard Williams and Captain Gardiner, in December, 1850, to establish a mission in Patagonia. They and their party suffered disaster at sea which resulted in the death of all. They were seven. The hymn named was the parting hymn of John Badcock, a Cornish fisherman, who was the first to die. He asked Williams, as both lay in the narrow and leaky cabin of the "Speedwell," to sing Wesley's hymn with himself, and within

a few moments passed away. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, even when it is poured out at sea, and the outcome of the fidelity and heroism of that company has been the realization of their plans; for, in 1872, a permanent mission was established at Ushuwia, Tierra del Fuego, with operations in Patagonia and among the Indians of Araucania. The Fuegians, moreover, in remembrance of the history, are kind to all shipwrecked crews, although Darwin in 1881 said to Admiral Sir B. J. Sullivan, that he could not have believed that all the missionaries in the world could have made the Fuegians honest.

"Jesus, lover of my soul," also by Wesley, 1740, soothed the dying hours of an Indian in British Columbia in 1886.

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me," was inserted in the *Gospel Magazine*, England, March, 1776, the year of American independence.¹ Its well-known author was Augustus M. Toplady (1740-1778). It was published only two and one-quarter years before its author's death. What a loss to the world if he had died a little younger! Rev. Dr. C. S. Pomeroy, a Presbyterian pastor, relates that when he was visiting an Armenian church in Constantinople, he saw many in tears while they were offering praise, and on inquiry, found that they were singing a Turkish translation of

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee."

The Chinese women are so anxious to accumulate merit for themselves that they will perform any labor to escape the uncertain transmigrations of the future life. They dread to be born again as mere animals. Their highest hope is to be reborn as males. In order to attain the desired result, they do anything that will accumulate merit for them. One whom

¹ Rev. Charles Robinson, D. D., in "Annotations upon Popular Hymns" (Hunt & Eaton, New York, 1893), says: "'Rock of Ages' first appeared in the *English Gospel Magazine* for October, 1775, in an article entitled 'Life a Journey'" (p. 414).

Mrs. Lucy S. Bainbridge saw, in her missionary tour of the world, had dug a well twenty-five feet deep, and ten or fifteen feet in diameter. With her hands she had excavated it, and it was only after this laborious task was accomplished that she learned of Christ and free salvation. She was an old woman of eighty, and, stretching out her crippled and aged fingers, she and the missionary traveller sang together:—

“ Nothing in my hands I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling.”

“Sing to the Lord with awful voice” was published by Isaac Watts (1674–1745) in 1719. It was amended by John Wesley to

“ Before Jehovah’s awful throne,
Ye nations, bow with sacred joy.”

It has since been translated into many languages. In 1853–54 the fleet commanded by Commodore Perry was anchored off Japan. Religious services were held on the flag-ship, and the chaplain gave it out to be sung within sight and hearing of thousands on the shore. It was sung to the tune “Old Hundred,” and the accompaniment was by a marine band.

When Dr. Dempster, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Ill., and his wife and two companions, were on their way as missionaries to South America, they were chased for three days by pirates who refused to exchange signals with them. As the vessels drew nearer to each other, the crew and passengers of Dr. Dempster’s vessel went on deck and joined in the singing of Watts’ hymn. Then they knelt in prayer and awaited their doom. But to their amazement and delight the pursuing ship changed its course and left them. They attributed the change to the passive resistance which was offered.

“On the mountain’s top appearing” was published in the first edition (1804) of “Hymns on Various Passages of Scripture,” by Rev. Thomas Kelly (1769–1854).¹ It was

¹ Robinson’s “Annotations,” etc., p. 450, says: “In his ‘Collection of Psalms and Hymns,’ issued in Dublin, 1802.”

based on Isaiah lii. 7. A biographer of Asahel Grant, M. D., says that on the 20th of September, 1839, he reached Mosul in his expedition to the Nestorians. The Pasha of Mosul promised to protect him to the border of the country of those "mountain infidels." When Dr. Grant attained the summit, he found the mountain view indescribably grand. Never were the words of the hymn more applicable than then. The sacred herald of the gospel to the Nestorians literally was appearing "on the mountain's top." The first person that Dr. Grant met in the border village was a young man whom he had cured of blindness the previous year. This fact opened the door to him at once. The subsequent history of missions to the Nestorians is well known.

In 1830, Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D. (1808-1887), wrote

"My faith looks up to thee,
Thou Lamb of Calvary."

It had a history in the life of Mrs. Layyah Barakat, a native of Syria, educated in the schools at Beirut, who afterward married and went as a teacher to Egypt. Driven out in 1882 by the insurrection of Arabi Pasha, she and her husband and child came to the United States. They landed in Philadelphia without directions or friends, but they were disclosed to friends who had known her in Syria. While here she related that she had been permitted to see the conversion of a whole family who were Maronites of Mt. Lebanon. Her mother, sixty-two years of age, 1884, had been taught the hymn in Arabic. When the news of her safety came back to Syria, the mother could send no better proof of her faith, love, and gratitude, than its language and sentiments.

"Blest be the tie that binds" was a hymn written by Rev. John Fawcett, D. D. (1739-1817), in 1772, after he had packed his goods to respond to a call from Wainsgate, Eng., to London. He and his wife sat down on their packing-cases and wept, because his reluctant people were clinging to them and urging their continued residence and ministry. The

hymn has had a nearly corresponding history in Turkey. When Mr. Coffing, a missionary at Aintab, in Armenia, set out in 1860 to explore the Taurus Mountains, he was to penetrate an entirely new and hazardous field, one hundred miles northwest of Marash. The danger was so keenly felt by his friends in Aintab, that fifteen hundred of them gathered on the roadsides, and bade farewell to him and his family in the Armenian words of Fawcett's hymn.

Dr. Coke, a missionary to India, once said to his companion, Rev. Benj. Clough, "I am dead to all but India." Clough was young, a new accession to the mission. The thought was new to him and cheered him. He began to sing a stanza of the hymn by Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769), translated by John Wesley: "Lo, God is here, let us adore!" The stanza which Clough sang is omitted from nearly all recent collections. It deserves quotation, for its aptness in illustrating the thought of Dr. Coke:—

"Gladly the toils of earth we leave,
Wealth, pleasure, fame, for thee alone:
To thee our will, soul, flesh, we give,
Oh, take, oh, seal them, for thine own!
Thou art the God, thou art the Lord;
Be thou by all thy works adored."

Clough sang on, and the aged Dr. Coke joined heartily with him. With this prayer and song and covenant those devoted missionaries reconsecrated themselves to their great and trying task.

Rev. Charles Robinson furnishes the following "Annotation" of Rev. Mr. Kethe's reputed version of the one hundredth Psalm, "All people that on earth do dwell":—

"A group of tourists left our shores lately for a trip through Europe and Asia. They travelled by way of Egypt. Reaching that country, they determined to see the pyramids. The massive piles of masonry seem familiar enough to those who have never been within thousands of miles of them. But to the observer they appear magnificent beyond description.

The party was largely composed of ministers of the gospel. These gathered around the base of the great pyramid. They looked toward the summit. The stone terraces towered row above row up to a dizzy height. They began the ascent. Their agility, combined with much help, brought them to the top-stone. There they sat in amazement and gazed upon the flat country of deserts. Then they drew out their pocket Bibles. The one hundredth Psalm, in long metre, was announced. To the 'Old Hundred' tune it was sung. Upon the winds of the wilderness the sacred melody floated. From this eminent station these singers sang the song of the Hebrews, and their strains melted away above the graves of their fathers, where they had lived and died in bondage. A song of praise from the great pyramid! May it be a prophecy of the good time coming, when Africa shall be filled with the music of worship, and the sweet psalms of Israel shall be heard in all her plains and mountains. Those who help the missions are hastening the day when the inhabitants of that great continent shall be a gospel choir singing the high praises of their God."

2. A second class of facts deserves to be noticed, namely, the marked efficiency of hymns in inducing conversions and promoting the work of evangelization. In Bengal, small collections of hymns by educated native Christians are very common. "Jewels of Song," by a native Christian evangelist, Modhu Sudon Sircar, is a collection containing many hymns very suitable for bazaar preaching. The Hindus are very fond of poetry, and hymnal tracts are largely employed at the missionary agencies. There is a collection of one hundred hymns by John Christian. Rev. G. D. Bates, of Allahabad, says: "Some of them I can never join in singing without moistened eyes." Selections are often sung in the streets. The Hindu Kirttan is a musical entertainment in which the services of some god are celebrated with music, instrumental and vocal. In 1862, Mr. Krishnaraw and others Christianized the Kirt-

tan. They held it in Ahmednagar and neighboring villages. It was popular at once. The first one occupied about two hours. It was conducted by a leader and a quintette of Christian singers. The subject was announced, and a chorus followed. The words of the chorus became the text of an exhortation, in a musical tone, preparing the way for another chorus. The instruments were exclusively Hindu. Thus was shown the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

One historian of this subject says: "Many interesting facts might be related illustrative of the value of hymnody as an evangelistic agency." The Rev. Matthew Cranswick, a Wesleyan missionary in the West Indies, says: "I have a record of upward of two hundred persons, young and old, who received the most direct evidence of the forgiveness of their sins while singing Wesley's hymn, 'Arise, my soul, arise,' at different times, at various periods. The conversion of the greater number of these persons took place while I was a missionary abroad."

It does not make much difference whether prose or poetry, preaching or prayer, be the agency of conversion, if conversions are only secured. Inasmuch as sacred poetry in hymnal forms has been used so often and so efficiently in the providence of God, to accomplish his purposes; we, the members of Christ and of the churches, at home and abroad, ought not to do less than to honor in history and services what he himself has honored. We need to remember incessantly the line of holy and quaint George Herbert: "A verse may find him who a sermon flies."

[The author would be glad of the co-operation of secretaries, missionaries, and others in the completion of his studies introduced in this article. Communications may be addressed to him at the Congregational Library, Boston, Mass. Any literature furnished him will be deposited in such hymnological library as seems best fitted to further the objects of his investigation.—ED.]

ARTICLE VI.

THE ARABIC PRESS OF BEIRUT, SYRIA.

BY JOHN ORNE, A. B., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ABOUT seventy years ago, when the first Protestant missionaries visited Beirut, this ancient city had a population of only about eight thousand. It had no schools or teachers, and hardly any one there could read. The people were in gross ignorance. No printing-press existed in the country. There were no carriage roads for easy transit, no conveniences of civilization, and scarcely any commercial intercourse with Europeans. Missionaries were looked upon as enemies to be opposed, rather than as friends to be cultivated. Now the population numbers about one hundred thousand. The city abounds in schools conducted by the various religious sects, as well as by the government. There are churches and substantial stone residences furnished with the improvements of modern civilization. There are macadamized streets, fine roads leading to the suburbs, and comfortable public conveyances to towns and cities in other parts of Syria. The city is lighted with gas, and supplied with water by means of an aqueduct. Educational institutions of various grades and for both sexes abound, furnishing instruction to many thousands of youths. There are a dozen or more presses for printing Arabic books and newspapers. These presses are under the management of the Protestant and Catholic missions, of the government, and of private individuals. According to recent information a few of these presses are as follows: the American, carried on at the Presbyterian Mission; the Jesuit, carried on by the fathers of the Jesuit Mission; the

Turkish government's lithographic press; those of Khalil Sarkis, Rizkullah Khudra, Yusef Shelfoon, Hannah Nijjar, Khalil Effendi Khouri, and others. Some of these presses confine their issues to newspapers and miscellaneous matter of the lighter sort, while others essay to perform all kinds of work attempted by a large and enterprising book-publishing house.

The American Press was founded in 1822 at Malta, to which island the missionaries had fled from the political troubles in Syria. Afterwards, in 1834, it was removed to Beirut, where it became firmly established and has remained ever since. The issues from this press of works on theology, history, science, general literature, and of educational textbooks, maps, cards, and other facilities for imparting instruction, besides works of a miscellaneous character, have been steadily increasing for more than seventy years, and the catalogue of its publications is ever lengthening its lists. It has become not only a decided power in Syria, but has extended its influence to Egypt and other parts of Africa; to Persia, India, China, and elsewhere among the Arabic-speaking people.

The equipments of the American Press are large and complete. It makes use of ten fonts of Arabic type, of superior quality, which have been employed by the great printing-presses of Germany, and in many cases have supplanted the old fonts in use. The British Foreign Bible Society has also adopted the Beirut type for its Arabic publications. The printing-office, which occupies a substantial stone structure, is furnished with steam-presses of the latest improved patterns, and of great power and capacity, hand-presses, a hydraulic press, a lithographic press, embossing presses, a hot-rolling press, a type-foundry, apparatus for stereotyping and electrotyping; and the office is prepared to do work with these ample appliances, not only for the use of the mission and its patrons, but for any other parties who may desire it. In fact the Mission Press, really the largest and most active Arabic

press in the world, is as thoroughly furnished as any European, English, or American press to do printing of a high degree of excellence, in several languages, either directly from the forms, or from electrotype and stereotype plates; even to *make* type, to execute artistic work, bind books, mount maps, and do everything else that is within the province of a completely furnished printing and publishing house. The Press does the Arabic work for the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Religious Tract Society, the American Tract Society, the Syrian Protestant College, as well as for private individuals.

The American Press was established to further the cause of the American Board of Foreign Missions in Syria. Subsequently it went into the hands of the Presbyterian Board of Missions and continued its work in the same religious interests.

As might be expected of a mission press, the publications partake more of a religious than secular character, although not a few educational treatises, for the use of the mission secular schools and the Protestant College and the Medical School, have been issued.

Of religious publications the Bible takes the lead, both in the number and the variety of its editions, and in the superior excellence of the typographical execution of some of them. The full vowelled edition printed from electrotype plates in style of the first font, is one of the most elegant books in the Arabic language. The translation of the American Bible Society's edition of the Bible is the successive work of Drs. Eli Smith and C. V. A. Van Dyck of the American Board of Missions, and it is considered to be a model of pure Arabic. It reflects great credit upon the scholarship of these two eminent divines, who so thoroughly mastered the intricacies of two very difficult Oriental languages that they have produced an almost faultless translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew into Arabic.

Through the benevolence and at the expense of Mr. Mott, an English gentleman, a press and other necessary equipments for printing raised Arabic characters for the use of the blind have been furnished, and already portions of the Scriptures have been supplied for the edification and comfort of this unfortunate class of the community.

Of the other religious publications there are some intended more especially for the use of the students in the Theological Seminary. Many of these, perhaps most of them, were written in Arabic by the members of the mission, as well Americans as learned native Syrians, graduates of its schools and seminaries. Among these works are Rev. Dr. J. S. Dennis's "Systematic Theology," "Evidences of Christianity," and "Biblical Interpretations"; Rev. Dr. Henry H. Jessup's "Homiletics and Pastoral Theology"; Dr. G. E. Post's "Complete Concordance of the Arabic Bible," and "The Bible Dictionary"; Rev. S. H. Calhoun's "Harmony of the Gospels," "The Life of Christ," and "Scripture Helps"; Dr. W. W. Eddy's "Commentaries on the New Testament," and "The Historical Foundation of Christianity"; Mr. Ibrahim Sarkis's "Key to technical and unusual words found in the Arabic Bible"; Dr. Wortabet's "Commentary on the Hebrews"; Dr. Eli Smith's "The Work of the Holy Spirit"; Nofel Effendi's "History of Religions"; R. Hassoun's "Chronological Arrangement of the Gospels." Some of the publications are translations of standard English works; such as, Edwards's "History of Redemption"; Alexander's "Evidences"; Phelps' "Studies of the Old Testament"; Keith on "Prophecy"; Newton's "Illustrated Life of Christ"; Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Holy War"; Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ"; D' Aubigne's "History of the Reformation"; Dwight L. Moody's "Twelve Sermons"; Spurgeon's "Sermons"; Miss Havergal's "Little Pillows," and "Morning Bells." Of works not religious but edifying, we find "The Schoenberg-Cotta Family"; "Swiss Family

Robinson"; Smiles' "Self Help"; "The Dwellers on the Nile," by Budge. Of controversial works, there are examples in Haurani's "Darwinian Evolution and Materialism," and his "Reply to the Darwinian Theory."

The smaller works, on a great variety of subjects, mostly of a religious or moral character, adapted to all classes of people, young and old, are too numerous to mention except in a catalogue of publications. They comprise history and fiction; sermons and homilies; works of devotion and consolation; narratives, allegories, biographies, meditations, essays on religious and moral subjects. Drummond's "The Greatest Thing in the World," and "Black Beauty," a book which has been termed "The Uncle Tom's Cabin for the horse," are books which can be obtained as easily at Beirut in the Arabic language as in Boston in English.

Of the multitude of tracts, picture-books, picture-cards, story-books, question-books, catechisms, hymn and tune books, and all the other appliances for Sunday-school and general religious work, it is unnecessary to make any detailed mention. The mission book-store in Beirut is as well supplied with all these as is any denominational repository in this country.

Of the purely secular educational publications there is a good supply. The list consists of material for teaching persons of all ages. There are alphabet wall-cards, primers, reading-books of several grades, some of them illustrated; grammars and rhetorics, both elementary and advanced, prepared mostly by native scholars; special text-books on etymology and prosody; geographies, with atlases both large and small; wall-maps; arithmetics, mental and written; treatises on algebra, geometry, trigonometry, logarithms, chemistry, physics, geology, botany, astronomy, meteorology, physiology, natural history.

These works are all good and reliable text-books on their various subjects. A few of them are translations from the

English; but most of them were prepared especially for the use of students in the mission schools, the Protestant College and Female Seminary of Beirut, and the Medical School. Their preparation reflects great credit on the scholarship, industry, and philanthropy of the members of the mission, both Americans and Syrians. Dr. Post's "Botany"; his "Plants of Syria and Egypt," "Flora of Syria and Palestine," "Natural History," "Physiology"; his 700-page treatise on "Surgery," and his "Materia Medica," all attest his wonderful versatility of genius, his thorough scholarship, and his untiring industry. The same may be said of Dr. Van Dyck's 412-page "Chemistry," his "Higher Astronomy," "Physical Diagnosis"; Wortabet's "Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene"; Haurani's "Wonders of Nature," and "Commercial Products of the Sea"; Dr. Bliss' "Mental Philosophy." All these text-books are valuable treatises on their respective subjects, and their English translations would rival similar works in use in our own high schools and colleges.

The counters of the mission book-store contain also several Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionaries by such authors as Sarkis, Abcarius, Kessab and Hammam, Bistany, Wortabet. Even the ancient classic languages have their illustrations in such works as Harvey Porter's "Latin Grammar in Arabic," his "Latin Reader, with Latin-Arabic Vocabulary." The department of History is well represented by J. Abcarius' "Universal History" (729 pp.), Porter's "Ancient History" (a large 8 vo. work of 598 pp.), Sarkis' "Summary of Ancient History," with special histories of Damascus, Jerusalem, Rome, Macedonia; Nofel Effendi's "Notes on Arab History." Of works by native poets the press either prints or offers for sale the "Assemblies of the Sheikh Al Yazijy," the "Makamât of Hariri," the "Diwans" of Motanebbi and El Farid, the "Poetical Selections" of Ibrahim Sarkis. For ethical instruction we find Sarkis' "Ancient Arabic Proverbs," and that celebrated book of allegories and fables entitled

“Kalila and Dimna.” A weekly illustrated paper called *The Neshra* is published by the mission press, and ably edited by the brothers Rev. Drs. H. H. and Samuel Jessup. It contains religious and secular matters, often a report of a sermon or lecture, and some scientific articles.

The above list, comprising but a part of the religious, educational, and miscellaneous publications of the American Press at Beirut, will convey some idea of the enterprise, industry, and scholarship of the members of the Presbyterian Mission.

The extreme cheapness of these publications in the Arabic language is noteworthy. The vowelled Bible (8vo. 1st font, morocco, gilt) is but \$4.50. The same in roan is only about \$1.50; unvowelled, ninety cents. From this the prices of the different styles run down to as low as twenty-eight cents. Testaments are supplied as low as ten cents. In fact they are as cheap in Arabic as in English. The Arabic Gospel of Matthew for the blind (bulky as such embossed styles are) is only about ninety cents. The Arabic reading-books run from five to fifty cents, a 240-page one being but twenty cents. Educational books are cheaper than the same sized books of this class in America. An arithmetic of 414 pages, which would in English cost here at least \$1.50, can be had for about sixty cents in Beirut, while a large geography of 502 pages is but seventy-five cents. The higher-class works, for the use of the College, the Theological and Medical Schools, are rather under than over the prices of the same works in English. Miscellaneous works are remarkably cheap. D'Aubigne's "History of the Reformation" (2 vols. 1458 pp.) may be had for \$1.35. Dr. Eddy's "Commentary on the New Testament" (about 600 pp. in each vol.) is offered for \$1.80 a volume. "The Pilgrim's Progress" (containing 537 pp.) is but fifty cents. The works of the standard Arabic authors Hariri, Motanebbi, Yaziji, El Farid are supplied at much lower prices than the European editions of these authors' works. Book-

lets and tracts can be had for less than the expense of postage.

Rivalling the achievements of the Protestant American Press of Beirut, the press of the Jesuit fathers takes a high place for the number, the variety, and the excellence of its publications, and for the beauty of its typographical work. This Catholic Press, founded with the special object of aiding the Jesuit missionaries of France in their labors among the Syrians, has, in addition, taken upon itself to contribute to the advancement of Oriental studies in general. It offers to publish any work which does not offend the Catholic doctrine or morals, whether in the Arabic, Syriac, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, English, or other languages. It possesses type for printing in all the above languages. Its arrangements for stereotyping, electrotyping, lithographing, its type-foundries and steam-presses, are adequate for doing any work that may be required. It employs proof-readers competent to correct the proofs in all the languages above mentioned. The Arabic fonts of this press present a remarkably clear-cut, well-defined appearance; and many of its publications are printed in vowelled characters. This latter fact is a decided advantage, especially to foreign readers, not familiar with the language as spoken.

Although many of the publications of the Jesuit Press are of a religious character, consisting of Bibles, Testaments, prayer-books and service-books, "Lives of the Saints," "Meditations," catechisms, and controversial treatises; and of an educational character, such as arithmetics, geographies, grammars, conversation books, Arab-French and French-Arab dictionaries, primary reading-books for the special use of the mission, yet a very large part of its publications are of a more pretentious character in the field of classic Arabic literature. That great classic story-book, "The Thousand-and-One Nights," or "The Arabian Nights' Entertainments," is issued by the Jesuit Press in a beautifully printed, expurgated edition of five volumes. Excepting the Calcutta edition of Mac-

Naghten, this is the edition most pleasing to the eye, and the easiest to decipher.

Other classical Arabic works for which we are indebted to this press are "Seances of Badi uz Zeman, al Hamadani," with excellent commentary, a treasury of wit and wisdom, by the Chaucer of Arabic literature, who flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries; a volume of 545 pages containing letters by the same distinguished author, which letters are perfect models of epistolary style; "The History of the Dynasties," by Abul Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebræus. This last work is more complete than the English edition of Pococke of Oxford, and contains many corrections of that edition, the result of the discovery of several other texts since Pococke's day. In poetry we find among others the works of Abu'l 'Atahyat, one of the most illustrious poets of the glorious reign of the Abbasides; the diwan of Al Hansa, a poetess of the seventh century, whose poems are of the elegiac sort, and whose name among the Arabs is synonymous with grief and lamentation. The editor of this latter work had the good fortune to find two collections of the poems, which he saved from oblivion and presented to the Arabic-reading world as treasures from the mine of Semitic literature.

Another valuable work recently issued is that entitled "The Arab Christian Poets." The editor proposes to show that most of the pre-islamic poets were Christians. Whether this idea is sustained or not, the work, as a collection of Arabic literature, is one of the most valuable that has emanated from the press for many years. The diwan of the Christian poet Al Akhtal, previously in MS. only, is issued in very attractive form, completely vowelled and annotated. It is a work of great linguistic, literary, and historic value, and interesting to the wild Bedouin of the desert, as well as to the cultivated citizen of the town.

We must not omit to mention, among other works of the sort from the Jesuit Press, two valuable collections of se-

lections from Arab writers in every age, and in every department of literature. One of these, called "Nochab al Mulah," or "Collection of Choice Extracts," contains liberal selections from Lokman's "Fables," "The Thousand-and-One Nights," "Kalila and Dimna," the historians At Tabari, Macrizi, Abul Fida, Ibn Khaldun, Al Makkari, Abdl al Latif; from the voyages of Ibn Batuta, the Natural Hist. of Kazwini; parables and proverbs from As Sabrawi and Al Halabi with some of the Seances of Yazigi, Hariri, and Hamadani. Another collection in six volumes, with three additional volumes of commentaries and one volume of indexes, called "Majani al Adab," or "Flowers of Arabic Literature," contains a similar variety. These two works are cyclopædias of Arabic literature and treasuries of its most precious gems.

The works in the department of philology, such as dictionaries and grammars, are of a high order of merit, and are adapted to the wants of advanced students. Among these may be mentioned a book of "Arabic Synonyms," which the author has prepared from more than fifty books and MSS. of the most celebrated Arab lexicographers and grammarians; a book of "Phrases" for the assistance of writers in expressing their thoughts in the best manner; Ta'alibi's "Lexicology"; a large Arabic dictionary in two volumes, containing 1500 pages, by Said el Khoury, el Khartouni, and styled a *Kamoos*, or "ocean." It contains the substance of all the great Arabic dictionaries that have preceded it, and surpasses them in its typographical execution and in the facility it affords the student in finding the word sought, as well as in the citations of authorities for the various readings.

Besides several small treatises on grammar in Arabic and French, a large work has lately issued in French, intended to supersede Caspari, Wright, and De Sacy. The author, Father Donat Vernier, has been occupied in the preparation of this grammar more than twenty years, having consulted not only

all the European grammars which have preceded it, but also the great Arabic sources.

A weekly paper, *The Bashir*, or *Herald*, devoted to religious and political news and to society matters, containing also articles scientific, historical, is from the same press. The great variety of educational, historical, poetical, and philological works issued by this press is evidence that it ministers to a literary and not strictly sectarian taste. Most of its publications are written originally in Arabic, and are not translations from other languages. Oriental scholars everywhere are greatly indebted to the Jesuit Press of Beirut for its beautiful and accurate editions of classical Arabic authors, and for the excellent auxiliaries to assist them in reading the same. The same remarks, in the main, in regard to the cheapness of the publications of the Jesuit Press may be made as were made with reference to those of the Protestant Press.

Of the other Arabic presses in Beirut, unconnected with any religious denomination, but devoted to printing works in all departments of literature, as a purely business enterprise, the most important is "The Press of Belles Lettres" carried on by Khalil Sarkis. It offers to print in all living languages, Oriental and Occidental. Its publications are unsectarian, and the shelves and counters of its book-store contain the products of all the presses of Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople. In its catalogue we find the standard works of Arabic authors; as, for example, the philosophical "Introduction to the History of Ibn Khaldun"; "The Grammatical Commentary of Ibn Akil on the *Alfiyyeh* of Ibn Malik"; a four-volume edition of "The Thousand-and-One Nights"; a six-volume edition of the romance of the Arab warrior-hero, Antar, the son of Sheddad; while of modern works of permanent value it issues the "Mohit al Mohit," or "Arabic-Arabic Dictionary," in two volumes (2300 pp.), an enlargement of the vocabulary of A Farouzabádi by Butrus al Bistani, and several works on history, biography, proverbs, poetry by the eminent

scholar Ibrahim Sarkis and others. A 500-page cook-book, and a 260-page work on agriculture, imply a degree of civilization among the Easterns hardly contemplated by the people of the West. More than one thousand publications of the various Arabic presses in the East, besides the Press at Leyden, on religious and secular subjects, history, jurisprudence, poetry, grammar, rhetoric, logic, science, commentaries on the Koran, books of "The Traditions," treatises on the unity, on the mystics, or Sufies, travels, fiction, sermons and addresses, many of these being, in accordance with the Oriental manner of writing, very voluminous, can all be had at the depository of this press.

A weekly paper, the *Lisan ul Hal*, or *Tongue of Events*, devoted to politics, commerce, and literature, appears twice a week from the same press. Several Arabic papers besides those already mentioned are printed in Beirut. They are all of the same general character and value, containing political editorials, and news from all parts of the world, besides telegrams, selected items of interest, financial and weather tables, advertisements, and very rarely a story or anecdote. No criticisms of the Turkish government are tolerated.

As we proposed to limit our review of Arabic publications to those issued by the presses of Beirut, we forbear any account of the productions of the presses of Constantinople, Cairo, Boulak, and other Eastern cities, which presses rival in their activity those already described. Valuable Arab classics, and translations from European languages of works in many departments of literature, are constantly sent forth from these presses, showing a business energy and a zeal for spreading Arabic literature among the reading public in favorable comparison with the energy and zeal of European and American publishing houses.

Now what does this vigorous activity of the many Arabic presses imply? What is the significance of all these Semitic publications? all these millions of pages of Arabic literature

annually issued? Certainly that the Arabic is, by no means, as many persons think, a *dead language*. No greater indications of the vitality of any language can be shown than busy printing-presses constantly furnishing copious supplies of reading matter in ancient and modern classics, educational works, current literature, and the news of the day. The Arabic language is, then, not only *living*, and *spoken*, but also, to a large extent, *read* by the people of the present day. If the minds of the people of the West have not been awake to the present condition of things in the East, to the spread of education among the Semitic people of Syria and Egypt, it must be on account of their own indifference and inattention. The Easterns are themselves awake and active. Largely through the contagious influence of the American Presbyterian mission, and the rousing of a spirit of competition, the Catholic sects of Syria and even the Moslems themselves have caught the infection of education and the spirit of enterprise, and all parties and all creeds are now working with zeal to spread knowledge among the people by means of the vehicle of the Arabic Press.

An abundance of printed matter implies many readers; and the general diffusion of the ability to read implies educational schools. These schools exist. The various educational departments of the American mission form but a small part of the whole system of instruction, even in Beirut. The British Syrian schools, the schools of the Church of Scotland, those conducted by the French and the Germans, the church schools and the private schools of the orthodox Greek sect, those of the papal Greek, of the Maronites, the Jesuit, the Jewish, those of the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of Nazareth, and lastly the Reshadiyah, or government military schools, and the Mohammedan common schools, all combine to teach the young Syrians of both sexes reading and the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic; so that the number of those persons able to read books and papers in their native

language is constantly multiplying, and a market is found for the great stock of printed matter which is constantly pouring forth.

Schools of some kind have always existed among Arabic-speaking people. Readers of the Koran have never been wanting since the days of the Prophet; and instruction, private or public, sufficient to enable the Moslems to read their sacred book, the only one that most of them had a chance of reading, and that too in manuscript form, has always been furnished. Until recently this has been the substance of what has been taught to boys exclusively. Of course at the university of Al Azhar and some others, grammar, rhetoric, logic, the "Traditions," have been taught with great thoroughness, to the neglect of natural science and all other practical branches. Now, however, in the mission schools, to which, to a considerable extent, even the Moslems send their children for the sake of a secular education alone, and in the government schools, mathematics and natural science form a part of the curriculum of study. A good many Arab youth are consequently, from their instruction in the native schools, quite well informed in arithmetic, grammar, geography; while the graduates of the mission schools and colleges pass as good examinations, and in as great a variety of subjects, as do the youth of this country who have received their instruction in our high schools and academies. Even the conservative students in the Mohammedan universities are now craving modern science as a part of their course of study. Some educated Syrians who have come to the United States, to visit or to reside, are not only accomplished in the knowledge of their own language and literature, but are, to all appearances, as well educated in subjects of academic instruction as American youth. They speak and write English with nearly as much propriety, as much freedom from faulty spelling and erroneous construction, as do the most accomplished graduates of our own high schools and colleges.

The wide-awake Arabic weekly newspaper published in New York City, and called *Kawkab America*, or *Star of America*, is edited and issued by two Syrians, both accomplished scholars in English. It keeps abreast of the news of the day in this country and in all other parts of the world. The variety of its articles on subjects political, local, social, historical, scientific, and literary, shows the bright intelligence and excellent judgment of its learned editors. Although issued more particularly for the information of the Arabic-speaking people in this country, of whom there are now many thousands, it is equally edifying to the few but gradually increasing number of American students in this Semitic language.

With all this wealth of Arabic literature, of which so many examples have been cited as the products of the presses of Syria and elsewhere, which presses were first established by the leading members of the American Protestant mission, whence all the other presses drew their own enterprise and energy, is there any need of answering the inquiry put by certain captious individuals: "Are the missionaries doing any good"? To say nothing of the oral instructions, and the preaching of the missionaries for the sake of imparting useful knowledge and wholesome precepts of religion and morality, is there any need of asking if the teaching of thousands of children to read in their native tongue; the furnishing of printed Bibles and other religious books, educational works in all departments in which the human mind seeks and enjoys information, with translations from other languages of some of the best literature; if awakening the Orientals from their slumber and apathy of ages, and giving them an impulse to achieve something themselves in bringing out the long-buried literary treasures of their own classic writers in the golden age of Arabic literature; if all this work by them is not doing *good*, and entitling them to be regarded as real benefactors of mankind? But the labors of the missionaries have never been limited to teaching, preaching, and general philanthropic work.

- They have been extended to the making of geographical, geological, archæological, linguistic, philological, ethnological, and other scientific investigations and explorations, in which they have often been the pioneers; and in every case the results of their studies, when presented to the world, have been to the great benefit of scholars and to the increase of knowledge among men. The journals of the various missionary societies, as well as those of many scientific and literary bodies, abound in articles prepared by missionaries, which articles are calculated to increase the stock of useful knowledge. There is not a so-called heathen land where the first efforts for the welfare of its people and for the world at large have not originated with the missionaries.

There is no space here to discuss the criticisms, mostly extremely puerile, made through the columns of the *Kawkab America*, some months ago, by certain native Syrians, now, or at the time, resident in this country, upon the character and the results of the work of the American mission at Beirut. These critics are themselves the products of the mission, and are indebted to the instructions obtained in the mission schools for whatever success they may have obtained in life. The questions proposed in this discussion were: "In what respect do the Syrians consider the presence of the American missionaries in Syria at the present time? Is it beneficial or not? What position do the missionaries occupy in the estimation of Syrian people?" The superficial criticisms made by most of these dissatisfied persons could, many of them, with as much propriety be made against the whole class of clergymen, teachers, and professional men generally in this country. Every reasonable mind could at once perceive the weakness of the charges laid at the feet of the missionaries. Notwithstanding any faults of method and deficiencies in execution, the great fact is conspicuous that the missionaries, by preaching and teaching, by religious and educational books issued from their industrious press, have been the means of enlightening, re-

generating, elevating, and purifying many thousands of the benighted and degraded people of Syria.

Isaac Taylor speaks at random when he says: "It would be better if all the missionaries in Eastern countries were withdrawn and the work entrusted to the natives, because these missionaries do not attain the result they claim and which is desired."

These views, if adopted, would cause the whole mission work to decline in amount and quality: for without the impetus of Western energy to keep up the means of instruction, the people would eventually relapse into the condition of ignorance in which they were first found, and from which they had then no power to extricate themselves unaided. In that condition help came from the West, and the labors of these loving and faithful friends have brought about most grand and cheering results. It is a common and an easy thing for one to be unappreciative of benefits received and to be ungrateful to those who have conferred them.

It may be true that there is no more successful way of making an enemy of a person than to do him a favor; but those who are not in any way dependent upon the help of others, and those who have not received direct benefits from them, are better qualified to form a correct judgment as to the value of services rendered; and the verdict of all such will be that the greatest benefit ever conferred upon the people of Syria is the establishment and the operation of the American-mission Arabic Press.

ARTICLE VII.

A CENTURY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN INDIA.

BY THE REV. DELAVAN L. LEONARD, OBERLIN, OHIO.

THE missionary history of this greatest of mission fields divides naturally into three portions. The first includes whatever was undertaken for the gospel before the advent of William Carey, just a hundred years ago, and may be termed the period of preparation, or of waiting for the fulness of times to appear. The second was the period of exploring and pioneering, of experiment and laying of foundations, and closed in 1858 with the dissolution of the East India Company. The third extends to the present hour, and is the brief day of enlargement on every side, of vigorous and thorough aggressive work, and of reaping the first fruits of the blessed harvest.

PREPARATION.

No violence is done to the facts in the case by affirming that the evangelization of India had its beginning only a century ago. For not until then did forces begin to operate, which ever since have been working without interruption, with conquering might steadily increasing. All antecedent attempts were at the best but premature and isolated, and so unfruitful. After running their course for a limited time a serious decline set in, from which there was no recovery. But more especially, no vital connection can be traced between them and the missionary movements of to-day. Nevertheless, to find the date when Christianity was first proclaimed in the land of the Hindus, we must needs go far back towards the early days of the church. When, or by whom, this was done,

none can say, though tradition affirms that it was by one of the apostles, and others suggest the Nestorians as more likely. But at an early day numerous converts were made and gathered into organizations in Southern India, upon the Malabar coast, and though later they became exceedingly corrupt in doctrine and life, and thus lost entirely the ability and disposition to make further encroachments upon the realms of heathendom, still they have maintained their existence to the present, and now number some two hundred thousand.

The second assault on this mighty stronghold of Satan was made about a thousand years later, when the Portuguese were powerful in the East Indies, with the truly apostolic labors of Xavier (1541-49) as the most notable passage. From Goa as a centre he went out, preaching and baptizing, in all directions, gathering proselytes by the ten thousand. But, during the century following, the Dutch and English entered into competition for the trade of the Orient with a determination and prowess which the Portuguese could not at all resist, and for this, and other reasons, the Catholic missions in India fell into a decay which continued until times quite recent. The chief cause of failure is found in the defective character of the evangelization. A criminal compromise was made with idolatry, superstition, and even with caste. No effort was made to educate or enlighten the people, conversion was but superficial, a mere veneer or varnish. So it is no wonder that nothing of much value came of this pretentious attempt to conquer India for the Cross.

Incomparably better was the third undertaking for the redemption of this vast peninsula of Southern Asia. The Danish-Halle mission, launched in 1705, with King Frederick IV. of Denmark as royal nursing-father to supply the bulk of the funds required, was Lutheran in name, though held in light esteem by that church. The toilers were almost wholly German, and were supplied by the pietistic school of Francke, with Ziegenbalg and Plutschö as pioneers, and the most gifted

and fervid Schwartz among their successors. The Danish colony of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast below Madras, was the honored seat of the mission, while work was carried on as far back towards the interior as Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Schwartz survived until Carey had been in Bengal for five years, and it is estimated that in all not less than forty thousand converts were made. But in this case, also, on account of frequent wars, because of defective missionary methods, notably because caste was tolerated, and because of rank rationalism in the churches at home, after a period of vigorous growth there ensued a falling away, which ended in practical failure. And this mission led directly to nothing larger and better than itself.

The bulk of the substantial and lasting results wrought thus far for the kingdom of heaven among the Hindus is to be looked for outside of the missionary sphere, and even outside the realm of religion. For, meantime, other changes of greatest significance had been in progress in the political conditions of the country. The Mogul Empire had fallen to pieces, and out of a long and fierce struggle for supremacy between the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English, the English had come triumphant, and were left to do what they would with India without a European rival. And from the providential presence and power of the East India Company came incidentally a religious movement, which had a bearing direct and most important upon the new epoch now about to open. And this is almost the only vital connection which can be traced between the first missionary period and the second. Quite prominent among the officials, or servants, of the company in Bengal were such earnest Christian men as Grant, the Udneys, and Rev. David Brown, who had become solicitous for the salvation of the heathen masses about them, had done what they could with money and personal effort to compass this end, and in addition had devised a comprehensive scheme whereby, under Act of Parliament, the Established

Church should be set up on Indian soil, with bishops, chaplains, and all the rest; and *so* the gospel should be introduced and carried forward to the overthrow of idolatry and every false religion. The motive was of the very best, and the project was in accord with the highest wisdom of former days, but yet it stood also for ideas which were destined soon to pass away forever. Fortunately, therefore, the undertaking came to grief, and the immediate result to all appearance was only damaging and disastrous. The struggle over the matter in Parliament was bitter in the extreme; for the magnates of the Company regarded with horror and dismay the possibility of having the teachings of the New Testament diffused abroad among the inhabitants of their domain, and resorted to all manner of devices to prevent so dreadful a consummation. Now it was that, as never before, they undertook to make it practically impossible for the heralds of the cross to utter their message in the ears of Hindus and Mohammedans. What depths of ill feeling were excited will be seen by a reference to the absurd and scurrilous diatribes of Rev. Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*, which were penned as late as 1808.

But another and very different outcome of the same attempt remains to be mentioned. John Thomas, a surgeon in the employ of the Company, belonged to the same Christian circle in Calcutta, and to the best of his ability had done the work of an evangelist to the perishing. Just in the very nick of time, as it proved, he returned to England to secure fellow-laborers, and an increase of means. The Baptists had just organized their society, Carey had offered to lead in going to the ends of the earth, only stipulating that some one should be found to be his companion. Thomas was heard of, and was sent for. He was found ready and eager to enlist under the society, if India were to be chosen as the field for effort. Carey had had his eyes fixed for years upon the South Seas instead, and on Tahiti in particular, but now of a sudden heard a distinct call to direct his steps towards the millions of the

benighted in the valley of the Ganges. And this change of direction was of the greatest moment to missions in all the world. Thomas was a weak man in many respects, and at some points was worse than worthless as a missionary; but yet, since without the playing of his part Carey would never have set foot between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, and, moreover, since it was given to him through his surgical skill to lead Krishna Pal, the first Hindu convert, to repentance and faith, his name must be placed among those who have been prominent in furthering the redemption of India.

PIONEERING.

We enter now the second period of missionary history. It was on the 11th of November, 1793, that Indian missions were born; that is, when Carey stepped on shore in Calcutta; though a feeble and perilous infancy was destined to last for many years, even through the entire four decades which remained for earthly toil to the great pioneer. The uncompromising and boundless opposition of the East India Company must be crushed out by Christian public sentiment in Great Britain. And British influence must have time to spread yet further, and to strengthen itself, over great areas stretching out from Bombay and Madras as centres, and from the lower Ganges far towards the Khyber Pass, including Oude, the Northwestern Provinces, the Punjab and Scinde, with much of Burmah also on the east, while the native states as well are tamed and taught good behavior. Clive and Warren Hastings have already performed royal service in this direction (the Lord our God here, as so often in history, making the wrath of man to praise him), and other chieftains are to follow, like Cornwallis, and Hastings, and Wellesley, and Bentinck, and Dalhousie, working together to lay the broad and deep foundations of a civil structure, vast, beautiful, and enduring.

It should be borne in mind that during a large portion of this period Christianity was a contraband article, was forbidden

to enter, if introduced was smuggled in, while missionaries were "interlopers," liable to expulsion without ceremony, and the advent of "a troop of devils" was more welcome. And this, while all the abominations of heathenism were countenanced, abetted, even honored, suttee and Juggernaut not excepted! All his life Carey felt constrained to shelter himself in Serampore under the Danish flag. The first American missionaries were ordered to return immediately, found no abiding place for long months, or crossed over to Ceylon to which the persecutor's power did not extend; while Judson, refused permission to preach the gospel to the Hindus, by way of the Isle of France and Madras, was constrained to locate in Burmah, whose government fortunately was then purely pagan. But in those days primeval the bulk of the peninsula was yet under the rule of native princes, and no entrance was made into their dominions until the Irish Presbyterians began work in Kathiawar in 1841. In 1813, by Act of Parliament, British missionaries were allowed to evangelize and to establish schools, and in 1833, throughout all the territory which had been annexed to the British domain, Christianity began to have free course. This occurred, however, only a year before Carey died. Extensive and bloody wars were frequent, and greatly hindered the progress of truth and righteousness, like the two against the freebooters of the powerful Marathi confederacy, two which ended in the utter overthrow of the Sikhs, and two also required to chastise the arrogance and impudence of the Burmese tyrant. All this must needs be endured in addition to such legitimate difficulties and discouragements as were found in the Hindu constitution, and in the various false religions of the land.

But notwithstanding these multitudinous and manifold obstacles, this introductory period witnessed advances really remarkable. An English legal code and judicial system were introduced, and a system of public education. The Sanscrit and Oriental learning were thrust from the seat of honor,

while the Anglo-Saxon speech and Western science were exalted to the vacant place. In 1829 from Scotland came Duff and Wilson, two of the world's great Christian educators. The construction of public works of all sorts, like metalled highways and railroads connecting the great cities, irrigating canals, etc., etc., was commenced on a scale commensurate with their importance and the size of the peninsula.

As we have seen, for twenty years after Carey's advent the gospel was excluded from India by law. In spite of the prohibition, the London Society sent in a representative in 1798, and added a reinforcement in 1806, with others following later. In 1812 the American Board were venturesome enough to dispatch five men to Calcutta, who after the most trying embarrassment of long uncertainty, coupled with the utmost of protest and persistence on their part, finally fixed themselves in Bombay, Ceylon, and Rangoon. After the partial repeal of the prohibition, in 1813, the two English Church Societies appeared upon the scene, and the Wesleyans about the same time, while after the country was thrown open, and missionaries could without molestation from the authorities freely preach and teach the things of the kingdom, other American organizations joined forces with their predecessors, as also two in Scotland, and three in Germany. At the close of this period the societies engaged numbered just about two-score, and, scattered here and there over the three presidencies, upwards of 250 stations had been occupied. The statistics published in 1851 report 373 ordained missionaries (no account was taken as yet of women), 29 ordained natives, and 551 other native helpers. The churches contained 17,306 members, the schools 77,850 pupils, and the native Christians were estimated at 102,951. This, just a half-century after the baptism of the first convert. In reckoning up results, of course, we must not forget the mastery of the many languages and the rendering into them of the Scriptures and other books,

and the performance of a vast amount of other preliminary and fundamental work.

ENLARGEMENT.

The third period in the annals of missions in India opened with a political and social upheaval which threatened British rule, and Christianity itself, with utter overthrow and extinction. For months throughout the upper valley of the Ganges wholesale mutiny ran wild riot, accompanied with a dreadful massacre of English men, women, and children, not a few missionaries included. The moral shock was terrible at first, while its results were only evil; but out of it, as we now can easily perceive, issued consequences of greatest import to Christianity. Among the rest, in the cataclysm the East India Company sunk out of sight, never again to appear, while Parliament entered into direct control of Indian affairs, a radical transformation which reached its culmination later when Victoria was crowned Empress of this immense Oriental realm. Further, by crushing out the Mutiny, and taking such almost pitiless vengeance upon the guilty actors, the grip of British authority and influence was immeasurably strengthened. But best of all, the conscience of Christians in the United Kingdom was wondrously quickened. At first only stunned and appalled by the exhibitions of devilish depravity in Hindu and Mohammedan alike, they next realized, as never before, the imperative need of carrying the gospel to these millions. And then arose the solemn conviction, We have been verily guilty of neglect as touching these our brothers in brown, in that we have so long withheld from them the word of life. So that a marked quickening of missionary zeal and effort ensued. Though only five and thirty years, but the space of a single generation, have passed since, an increase more than three-fold has come to the number of societies engaged, with a proportionate increase of money contributions and of toilers.

Already the grossest enormities of Hinduism, like thuggism, dacoity, suttee, human sacrifice, infanticide, and hook-

swinging, had been repressed by the strong arm of law; but now the paramount Government, though strictly neutral in its attitude towards all religions, and within certain large limits allowing liberty to the adherents of every faith, is also in generous and hearty sympathy and co-operation with evangelization in all its phases. By the same cogent influence the native rulers in the semi-independent states are instructed in the policy of religious toleration. The system of public works of all kinds has been steadily carried forward toward completion. Education is fostered with greatest care and solicitude, while hospitals and dispensaries are multiplied. Then, too, missionary labor has taken on many new and most valuable phases. In colleges, theological seminaries, and training-schools of various kinds, the natives are fitted to take a leading part in the conversion of their countrymen. It has been discovered that the presence and co-operation of womankind are indispensable in almost every sphere of toil, but most of all in zenana visiting, and the medical care of their own sex. Nearly eight hundred American and European women are now expending their consecrated energies upon this field, and Hindu women to the number of almost thirty-three hundred. It is not too much to affirm that, since 1858, progress has been solid and substantial all along the line, while at certain points the gains have been astonishing.

Perhaps the famous mass movements are most characteristic, and most significant, in which whole villages, and groups of villages, by a common impulse cut loose from the worship of idols, and take long strides towards Christianity by putting themselves and their children under the influence and instruction of the missionaries. This strange process of wholesale turning to the Lord showed itself first somewhat early in the century in Travancore and Tinnevely in South India, in the missions of the London and Church Societies. Then Gossner's mission among the Kholis in Central India made converts by the thousand, in the same startling fashion.

After the famine of 1877 the Baptists had a similar experience among the Telugus. Though at the end of thirty years of toil only twenty-five converts could be mustered, then of a sudden a multitude began to press into the kingdom, so that after a rigid examination 2,222 were baptized in a single day, and 8,691 within six weeks, while the harvest of souls has continued to this day, and the churches contain almost 50,000. The latest example of all is the American Methodist mission in the Northwestern Provinces, where month after month the baptisms have been averaging 1,000, while the fruitful Karen field in Burmah may also well be named in this connection.

Let these few figures sum up, as well as such figures can, the tangible results achieved after 100 years from Carey's advent, 80 years after British missionaries began to be tolerated upon British soil, 60 years after India, so far at least as wholly under British rule, was made accessible to the heralds of the cross of every name, and only 35 years after the Mutiny gave the final impulse towards evangelizing efforts upon an imposing scale. According to the tables of statistics carefully prepared for the Bombay Conference, supplemented somewhat from other reliable sources, the missionaries in India number 860, the women associated with them 700, the ordained natives 800, and the other native helpers of both sexes 12,000. The 6,700 mission schools give instruction to 300,000 children, there are 225,000 communicants gathered into some 1,600 churches, and the estimated number of adherents (native Christians) is a little less than 700,000. The following table will show the rate of progress:—

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Ordained missionaries.....	373	537	548	658	857
Women (not including wives). ..	..	..	423	541	711
Ordained natives.....	29	185	381	674	797
Other native helpers.....	551	1,779	4,822	7,333	8,491
Native helpers, female.....	..	..	967	1,944	3,278
Churches or congregations....	310	867	2,972	4,538	5,760
Communicants.....	17,306	47,274	78,474	145,097	223,941
Adherents	102,951	213,370	318,363	528,590	671,285
Pupils in mission schools.....	77,850	94,899	142,952	234,759	295,000

Such are the results already achieved. We will now briefly consider what remains to be done, and discuss the outlook for the future of Indian evangelization. No doubt, the most impressive, not to say oppressive, consideration is connected with the almost inconceivable vastness of the undertaking on hand. This is really the chief stronghold of Satan, this the mightiest fortress of heathenism under the sun. China follows hard after, Africa is comparable in some degree, but, on the whole, neither presents difficulties of such appalling magnitude. The peninsula itself is of continental proportions, containing an area approaching to that portion of the United States lying east of the Rocky Mountains, and equal to all Europe with Russia omitted. But more, the hordes, the myriads, the enormous masses of inhabitants! a population more than fourfold our own, far greater than that of the Dark Continent, matching the European millions dwelling to the west and south of the Vistula, and only surpassed by the swarms of human beings which jostle each other in the Celestial Empire. Added to this is the endless diversity of races, and tongues, and civilizations, and religions, and all mingled in inextricable confusion. Some three hundred languages and dialects are spoken. The Aryan is found neighbor to the Mongol, and with them dwell scores of aboriginal tribes. To the faith of the Hindu and the Buddhist, is joined that of the Moslem, the Parsee, and numerous forms of devil-worship. The climate, so tropical, is most trying to foreigners. The dominant race characteristics are such as to present an almost unequalled obstacle to the entrance and sway of gospel righteousness. The Brahmin is learned after a fashion, acute, subtle, crafty, and steeped in guile; while the multitude, given to grossest superstition, are timid and cringing, forceless and without ambition, ignorant and poverty-stricken in the extreme, and revel in filth both physical and moral. According to the census of 1891, out of a population of 288,000,000, only 11,554,000 males and 543,500 females are able to read

and write, while a total of nearly 250,000,000 are illiterate. Omitting the minor religions, the Buddhists number 7,131,361, the Mohammedans 57,321,164, the Hindus 207,731,727, and the Christians of every name and grade *only* 2,284,380, and of this insignificant fraction about two-thirds are non-Protestant.

Then the converts hitherto have been gathered almost altogether from the lowest strata of society, from among the lowest of the low, the poorest of the poor, the very off-scouring of the land. Upon the higher classes scarcely any impression has been made, both Islam and Hinduism as systems are still well-nigh untouched, and only a small percentage of the population has yet even heard the message of salvation. Without doubt, caste is the chief curse of India, and presents the most invulnerable bulwark against such weapons as are wielded by the Christian warrior. And finally, not only have the Bible, and intelligence, and Western civilization, been introduced into the land of the Vedas, but infidel literature and scepticism and the vices of the Occident have entered also to work mischief serious and wide-spread. And the Government is directly engaged in fostering the pernicious use of opium and alcohol. It is evident, then, that after a full hundred years of prayer, and giving, and toil, the momentous undertaking to win India for Christ has not yet passed the introductory stage. The grand climax of the struggle lies in the unseen future, while the complete victory is far away.

But the prospect is not, by any means, all forbidding and disheartening. There is a brighter side, which is not to be ignored. The mere command, "Go preach the gospel to every creature," is enough. Nothing is too hard for our God, since his resources are boundless. And yet, even in this difficult case, we are permitted to add sight to faith. Suggestions like these are pertinent, and in the aggregate are full of significance. Mention has already been made of the wide and irresistible spread of British authority, carrying to every corner of the peninsula peace, public order, English law, the wise

and righteous administration of justice, free speech and a free press, coupled with due restraint to all fanaticism; so that everywhere from the Indus to the Irawadi, from the Southern Cape to the "Home of Snow," the gospel may be preached and lived under adequate legal protection. Local self-government is established so far as is compatible with safety, and the natives are encouraged to fit themselves for much larger measures of political activity. In a spirit truly paternal, the powers that be minister most assiduously to the material and intellectual well-being of the woe-begone masses. Moreover, the bulk of Britons in high official station devote themselves with singular devotion and energy to the tremendous task of reducing current evils to a minimum, while securing for the subject class the utmost of substantial benefit, while many of these representatives of a great Christian power, in both character and life, are worthy exponents of New Testament piety and philanthropy. In the long run the daily spectacle, in every considerable community, of Anglo-Saxon vigor and intelligence and skill, coupled with truth-telling, sincerity, and downright, open, honesty, will make mightily for the moral redemption of the millions.

Much of the work hitherto accomplished was preliminary in its nature, cost an immense expenditure of time and nervous force, but has been done once for all, and from it missionaries in the future can turn to more direct efforts for evangelization. The Scriptures are published in all the principal languages, as well as an extensive Christian literature, and school books in great variety. In the educational institutions of various grades natives by the thousand are trained for Christian activity, and by the hundred thousand to a mastery of the fundamentals of a worthy and useful life. Medical missions carry soothing and healing to multitudes, and at the same time supply convincing arguments for the truth and supreme excellence of Christianity, while also operating with irresistible force to break down prejudice, to excite interest, and to lead to con-

viction and acceptance of the truth. The surpassing value of zenana work has been established. A century has thus been largely consumed in spying out the land, in trying experiments, and fashioning the instrumentalities required for meeting the peculiar difficulties discovered.

And, if the question is asked, why so little has been accomplished, no small part of the reply is found in the fact that so little has been attempted, the number of toilers has been so painfully and absurdly small. In India to-day is found about one missionary to more than three hundred thousand Mohammedans and heathen, or three to one million, a "supply" which is at the rate of less than *fifteen* ministers to the city of London, or some *two hundred* to the entire population of the United States, instead of our one hundred and ten thousand clergymen. Only scandalous "playing at missions," indeed. In proportion to the amount of labor bestowed, the harvest is far greater than is gathered in the most favored of Christian lands. Or, if we are reminded with a sceptical sneer that "the rulers and the Pharisees have not believed" on Jesus, that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" have been called, this fact is not without analogy elsewhere in Christian history. Sometimes the gospel has found a lodgment first in the higher levels of society, as in Japan among the *samurai*, only one grade beneath the nobility. In the islands of the South Pacific and elsewhere, the chiefs led the way to a profession of godliness, and the people followed. But usually it has been the case that the lowly, the humble, the children of sorrow and want, have been most accessible to spiritual forces. And if in India it should even come to pass that, for a century yet, only pariahs, outcastes, the refuse of society, should repent and believe, here alone is a field where at least fifty million conversions are possible. And besides, if this immense substratum of population were thoroughly leavened with Christian ideas and principles and activities; if these hosts of the despised are

enlightened and uplifted; while the brightest and most consecrated are further trained to preach and teach, to organize and lead, who does not see that a sublime and decisive step has been taken towards the transformation of India? But we are not left to this as the only result probable, or possible. Both Brahmins and Moslems by the score, and hundred, and thousand, have already humbled their pride to accept Jesus as saviour, and have made to him a living sacrifice of their hearts and lives. The number is steadily increasing, and the wide diffusion of English education and the teaching of modern science are well-nigh certain, at least after a generation or two have passed, to prepare the way for great accessions from this source.

Besides, we may reasonably look forward to, and confidently expect, a multiplication of the mass movements towards the kingdom of heaven. Such certainly would be the blessed experience, if missionaries were supplied in sufficient numbers, and the Spirit of the Most High should descend with pentecostal power. As incidental but prophetic signs of good times presently to appear, may be named the nervous fear of the leaders of the old faiths lest their systems be undermined by Christian forces, which displays itself in efforts almost frantic to withstand the rising tide, to restore the past, willing even, if need be, to borrow from that which they hate. Then too, there is a noticeable and increasing readiness on the part of all, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian, to unite heartily in furthering various social and moral reforms. Immorality is scathingly rebuked, the sad estate of the out-caste is more and more commiserated, a movement against the iniquities of child-marriage has set in, while indignant voices are beginning to plead in behalf of the millions of widows, as well as to denounce the woes which rest upon the entire sex.

If now, after all the achievements of a century, the churches of Christendom shall go on in faith and love and holy

zeal to bestow liberally their gold and silver, shall send forth yet other hundreds of their choicest sons and daughters supported by supplication and thanksgiving, and so the work of redemption be vigorously carried forward, and further in God's own time and way some Indian Luther shall be raised up, or even a score or two of lesser men of truly apostolic gifts, then idolatry will be overthrown, accursed caste will melt away and disappear; Hindus, Moslems, and devil-worshippers together will come in troops, in hosts, eagerly seeking admission into the kingdom, and even in India Jesus Christ will be honored and obeyed as King of kings and Lord of lords.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE ADORATION OF JESUS IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.¹

BY PROFESSOR THEODOR ZAHN, D. D., ERLANGEN, GERMANY, TRANSLATED
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AMONG the great historical religions of the world, of whose origin and development we have a more or less definite knowledge, Christianity is the only one which from the beginning has found the distinctive expression of its character in the adoration of its founder. If we may speak of a human founder of Judaism, and regard Moses or Abraham as occupying that position, then no proof is needed that the Jewish nation never at any period of its long career felt tempted to honor and adore as divine beings those great figures of its distant past. Not against such deification of men, but against the polytheism and idolatry of the heathen among whom Israel dwelt, was directed the exhortation "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord." This became most prominent as the fundamental creed of Judaism, when a part of the nation had acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and prayed to the Crucified One as the Lord enthroned in heaven. One of the most serious reproaches made against this heresy from Judaism, was that it acknowledged two rulers in heaven.²

¹ [This is the first essay in a volume just published, entitled, "Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche."]

² Not against the doctrine of the Trinity as an incomprehensible mystery, but against the exaltation of the man Jesus to divine dignity, was the polemic of the rabbins directed, in opposition to the Jewish Christians in Palestine. (Cf. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen Theologie*, p. 148; Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, p. 48f.) In the dialogue of Justin with the Jew, Trypho, all turns in this connection only on the question whether Jesus is a God to

The Rabbi Akiba, one of the bitterest enemies of Christianity, is said to have breathed out his life, as a martyr of Judaism, with the word "One."

The confession of Islam, of faith in the One God, and in Mohammed as his prophet, was also primarily directed against heathen polytheism; and yet it was from the beginning held in antagonism to the supposed deification of a man on the part of the Christians. When, in the course of the Middle Ages, the contact of Christian nations with Mohammedan and Jewish culture had ceased to be exclusively hostile, it became customary, from very different points of view, and in very different connections, to class Judaism, Christianity, and Islam together, as the three monotheistic religions, on which depended the development of the world's civilization. Even Lessing in his "Nathan" makes use of this mediæval tradition.

Not until the last century did Buddhism come within the horizon of general culture in Europe. The foreigner from India met with a remarkably sympathetic reception, and that not alone among those whom philosophy had brought to a view of the universe akin to Buddhism. Buddhism has been classed with Christianity and Islam, as one of the religions which show their vigor by sustaining missions, and in results, as evinced by the number of converts, Buddhism surpasses even our faith. Recently some have advanced the view that a considerable part of our gospel narrative is an imitation of the legends of Buddha. But apart from such rash ventures, there are significant features of similarity, which force themselves on the most superficial view. In Buddhism, as in Christianity, we see at the head of a religious movement extending through thousands of years, the august figure of be worshipped, or the adoration which the Christians offer to this man is forbidden by the text "my honor will I not give to another." (Dial., chap. lxiii., Otto p. 224; chap. lxiv. *init.*; chap. lxv. from beginning to end, with Otto's note 12, p. 233; further Dial., chap. xxxiii. *init.*; chap. lxviii., especially p. 242 note 6, p. 246 note 21; chap. lxxvi. *fin.*; chap. cxxviii. *init.*)

an enlightened man, who, in antagonism to a rigid national religion, reached direct convictions of divine truth, and imparted it through the gentle medium of the spoken word to his disciples, and through them to the nations. In both, we find the message of a redemption to which all can attain: in both, likeness to the founder as the goal of the moral and religious efforts of all his converts. And yet Christianity shows its distinctive character more clearly in comparison with Buddhism than with either of the other religions named. A recent writer on Buddhism¹ says: "The Buddhist doctrine might still be in all essentials that which it actually is, if the idea of Buddha were to be eliminated from it." But what would Christian doctrine be without Christ? The same authority adds: "Buddha has entered Nirvana; if his disciples wished to call upon him, he could not hear them. Therefore (genuine) Buddhism is a religion without prayer." Christians were, from the first, worshippers of Christ. With this assertion I reach my subject.

In the year 112 A. D. Pliny, a highly educated Roman official, had occasion, as governor of a province of Asia Minor, to describe to the emperor Trajan certain judicial proceedings which he had instituted with numerous Christians belonging to his sphere of administration. Among these were some who testified that they had indeed been Christians, but had withdrawn, a longer or shorter time before, from the faith and worship of the Christians. They confessed, among other things, that formerly, when they were members of the Christian community,² they had been accustomed to assemble on

¹ H. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (1881), pp. 329 f., 377 f. [Eng. Transl., pp. 322, 369 f.]

² This I believe I have for the first time clearly proven in my "Ignatius von Antiochien" (1873), p. 586. F. Arnold, *Studien zur Plinianischen Christenverfolgung* (1887), who has learned this from others (pp. 49, 53), clings at the same time to the old error, that those apostate Christians had withdrawn from participation in the celebrations of the Lord's Supper only in consequence of Pliny's edict against the *Hetæriæ* (pp. 16, 48, 53). But according to the plain sense of the words they had, some for a longer, others for a shorter time,

a regular day in the early morning, in order to sing together a hymn of praise to *Christ as if he were a God*, or, to *Christ as a kind of God*. Such, according to the account of the heathen judge, was the declaration, not of Christians, but of apostates from Christianity, concerning the place which Christ occupied in the Christian worship of that time. Christ the quasi-God, whom the church in the hymns and prayers of her worship praises and addresses as though he were God: such is the creed of many to-day, who yet lay great stress on belonging to the church, and on the connection of their faith with primitive Christianity. Historical errors naturally result. It is characteristic that one of our modern lights has recently succeeded in representing that designation of Christ as quasi-God, which the heathen Pliny attributes to the apostate Christians, as the appropriate expression for the common belief of the Christians in the subapostolic age. If that were correct, we should have to assume, but also to prove, that in the course of the second century, or even of the third, the quasi-God Christ was transformed into a real God, and the

altogether ceased to be Christians, and therefore to participate in any of the acts of Christian worship mentioned. The "desisse" in § 7 coincides with the "desisse" in § 6. "Quod ipsum" refers therefore not to the single observance, but to all that they had before enumerated as their former customs, and had included under the head of "summa culpæ suæ vel erroris." The whole of § 7 is a report of the testimony of former, now apostate, Christians, whose accuracy we have no reason to doubt. This is true also of the "carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem." It is significant that Tertulian (Apol. ii.) says, instead, "ad canendum Christo ut deo." The former is appropriate from the apostates, and from the judge who exactly reports their utterances; the latter is fitting as the utterance of the church. There is therefore no reason to assume (with Arnold, p. 56 note 5) a Grecism yet to be proven in Pliny's use of the word "quasi." We have here the same "quasi" as, e. g., Plin. Epist. viii. 16, 1 & 2. That the heathen of the second and third centuries regarded the adoring worship of Christ as in brief the essence of Christianity, is well known; cf. Martyr. Polycarpi xvii. 2 (where, however, Jews are speaking to heathen); Lucian, de morte Peregrini 11, 13; Origen, c. Celsum viii. 12-14 (where the defence of Origen deserves notice no less than the attack of Celsus); X. Kraus, Roma soterranea, ed. 2, p. 257; the caricature-crucifix on the Palatine.

hymn of praise of the church to her exalted founder became a real adoration of Jesus, an invocation of his grace and help. We should have to prove further that the early church either in like manner honored and glorified Jesus only as quasi-God, or that not even so much as this was ventured. Then we could follow step by step the development through which the devout and humble man of Nazareth was transformed into the adored God and Lord of Christianity. But all the testimony of history contradicts this. Jesus was adored by the believers among his contemporaries. Those who had seen him eye to eye, and had heard from his mouth the word of his teaching, were accustomed, after they could no longer see and hear him, to call upon him in prayer, assured that he heard them and possessed the power to help them. Herein is the proof that, wherever in the second and third centuries among Jewish or Gentile Christians we find a lower view of Christ's person than in the writings of the New Testament, this is not a survival of the original common belief, but only a consequence of the same inability to maintain the elevation of the apostolic view, which manifests itself in so many other aspects of the doctrine and life of that period.

I wish first to demonstrate the fact of the adoration of Jesus in the apostolic church, and then to try to answer the question, What does this fact presuppose, or, how is it to be accounted for?

I.

Twenty-seven years had passed after the death of Christ, when Paul was writing his first letter to the Corinthians. The apostle found it necessary to say several times in this letter, that by their arrogance of opinion, and arbitrary conduct, they were much endangering not only their own unity, but also their relations to him, their spiritual father, and to the whole of Christendom. For this reason he reminds the Corinthians in his first greeting, that they are what they are, not

by themselves alone, but only in connection with all the Christians on the earth. This is what he means when he addresses them as: "called to be saints, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their Lord and ours." This then was the sign by which all Christians were known, the bond of union of the separated churches: prayer to Christ. We hardly need to be reminded, that this is not to be understood as though in the church of that day the "calling upon" God, the Father of Christ and of Christians, had ceased or even been relegated to the background, as compared with "calling upon" Christ. All the writings of the New Testament bear witness to the fervor and perseverance of the prayers of God's children to their Heavenly Father. The Lord's Prayer was not forgotten, nor was it the less valued because it might be offered by a Jew also. Worship, like life, in the apostolic church, did not give prominent nor exclusive expression to antagonism towards other religious communions. The apostles in Jerusalem continued to participate in the Jewish worship, and to visit the temple at the usual hours of prayer, in order to pray to the God of their fathers with and for their own nation.¹ But prayer reflects the features of faith. Beside that which was common to both Christians and Jews and united them, the specific peculiarity of the Christian knowledge of God sought clear expression in worship, and found it in prayer to Christ. This separated Christians from all other worshippers of the One God, this united them together. Great and manifold as might be the differences existing inside single churches, or between the larger groups of similar churches, their unity on this point was such an indubitable fact, that "those who call on the name of Jesus" was a designation at once understood as descriptive

¹ Acts iii. 1; xxii. 17. Paul includes himself (Acts xxvi. 7) in the ceaseless service of prayer for the fulfilment of the promises, in which the twelve tribes are engaged. Compare the story of Hegesippus concerning the tireless praying of James in the temple. (Euseb., H. E. ii. 23, 6.)

of the whole body of Christians. And this was appropriate when it was important to emphasize the essential thing in which every member of the widely scattered fellowship must unite with the rest, if his Christian character was to be preserved.

The most important of the differences which imperilled the unity of early Christianity, a difference which even then on several occasions led to bitter strife, was that between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians. The former were gathered in considerable numbers in Palestine and lived their Christian life in the forms of Jewish piety, and in the ordinances of the Mosaic law. The latter were the prominent element in the churches which Paul and his helpers had organized and then defended in their independence of Jewish rules of life. But even over against this difference, Paul emphasizes that unity of Christians which finds expression in the adoration of Jesus. He writes to the church in Rome, to which this antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christians was specially important: "There is [here, among the followers of Christ] no distinction between Jew and Greek: for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him" (Rom. x. 12). Here too we see how much stress was laid on prayer to Christ, for immediately afterwards the apostle proves the importance of such prayer, by citing a word of the prophet Joel, in which is predicted of the latter days: "It shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." Paul knew as well as we, that the prophet was there speaking, not of Jesus, the Lord of Christianity, nor of the Messiah in whom Israel hoped, but of the God of Israel, whose own name, Jehovah, was translated in the Greek version of the Old Testament by "Lord." But he sees the prediction of the prophet fulfilling itself in the "calling on" Jesus by believers; this is as necessary and effectual as the worship of Jehovah required by the law and the prophets, yea it is therewith identical. The Christian Jew, Paul, knows that when

he in faith prays to Jesus, he thereby fulfils in spirit and in truth the condition of salvation which the God of his fathers had imposed on all who would be saved. Without changing or lessening its religious significance, the Old Testament adoration of Jehovah is transformed into the adoration of Jesus; and to reach this result, both among those who have long worshipped the one God of revelation, and among those who have lived in heathen ignorance of him, is, as Paul further shows, the object of the sending of the messengers of peace throughout all lands. Wherever these messengers fulfil their errand with success, wherever the gospel preached by them finds acceptance in the hearts of men, there results not only the confession that the risen Jesus is the Lord, but also prayer to Jesus. In this respect there was among the Christians of that time no other difference than that which will endure so long as men of flesh and blood bow the knee in prayer; I mean the difference to which Paul once refers (2 Tim. ii. 22) between those who call on the Lord out of a pure, that is upright, heart, and hypocrites, who draw near him with their lips, while their heart is far off. This difference, however, is almost entirely hidden from human knowledge and from historical consideration. But, on the other hand, the testimony of Paul which we have adduced, shows beyond a doubt that within less than thirty years after the death of Jesus, the original apostles, and the brethren of Jesus, as well as the later-born apostle to the Gentiles, the hundreds of Jewish Christians who had seen Jesus before and after his resurrection with their own eyes, and the thousands of Israelites who had joined themselves to them,¹ as well as the Gentile Christians in Ephesus and Corinth,—all were worshippers of Jesus, as they had been before worshippers of the God of Israel, or of dumb idols. That, however, which was then universal among Christians, that which was superior to all differences within the church, cannot have recently sprung up in any

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 6; Acts xxi. 20; Rom. xi. 4 f.; Origen, tom. I., 2 in Joann.

one locality, but must rather have grown from the one root of the far-spreading tree of Christianity. Moreover, within the twenty to thirty years since the birth of the church there is to be discovered no momentous event, no pervasive new development, which could have resulted in the universal adoration of Jesus. Paul could not so speak as we have heard him, if he had not come to know the disciples in Damascus and the apostles in Jerusalem as worshippers of Jesus, when from a persecutor he became a follower of Christ. There is, therefore, no reason for the suspicion that the Acts carries back the language of a later time into the first age of the church, when it makes the Christian Ananias and the Jews of Damascus designate the Christians as those that call upon the name of Jesus;¹ or when it describes the dying Stephen as praying to Jesus for himself and for his murderers (as Jesus himself on the cross prayed to his Father), "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!"² Even at Pentecost Peter quoted that saying of Joel: "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved," plainly in the same sense as that in which Paul uses it later; for the sermon connected with this prophetic text leads to the conclusion that Jesus of Nazareth, the wonder-working man whom the Jews had killed, had now through his resurrection and exaltation become Christ and Lord.³ Jesus is therefore now the Lord, by calling on whom in faith, all in this deeply guilty nation may be saved.

The "Kyrie eleison" of our church hymns is as old as the church itself. We see, also, that the adoration of Jesus was not a laudatory glorification of the departed Master, not an extravagant expression of reverence and enthusiasm for him. Nor can it be compared with the saint-worship of a

¹ Acts ix. 14, 21; xxii. 16.

² Acts vii. 59 f.; cf. Luke xxiii. 34, 46; John xix. 30. It is perhaps doubtful whether in Acts i. 24 Jesus or God is addressed.

³ Acts ii. 21, 36, as already explained.

later age, to justify which artificial distinctions had to be invented. On the contrary, it was a conscious transfer to Jesus of the worship which is due to God, and it was an earnest praying for the benefits which God alone can bestow. No longer is it to Abraham's bosom that the angels bear the souls of the good, but it is Jesus, who dwells in heaven, who receives them and welcomes them into his Father's house. As on earth he exercised the authority to remit to men their sins, so now he does the same in fulness of power from heaven,¹ no longer as an authorized servant of God, but as the Lord whose personal grace and favor are all-important. He is not only the herald and mediator of the grace of God, but it is his own grace, whose bestowal on his servants is invoked by the apostles at the beginning and close of their epistles. To experience his mercy is to enter the state of grace in which Christians rejoice.² His mercy assures the salvation of each Christian, here and hereafter.³ The Epistle to the Hebrews only carries out the idea found everywhere in the New Testament, of the sole mediation of the grace of God through Jesus exalted to God's right hand, when it describes him as the high priest, who, on the ground of his own past experience of human life, can and does sympathize with Christians in their manifold infirmities and need of help. When the same author urges us to draw near with boldness to God's throne as a throne of grace, which we can do only in prayer, this prayer must be not only a calling on the omnipotent God, but also an appeal to the sympathetic heart of the high priest who shares God's throne.⁴ For Jesus has not only a general relation to his church as a whole, but also to each individual who calls upon him. And unto them all,

¹ Acts vii. 60; perhaps also viii. 24.

² 1 Cor. vii. 25 (where *κύριος* without the article designates Jesus the second time as well as the first); 1 Tim. i. 12-16.

³ 2 Tim. i. 16, 18; iv. 17 f.

⁴ Heb. iv. 15 f.; cf. x. 19-22; ii. 17 f.

however far apart they dwell, however various and numberless their wants may be, he is as rich as they would be poor without him. Even earthly needs and physical wants are not excluded from prayer to him.

Let us take an illustration which will also bring into view other characteristics of prayer to Jesus. Paul carried about with him some severe bodily affliction.¹ We do not know exactly what it was, but it must have been very painful and at the same time uncanny, since he compares it to a sharp stake which penetrates his flesh, and traces it to an angel of Satan who buffets him, and also speaks of his sickness as a temptation to the hearers of his preaching to despise, even to loathe, him. Three times, he confesses to the Corinthians, he besought the Lord for release from this evil. It may be asked, Why only three times? Would it not be a subject of *daily* prayer with this energetic man? But the apostles did not think lightly of a prayer without result. Prayer is petition, which asks an answer, and when it receives none, finally is silenced. The prayer of Christians is only unceasing where it finds response. Paul's prayer too did not remain unheard. He became in his heart certain of this answer: "My grace is sufficient for thee," that is, 'Continue to bear thine affliction, which does not prevent thy possession of my grace, but rather serves to make my strength manifest mightily in thy weakness.' But Paul repeated his first prayer a second and a third time. Did this perhaps happen after renewed attacks of sickness, and after long intervals, so that there was cause for the question on the part of the petitioner, whether he had not now endured this trial long enough? We do not, however, need this assumption, when we remember the threefold prayer of Jesus in Gethsemane. Not until the same response had come a second and a third time, did Paul cease to pray on this subject. His prayer was for the blessing of bodily health, but he did not direct his imploring petition to the almighty

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 7-9; Gal. iv. 13 f.

Creator and Father, but *to the Lord*, and that means *to the Lord Jesus* everywhere with Paul, when he is not quoting Old Testament words, and especially here, as the following context unmistakably shows. With Jesus, therefore, Paul maintains an intercourse in which he brings to expression all that troubles him; an intercourse in which matters do not end with the asking and petition of the man who needs help, but an answer follows, and that a satisfying answer, even in cases where no change of condition in the life gives outward sign that the prayer has found a hearing. If now the intercourse of Paul by prayer with Jesus was such, how much more natural would a similar relation be to the personal disciples of Jesus, who in a companionship with him lasting several years had become accustomed to turn to him in every need and perplexity, and to be upheld by the staff of his word, by the glance of his eye, by the clasp of his hand, when they feared they must sink. Only if they had held that he was dead, and had not believed in his resurrection, could it have seemed to them impracticable to continue their personal intercourse with him? But they were convinced that he was living; and in those days after the resurrection in which they gained this conviction, they learned also that Jesus now, after his glorification, was no less interested than in the days of his flesh, in each of them with his peculiar needs, and still adapted himself specially to each disciple. The appearances of the risen Lord ceased, but not their faith in the unabated continuance, nay in the increased activity, of communion and fellowship between Christ and Christians. To the faith and feeling of the first disciples it was a personal intercourse with the unseen Lord which they maintained in praying to Jesus. It may be questioned whether this prayer to Jesus, when shared by larger numbers, and by those who had not previously enjoyed personal companionship with Jesus, could still preserve the same character of personal intimacy. But the example of Paul shows that this was certainly the case. As,

according to the account in Acts, a dialogue between Jesus and Paul was the experience decisive for his conversion, so did this apostle afterwards continue, waking and in vision, an intercourse of petition and answer with Jesus.¹ And though we have many confessions of his weakness, yet we cannot discover a trace of his ever having doubtfully entertained even for a moment the possibility of self-deception in this direction. Indeed the first witnesses, the "friends" of Jesus, as he himself called them, assert that, in respect of communion with the Lord, there exists no difference between them and the other Christians, who have not seen the Lord and yet love him.² Jesus too assumed no other aspect towards the praying church than that which had ineffaceably impressed itself on the memory of the eye-witnesses of his life. They had learned to know him, not only as the preacher of the gospel for the poor, as the saviour of souls, as the bestower of forgiveness of sins, but also as the physician of the spiritually and bodily sick, as one who had power even over nature. When daily bread was lacking, they had seen him feed thousands miraculously, yet with real bread. Even for luxury they had seen him provide, when wine was wanting at the wedding feast. And these were not isolated acts, whose object lay entirely outside of the acts themselves. The healing of the sick, also, was his constant occupation; it is represented as an essential part of the work to which he was called. With this exhausting labor, they had seen him occupied like a much sought physician even into the night, until his strength was spent. Such miracles would measure the faith with which the church prayed to her exalted Head. It was impossible that they should think of his activity as limited to the spiritual life. Nay, not limited, but raised above all confining limita-

¹ Cf. Acts xviii. 9 ; xxii. 17-21.

² 1 Pet. i. 8 ; 2 Pet. i. 1 ; 1 John i. 3. Especially would 1 John v. 14 ff. belong here, if, as some used to maintain, it referred to prayer to the Son of God.

tions, was the Lord, in their view, since his exaltation to God. Though he formerly wrought his works only on those who were privileged to approach him physically, now he was accessible to all who in faith looked up to him in his exalted position. And though before, only a few out of the innumerable multitude of the suffering on earth addressed to him the cry "Lord, have mercy," now all who in the wide world had attained to faith in him could call on him in like manner, even in every trouble of the physical life. And they did this with the certainty that he who was once poor was now rich, rich enough to hear and to answer them all. This faith was confirmed by experience of the might of the name of Jesus, even over bodily sickness. Isolated occurrences of this kind, such as Acts often mentions, might have been viewed as exceptions, as specially distinguishing the apostles, and so have remained without any pervasive influence on the consciousness of the praying church. But we see from the Epistle of James that it was viewed as something quite usual to cure those who were dangerously sick by believing prayer and anointing in the name of Jesus. Even the antichristian Jewish literature attests this belief of ancient Christianity in Palestine¹ by a witness which cannot be suspected of partiality. But the cure of the sick was ascribed to the same Lord in whose name and service they were thus treated.² So this healing prayer was addressed to Jesus. Such practices assume, or rather include, the belief that the exalted Lord is in possession of divine knowledge and power; that there is no sphere of human or earthly life over which he has not dominion; that even the angels and spirits, through whom God accomplishes his will in the various provinces of nature, are

¹ E. g., cf. Derenbourg, *Histoire et géographie de la Palestine*, p. 360.

² Cf. Acts iii. 6, 16; xix. 11-17; Luke x. 17; Mark vi. 13; ix. 38; Matt vii. 22; also Matt. xviii. 19 f., where the object of the prayer is left undetermined, and I Cor. v. 3-5, which refers to a miraculous punishment; and, for a slightly different view, Acts ix. 34; Jas. v. 14 f.

now, to a far wider extent than during his earthly life,¹ subject to Jesus as servants and instruments of his will.² It was this conviction of the full participation of Jesus in God's government of the world, which found its current expression in the words "sitting at the right hand of God."³ If we now ask in what name the church expressed that which Jesus was to her as the object of her adoration, we might almost wonder that the answer is not simply "God." For this name seems, after all, the only appropriate one for him who was prayed to with such audacity of faith, with such ardent fervor, with such inclusive petitions, as were manifest from the first in the adoration of Jesus. Nor is this name entirely wanting. Paul designates Christ once as the one "who is over all, God blessed for ever";⁴ and elsewhere we find him called "our God and Saviour."⁵ And there is no significance in the fact that we do not find this mode of expression in older writings than the epistles of Paul. For we possess no earlier Christian literature than these epistles, save perhaps the little Epistle of James, in which Christ is mentioned at all only four or five times, unambiguously.⁶ The name by which he is there mentioned is "the Lord"; this is, however, also "the name above every name," in which apostolic Christianity most commonly expressed its faith in Jesus,⁷ and which we find used regularly where there is reference to praying to him. It is characteristic of the moderation of the religious language of the apostles, that this trite word "Lord" sufficed them to express their highest meaning. It was then in customary use as a

¹ John i. 51 (52); cf. Matt. viii. 9.

² 1 Pet. iii. 22; Eph. i. 20 ff.; Col. ii. 10.

³ Acts ii. 33 f.; vii. 55 f.; Rom. viii. 34; Col. iii. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Heb. i. 3; viii. 1; x. 12; xii. 2; Rev. v. 6.

⁴ Rom. ix. 5. The ancient controversy over this passage is not founded on exegetical difficulties.

⁵ Tit. ii. 13; 2 Thess. i. 12; 2 Pet. i. 1.

⁶ Jas. i. 1; ii. 1; v. 7 f., 14 f. (i. 7; iv. 15; v. 11).

⁷ Rom. x. 9; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Phil. ii. 11.

courteous or honorific title in addressing one with whom the speaker was not intimate, or who ranked above him.¹ In its Greek form, preserved in the "Kyrie" of our old hymns and liturgies, it had been adopted into the conversational speech of the Palestinian Jews. Perhaps in this form, and certainly in this signification, the disciples had regularly used it in intercourse with Jesus (John xiii. 13). And they retained it even when they prayed to him as the partner of God's throne. Their language was not the pompous speech of the declamatory orators, and of the servile poets, who with ardent zeal vie with one another in predicates more and more exaggerated, in order to clothe the slender subject of their discourse with the garb of greatness. The precept of the Master, that their speech should be: "Yea, yea; Nay, nay," was to them not only a prohibition of frivolous oaths, but also a rule to be observed in the attestation of their faith. The evil theology which says both Yea and Nay at once, because it is not in earnest with either, was foreign to the apostles. Measured but fully weighed was their Yea, as also their Nay. They knew that there are many who are called lords, and in a sense are lords. When they, notwithstanding, called Jesus, absolutely "the Lord" or "their Lord," and themselves his servants, they took the word in its full truth, in the full meaning which it had previously had, when Israel spake of God as "the Lord." To such lords, adoration should be rendered, and to him who is so adored, is due the confession that he is the Lord, beside whom his church has no other.² And yet those who so spake of him and to him, had seen him when, weary from the journey, he seated himself hungry and thirsty at the well; they had eaten and drunk with him; they had heard him pray to God as a man who needed help. What-

¹ John iv. 11; xii. 21. In Epictetus, for example, the physician is so addressed by the patient (Diss. ii. 15, 15; iii. 10, 15), the soothsayer by his interrogator (ii. 7, 9), the orator by his admirer (iii. 23, 19).

² 1 Cor. viii. 6; Eph. iv. 5.

ever of the miraculous they may have experienced in his company could not obliterate the impression which the daily life had made, that the norm of ordinary human existence was for him also the rule. On the calm consideration of those who are impartial, the question forces itself, Was Jesus a man whom his friends deified a few weeks after his death?

[*To be concluded.*]

ARTICLE IX.

SEMITIC LITERARY NOTES.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists have just come to hand, in two huge, bulky volumes, literally packed with information from all departments of Oriental study and research. The Semitic section devoted to Assyriology is particularly interesting and valuable, as may be seen from the list of papers presented.

Among these was a "New Version of the Creation Story," by Theo. G. Pinches; one on "Die Identität der Ältesten Babylonischen und Ägyptischen Göttergenealogie und der Babylonische Ursprung der Ägyptischen Kultur," from the pen of Dr. Fritz Hommel; and one of especial interest on "The Origin of Primary Civilizations," by Mr. J. S. Stuart-Glennie. Professor Sayce was the presiding officer, and his inaugural address was an exhaustive review of the rise and development of Assyriological science, together with suggestions as to the weaknesses of the present methods, and some important modifications needed in the current methods of study for the largest and most successful prosecution of Assyriological research. It was an address of great interest and was characteristic of its author.

Dr. Sayce points out what is a very important fact, that the primary work of the Assyriologist is still that of the decipherer. He deprecates discussions about Assyrian sounds while there are so many texts undeciphered, and so much room for inquiry and scientific conjecture as to the more fundamental questions of text. Pure questions of phonology and philology, he suggests, may well be laid aside while there is so much and so manifest ignorance about the Assyrian syntax and idiom. In sustaining this position, Professor Sayce makes the assertion, and one which we think more or less borne out by the facts, that the Assyrian translations of twenty years ago are not very far behind those of to-day, and that the textual work of the newer scholars, who have come into the study with so many advantages which did not lie at hand for the earlier generation of scholars, does not show the advance and superiority which, from the great increase of interest and material, we should be warranted in expecting. George Smith's renderings of the Creation and Deluge texts, for example, present no more or greater difficulties than those of the latest translators.

All this is the result, so the president of the conference goes on to say, of the "attempt to create a philology of Assyrian before the work of decipherment is concluded." We cannot but think that this complaint is a just one,

though why there should not be efforts in the direction of an Assyrian philology even now is not clear. There is already a literature of Assyrian which is sufficiently voluminous to warrant at least some induction as to a philology, even if the results are, as they must of necessity be, somewhat tentative. What Dr. Sayce himself is so persistently doing in the matter of historical conjecture, and in the matter of adaptation and collaboration of Assyrian with biblical ideas, is only what the Germans are doing in the matter of phonology and philology. It seems to be a matter of taste as to which line the conjecturing shall take. But this aside, the suggestion is a good one that less time and strength be wasted on minor questions, and that all hands set about translating, until we have so large a body of textual examples and illustrations, that a more reasonable opportunity shall be given for testing some of the theories regarding the language which we must now simply accept or reject on *a priori* grounds.

The account which Dr. Sayce gives of the excavations of Dr. Flinders Petrie at Tell-el-Hesi is of most absorbing interest. The finding of a text and handwriting contemporary with that of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, together with the very name of Zimrida, who is mentioned in the latter, is an event of first interest. The Egyptian scarabs and the bead with the name of the mother of Amenophis IV. (to whom the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence was addressed) may really, as he says, lay the foundation of Palestinian archæology. "And so we have the first written record of pre-Israelitish times ever found in the soil of Palestine." It is impossible, in the light of this important discovery, not to hope, and confidently believe, that there is a vast light still waiting to break upon biblical study and philology from these sources, and it again reveals how needful it is to be careful about alleging in too positive terms any given theory respecting the early civilization and institutions of the Israelites and their predecessors in the land of Canaan. The closing words of the inaugural address are worthy of the theme and the occasion: "But the subject-matter of Assyrian research is so vast, and the new points of view which it opens up are so many, and the fresh facts which it is accumulating are so numerous and startling, that it is difficult to compress into a small space even an outline of the work done during the past few months. Indeed it is not always easy to overtake the latest discovery or to rearrange our previous knowledge in accordance with the fresh facts that are brought to light. Assyriology is a progressive study in the fullest and truest sense of the word. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains still to be done. The successes of the past are but an encouragement and an earnest of the successes which yet lie before us. If there is any branch of knowledge whose students are called upon to press onwards regardless of old prejudices and prepossessions and desirous only to discover the truth, it is the science of Assyriology. Our motto is, and must be, 'Forward.'"

Mr. Rassam wrote a very impressive letter concerning the necessity of invoking the aid of the respective governments of the interested scholars toward the preservation of Eastern monuments and other valuable material for Orien-

tal research. Indeed, it is only by the intelligent aid and co-operation of government officials who have appreciated the value of such work in the past, that many of the best results now in our possession have been secured. The American government might very easily give great assistance to the cause, if some special instructions on the point were given to our consuls and other representatives in the East. Such assistance it ought not to be difficult to secure.

The paper presented by Dr. Fritz Hommel was one of the most important apparently of all that were offered. A *resumé* cannot be given here until after further investigation of the numerous points which the paper suggests; but it can be seen at once, that, if the argument is sound that the oldest genealogies of the Egyptian deities are identical with those of the Assyrian pantheon, and that the Egyptian civilization really had its birth in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, there will have to be a tremendous revolution in our historical ideas. In fact, the full significance of such a conception followed out to its logical end cannot in a moment be comprehended. There are and have been many indications, of the secondary order, that this was the case. Dr. Hommel presents others from the philological point of view. This gives an added force to Dr. Sayce's request for more and better translations. Semitic culture and Semitic civilization take on an importance in the world-life that they never have before, great as has been their importance even with our past conceptions.

Just what the effect of such a thesis, if established, would have on our biblical ideas cannot be at once explained. Egypt has always been more or less of a mystery in the matter of the Israelitish cultural development. It has furnished more difficulties, and has required more scholarly ingenuity, than almost any problem, except perhaps the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But the latter becomes simplicity itself when we try to understand how the evidences of the Egyptian sojourn and the later history of Israel are to be harmonized as we find them in our present records. We shall doubtless have light from this direction sometime. The discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna and Tell-el-Hesi would seem to preclude many of the accepted ideas about the Egyptian sojourn, especially if Egyptian ideas were so widely current in Palestine as now seems probable.

Just how true all we have been saying is, may be in some measure understood when we come to Mr. Stuart Glennie's paper on the "Origin of Primary Civilizations." The author, after various distinctions, says, that practically the only primary civilizations now known are the Egyptian and the Chaldean; the Semitic being derived from the Chaldean, and, according to Professor Lacouperie, also the Chinese. Now if Dr. Hommel's arguments be properly sustained, it may possibly develop that the only primary civilization is the Chaldean, it only remaining to be shown that the Aryan represented by Persia and India in the East, and Greece and Italy in the West, are similarly derived from Chaldea. This would leave only the Peruvian and Mexican, and our author points out that even here it is not unlikely that traditions of Egypt and Chaldea are found.

Nothing is more striking in this connection than the persistency with which

the most thoroughly developed sciences of philology and cultural origins have pointed to the East, and especially to the civilization which flourished in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, long before the dawn of known history. When to the origin of mythology and folk tales we have some more data on the origin of the arts, and to this add further material upon the prehistoric race struggles, it is possible that the unity of the race will be demonstrated in a way which will astound by the varied, as it will convince by the indubitable, character of the evidences offered. And it would not be in the least surprising if the cap-sheaf of this research should be one of the best fruits of Assyriological study.

THE ACCADIAN AFFINITIES OF CHINESE.

As early as 1871, Dr. Edkins, writing on "China's Place in Philology," suggested a possible connection of the Chinese and the ancient Babylonians, and that a back door to the understanding of the latter's civilization might be opened, so to speak, if it were approached from the eastern side. That conjecture, sustained even then by not a few facts, has since been developed until now the connection may be said to be a demonstrated fact. At the Congress already referred to, a singularly interesting paper with the above title was presented by Mr. C. J. Ball, with whom readers of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology are already acquainted.

Accadian is the oldest of known languages. And although the oldest Assyrian inscription, that of Sargon I. (3800 B. C.), is very much older than the oldest Accadian, that is Semitic and not properly Accadian. The probable date of the latter, which are those of Gudea discovered at Tell-Loh by de Sarzec, is about 2800 B. C. Mr. Ball points out the curiously coincident fact that this is also about the date of *Fuh-hi*, one of the traditional founders of Chinese civilization, and the reputed inventor of the arts of writing numbers and divination. Now Mr. Ball undertakes to show, and apparently succeeds, that the cuneiform characters of Assyria and Babylonia were originally disposed in vertical columns exactly like those of the Chinese; and that if the symbols that have been laid down on their sides in the derived script are raised again to their former position, their original form and significance will best be seen, and the resemblance referred to will be established beyond doubt.

Mr. Ball has shown, in other recent papers, that the vocabularies of Chinese and Accadian are in many respects identical, and that the main features of Chinese grammar are the same as those of the oldest Accadian; and, besides this, he has otherwise established a strong case. The paper is a very full exposition of these main propositions and is abundantly illustrated throughout.

This is a matter of most stirring interest, not only in the possibility held out that we shall perhaps find ourselves sometime in possession of a transition language between the Assyrian and the Chinese, but, what is more important, that we are to find a new field to be worked in the tracing out and development of biblical ideas under the forms of Chinese civilization. In fact, it is another of the literally bewildering sources of information which require only

the needful industry and patience, to bring to light a multitude of facts which may as completely revolutionize our ideas in certain other directions, as they have already been revolutionized by the discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna, or by the finding of the new Gospel of Peter, which rendered at least a half-century of biblical study useless.

Taken in connection with what we have already said with reference to the ultimate origin of all civilizations from the Chaldean source, it tends to give us a new method of induction for the science of comparative religion, by placing us upon a firmer foundation than we could otherwise occupy. How ridiculous Professor Robertson Smith's starting-point, with his modern Arabian nomads, seems, in the light of these investigations, does not yet fully appear; but every fresh step toward the East brings it more clearly into relief.

The Accadian connection with the Assyrian is well established. It has been held, and is still maintained, that the Accadian is not a pure Semitic language, and this is probably true. But to connect the Chinese and the Assyrian will bring into being reasons for historical conjecture that cannot help changing all our conceptions as to the origin of a multitude of ideas, and these same ideas, taking on the clothing and affecting the direction of Chinese thought, will give an abundant collection of material for a myriad of fresh comparisons. What this will bring forth with reference to the biblical records cannot even be conjectured, unless it tends to bring the Pentateuch even farther away than it now is from many of the events it records, and creates another wide gulf, which must in all probability be filled with Chinese sources.

Incidentally it has often been noted how nearly the style and tone of the ethical teaching of the Chinese approximates to that of the Hebrews in some stages of the latter's development. Much of the didactic writing of the Chinese sages has a flavor which, if it does not remind of the Wisdom literature, at least makes us feel that there is an affinity of thought between the two which is very suggestive. A critical comparison of ideas and their sources might reveal some strange things. This is equally true when we examine some of the main features of the Chinese institutional life. There is here too a field of exploration which would well repay careful investigation. That the earliest ideas of life and religion from the Chaldean territory should move exclusively westward has long seemed to us curious enough. That they did not is now finally settled.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE HEBREWS.

The wide-spread and still increasing interest in questions of sociology has an important field for their comparative development in the study of the sociology of the Hebrews, as indeed of all the Semitic peoples. The work of McLennen, Spencer, Lubbock, and others in this direction is already well known. It is of highest importance that the results of this study be gathered, and brought to the attention of all who desire to be kept in touch with the newest effects upon comparative biblical study in the same directions.

The Assyrian records are particularly instructive in many points respecting, for example, the laws of trade, the ethics of legal procedure, the structure

of the social fabric, and especially the determination of the status of woman. There is distinct proof that woman in Assyria occupied a high place. She is a land owner, is mistress of the household, is condemned to pay fines imposed upon a son, is empowered to purchase slaves for her son, and otherwise to exercise a high function in the social life. Her place in the family is also well illustrated by the tracing of the descent in the maternal line, rather than the paternal, among the Hebrews and also Assyrians at one stage of their development.

But not only in the social relations as illustrated by the family, but in the more purely communal duties, the social life of the Hebrews is very instructive. Such matters as the care of cattle strayed from its owner, fruit-trees, the preservation of birds, the refreshment of travellers, are all matters that touch by analogy many of our current and pressing social questions. So the early provision for the restoration of lands, the limitation of service, arrangements for the liquidation of debts, and the laws governing the community, and the redistribution and the definition of the rights as also the limitations of the manorial lords, are among the numberless examples of custom and practice as to social order and the structure of the social body.

The Village Community as shown by Ezekiel forms one of the choicest bits of sociological study imaginable. Of course we are always more or less in doubt about many of the facts which are only partially revealed, but here there is a great mine of information and suggestion for students of social questions. The solutions at which the Hebrews arrived in their attempts at erecting a durable social fabric are particularly interesting because there is so much of the moral and religious element mixed up in them. Social questions and religious questions were largely the same thing, just as the government of the state and the religious ritual were supposed to emanate from the same authority. Again, the development from the House Community to the Village Community, with the clearing definition of the reciprocal rights of the villagers and their reciprocal duties as well, forms an interesting chapter in social study.

The tribal life of the Hebrews, and the germs of the growing need for strong and central government, is a similarly interesting theme. How the Shofetim became a sort of feudal lords, and how their power affected the Hebrews, not only socially, but likewise religiously, is a question of considerable importance. When we see that even the strong military prowess of David, with the strong standing army which he constantly maintained, and added to this the splendor of Solomon's extravagance and his brilliant foreign policy, were not able to crush the independent spirit of the northern tribes, and culminated in the revolt and destruction of the empire, we have an exhibition of the tenacity of primitive social ideas which is no less astounding historically, than it was powerful practically. But the growth of these ideas, not yet made into law, and not as yet crystallized into statutes and ordinances, is a social question, and is doubtless related to the other forces which make the social body what it is, beside the moral-spiritual influence, which was always strong in all the Hebrew life.

All this, and a great deal more, is suggested and sketched in a little book by John Fenton entitled "Early Hebrew Life," though the standpoint of the author is not always consistent or scientific. It is, however, a healthful attempt in a direction which cannot but be fruitful, and which if pursued will yield some important results. The modern science of sociology, if so intangible a study can be as yet called a science, seems to be merely an attempt to study political economy with reference to the ethical implications of the governing laws. How far the mere natural laws governing the social relations of men can be made subject to ethical laws, or brought within the sphere of ethics at all, is an open question. But if moral and social economy can be connected and made to move in parallel lines, the experiments of the Hebrews are of great interest.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

"The Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Hebrews" is the title of the volume of Hibbert Lectures (the thirteenth) by C. G. Montefiore. Mr. Montefiore presents the somewhat unusual spectacle of an educated Israelite who has discarded almost every traditional Israelitish opinion, and gives an exposition of the Hebrew religion from the most modern critical standpoint, only with such of Israelitish feeling and national interest as remains in himself. The view, in general, assigns the Law to a late period, and gives to the Babylonian Exile the honor of being the great restorative and spiritual awakening of the Hebrew people.

A very important point in Mr. Montefiore's treatment of the subject is that he shows a decided leaning toward the belief that Hebrew monotheism dates from the time of Moses, and seems to insist that, though the conception of the deity at that period is not as high or as strong as it was during the prophetic period, it is none the less a monotheistic conception, with the idea of justice as the basis. His argument that the ethical character of the deity is usually the highest conception prevalent in the community is the usual one, and presents no new features.

This is very interesting, coming from the source that it does. The bringing of the introduction of Hebrew monotheism down to a comparatively late period has always, so it has seemed to many, rested upon some fundamental misconceptions as to the nature of religion. Doubtless the Hebrews were acquainted and did ascribe some sort of supernatural power to the gods of their neighbors, but there is not any sound reason for supposing that they ascribed to them the same power, or held them in the same category, with the God of the Hebrews. Indeed, if there is one thing that the national consciousness exhibits more than any other thing, it is just this, that there existed an impassable gulf between the Hebrew conception of God and that which was commonly held around them. All the apparent variations from this consciousness can be readily explained. The late date of many of the writings, the Law especially, does not in the least affect the argument. In fact, all that we have that carries us back into the religious consciousness of the ancient Hebrews has for its necessary background the monotheistic idea.

Natural development applied to the Hebrew people does not present so smooth a road, and so intelligible a succession of ideas and institutions, as we are often assured. And it is by no means a settled question yet, whether monotheism preceded or succeeded polytheism. Sure and by no means unscientific standing-ground can be found for the theory of primitive monotheism and the subsequent origin of polytheistic practices. But, be that as it may, the story of Israel's development seems to require for its rationale, at least so far as we know the race historically, a strong and well-developed monotheistic conception throughout. Mr. Montefiore's concession of monotheism, or something resembling it, at the time of Moses is halting enough. But the case will be stronger when the present mania for late dates and Maccabean literary splendor has passed away. One is almost tempted to think that every individual Maccabee sat, from early morn to dewy eve, pen in hand, scribbling books for the canon. Such literary activity as is ascribed to this period would be, if true, one of the most astounding literary facts in history. Nothing but the blindest determination to bring everything down to a late date can so manifestly outrage the simplest precepts of critical historical judgment. The apparently wilful ignoring of the influence of the ancient records of Assyria, is even more surprising now, than it was a few years ago. It might then have been fairly alleged that the evidence for ancient authorship was at least doubtful, and that the production of manuscripts was a matter of comparatively rare occurrence. Every step, however, in Oriental study has tended to show, not only that the art of writing was far more ancient than we have long supposed, but that composition and editorship after a fashion were very old also. There will come the time, and we think it is not far distant either, when the absurd process of lowering dates will be modified by more rational judgment, and then we shall arrive more nearly at the truth.

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ARTICLE X.

CRITICAL NOTES.

THE LAST PASSOVER AND ITS HARMONIES.

THE Harmony of the four Evangelists in regard to the time of the Last Passover and of the Lord's Supper is a subject of serious difficulty, which has caused some to despair of reconciling the statements of St. John with those of the other Evangelists. The cause of this difficulty seems to the present writer to lie in the too implicit credit given to certain rabbinical traditions concerning the reckoning of the feasts of the Passover and the Pentecost, and the consequent misinterpretation of terms. An exact and correct definition of terms, according to the uniform usage of Scripture, I believe, would greatly relieve the subject of its difficulties, and lead to a clear solution.

I.—THE MORROW OF THE SABBATH.

The rule for the reckoning of the Passover and the Pentecost is laid down in Lev. xxiii. 5-22. On the 14th of the first month at even was the Passover (ver. 5), when the Passover lamb was to be killed (Ex. xii. 6). On the 15th day began the feast of Unleavened Bread, which alone was to be eaten for seven days, and the first and seventh days were days of holy convocation, on which no servile work was to be done (ver. 6-8). In verses 10, 11, occur these instructions: "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before the LORD, to be accepted for you: on THE MORROW AFTER THE SABBATH the priest shall wave it." In verses 15, 16, the reckoning for the Pentecost is given: "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: even unto THE MORROW AFTER THE SEVENTH SABBATH shall ye number FIFTY DAYS; and ye shall offer a new meal offering unto the Lord." Already in the third verse, the Sabbath was spoken of in these terms: "Six days shall work be done: but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, an holy convocation; ye shall do no work therein: it is the sabbath of the LORD in all your dwellings." The natural interpretation, therefore, of "the morrow after the sabbath" in this connection, since no other Sabbath has been mentioned, is the next day after the weekly Sabbath falling within the seven days of Unleavened Bread, that is, on the first day of the week. But the rabbinical interpretation, adopted by Dr. Lightfoot, the learned Hebraist, and followed by most commentators since, makes "the sabbath" in verse 11 to mean the first day of Unleavened Bread, and the morrow therefore to be the 16th day of the

first month ; and in verse 16 the Pentecost to be the morrow after the seventh week, that is, the 6th day of the third month, Sivan, invariably. But if this were the true meaning, why was not the date given by the day of the month as in the case of all the other annual feasts mentioned in this chapter, rather than by such a misleading expression ?

But, further, the Hebrew word for Sabbath (*shabbath*) is never applied to any other holy-day except the weekly Sabbath and the Day of Atonement, each of which is emphatically said to be a "sabbath of rest," on which NO work, or "NO MANNER of work," was to be done (ver. 3, 28, 31). On certain other festival days, as the first and seventh of Unleavened Bread, and the feast of First-fruits, it is distinctively specified that "no SERVILE work" was to be done (ver. 7, 8, 21, 25, 35, 36). Some of these feasts are designated by the Hebrew word *shabbathon*, derived from *shabbath*, represented in Greek by ἀνάπαυσις, in the Authorized Version usually "rest." But in these instances it has been rendered misleadingly "sabbath"; Lev. xxiii. 24, 39 twice : where the Revised Version has uniformly "solemn rest."

On the weekly Sabbath it was unlawful even to kindle a fire, or to gather sticks (Ex. xxxv. 2, 3 ; Num. xv. 32-36) : thus prohibiting the preparation of food on that day. But on the feast of Unleavened Bread, on the contrary, it is said : "In the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you : no manner of work shall be done in them, SAVE that which every man must eat, THAT ONLY may be done of you" (Ex. xii. 16). Thus the first day of Unleavened Bread is never called a *shabbath*, or even a *shabbathon*; but is classed with those secondary days of rest on which "no servile work" can be done.

But the rabbinical interpretation, embodied in the Targums and the Talmud some time after the Christian era, is thought to be sustained in the Greek version of the Septuagint, made in the third century B. C. In this version, the directions for waving the sheaf of first-fruits are given as follows, in verse 11 : "On the morrow of the first (day) (τῆς πρώτης), the priest shall wave it" : supposed to mean the first day of Unleavened Bread. But in verse 15 the same expression is rendered more literally : "Ye shall number from the morrow of the sabbath (τῶν σαββάτων) . . . seven weeks complete." In verse 16 the expression is again changed : "Until the morrow of the last seventh (day), (εσχάτης ἑβδομῆς) ye shall number fifty days." In this verse the Roman edition reads ἑβδομάδος, the last week, instead of ἑβδομῆς. But the Vatican codex B* first hand has the barbarous ἑβδομάδης, evidently an attempt to correct ἑβδομάδος to ἑβδομῆς, neglecting to strike out the superfluous letters αδ. The correctors a b have given ἑβδομῆς in the margin, which is the reading of Codex Alexandrinus, of the Aldine and Grabe's editions, and of the admirable edition of Field. A various reading of Origen's Hexapla gives the sense more literally "the morrow of the seventh sabbath" (τοῦ σαββάτου (τοῦ) ἑβδομοῦ). But the text of verse 11 is thus inconsistent with verses 15, 16, both in rendering and computation ; for fifty days from "the morrow of the first (day)," or 16th day of the first month, will seldom coincide with "the morrow after the sabbath"

or "seventh day" of the week. In verse 16 "the last seventh day" implies a first seventh day, from which the reckoning starts. So, if we supply *ἑβδόμη* in verse 11, and read, "On the morrow *τῆς πρώτης ἑβδόμης*, of the first seventh (day)," the text will be made consistent at once with the Hebrew and with the whole context of the version. In confirmation of this, it should be remembered that *ἑβδόμη* is elsewhere used to render the Hebrew *shabbath*, as in the fourth commandment itself (Ex. xx. 11), "the Lord blessed *the seventh day*," the rendering still retained in the Prayer-book. (So also Ex. xxxi. 14) A various reading in Origen's Hexapla (ver. 11), with codex X, gives the sense, "the (day) after the sabbath," *τῇ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον*. The Septuagint, therefore, as the text now stands, being inconsistent with itself as well as with the Hebrew, and probably defective in verse 11, cannot be held to sustain the rabbinical interpretation.¹

Again, if we tabulate the calendar of feasts contained in Leviticus xxiii. we shall the more distinctly see the reason for the peculiar terms used in the reckoning of the pentecostal season. The table in the order of the text stands thus:—

THE FEASTS OF THE LORD.				
	MO.	Day.	Lev. xxiii. 2	
The SABBATH.....	....	....	"Sabbath of rest".....	3
The Passover.....	1	14	.....	5
Unleavened Bread.....	1	15-21	.....	6
Sheaf day.....	morrow of the Sabbath.....		.....	11
Pentecost.....	morrow of the seventh Sabbath.....		.....	16
Trumpets.....	7	1	.....	24
ATONEMENT.....	7	10	"Sabbath of rest".....	27
Tabernacles.....	7	15-22	.....	34

Here it is clearly seen that all the feast-days except the Sabbath, the Sheaf day, and the Pentecost, are dated by the days of the month in order. But the series is abruptly broken for the Sheaf day and the Pentecost, when they might have been dated, like the rest, by the day and month, if the rabbinical interpretation is correct. The only assignable reason for the actual method followed is that these feasts must fall on a certain day of the week, and so could not be assigned to a certain day of any month. That day of the week, be it

¹ This reckoning furnishes a satisfactory explanation to the reading in Luke vi. 1, *σαββάτω δευτεροπρώτῳ*, which must be rightly considered genuine, since it is contained in the vast majority of all manuscripts; and such an unusual term could not have been interpolated and generally received before the fourth century. (So Tischendorf & Scrivener.) The term implies a first or chief Sabbath, and a second Sabbath, which was also in some respect first. According to the Levitical rule, the Passover Sabbath was the starting-point for reckoning to the Pentecost, but was itself excluded from the count of "seven sabbaths," and the next Sabbath was the first of the seven to be counted, while itself secondary and dependent on the chief Passover Sabbath. And so it was fitly called "second-first sabbath"; analogous to our "Sunday after Easter," to which the same term was applied in the sixth century *δευτεροπρώτην κυριακήν* (Sophocles, Lexicon).

noted, was "the morrow after the sabbath," in New Testament phrase "the first day of the week," on which Christ arose "the First-fruits from the dead," and fifty days after, on the day of Pentecost, sent down his Holy Spirit upon the apostles, and gathered in the first-fruits of the complete harvest of his church. Thus was the Lord's day of the gospel dispensation shadowed forth in the very midst of the law. But after the first Christian Pentecost, the rabbinical Jews would naturally seek to avoid the telling coincidence, and avail themselves of the defective text of the Septuagint to uphold another reckoning. But in this they have constantly been opposed by the Samaritans and the Karaite Jews, or Scripturists, as well as the Sadducees and the Boethusians, who have continuously maintained the strict and natural interpretation of the law.¹

II.—PREPARATION DAY.

This term also, as used by the Evangelists, needs to be carefully defined; for rabbinical tradition has dealt with this as with the word Sabbath. It is said to denote the day before a festival as a Sabbath, as well as before the weekly Sabbath, as a preparation for it. In the Old Testament there is no mention or occasion for such a day. But in regard to the weekly Sabbath, it was expressly ordered that the manna for that day's sustenance should be gathered on the sixth day (Ex. xvi. 5, 22); and afterward it was commanded, "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day" (Ex. xxxv. 3); so that the preparation of food was necessarily to be made the day before. No such law applied to the Passover, but on the contrary it was clearly provided that such needful work might be done on the first and seventh days of Unleavened Bread, though "no servile work" was permitted (Ex. xii. 16, as quoted above). So when we read of the Preparation Day in the Gospels, we have good reason to understand it of the sixth day of the week. And this is made certain by what the Evangelists themselves say. For St. Luke, after relating the Burial of Christ, adds: "And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on" (xxiii. 54). Now as it has been shown that the Sabbath can be no other than the weekly Sabbath, the Preparation must needs be the sixth day of the week. So, in the next verse but one, he relates that the women "rested the sabbath day, ACCORDING TO THE COMMANDMENT" (56). The reference is clearly to the fourth commandment. The very next words bring us to the first day of the week: "But upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre" (xxiv. 1).

The testimony of St. Mark is the same, and very explicit. Introducing his account of the Burial, he says, "And even being already come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, *παρασάββατον*" (xv. 42). And immediately after the account of the Burial, he continues: "And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him. And

¹ In this they have been followed, among others, by Archbishop Usher (Patrick's Com. Lev. xxiii.), Bonar (Com. *ibid.*), Fuerst (Heb. Lex. *Shabbath*), Jarvis (Introd. Hist. Ch., pp. 478-480), McClellan (Four Gospels, pp. 477-478), Birks (Horæ Evangelicæ, p. 93).

very early in the morning, on the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre" (xvi. 1, 2). Here is the same inseparable linking together of the Preparation and the Sabbath and the First Day of the week as in St. Luke. The word *προσάββατον* is used twice in the Septuagint: where it can have no other meaning than the eve of the Sabbath (Judith viii. 6; Ps. xciii. 1).

In St. Matthew there is the same close order; for after relating the Burial, he proceeds: "And on the morrow which was after the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees were gathered together unto Pilate" (xxvii. 62). Having stated the result of the interview, in the sealing of the sepulchre, he immediately adds: "And in the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre" (xxviii. 1). Whatever be the special meaning of these words, it is clear that the Preparation was the same as the day of Burial, and that the Sabbath is set between the Preparation and the First Day of the week, without any break, so that the Preparation can be none other than the sixth day of the week.

St. John also links the Preparation with the Sabbath. Having related the Death of Christ, he continues: "The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day (for that sabbath was an high day), besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away" (xix. 31). Then having told how Joseph and Nicodemus prepared the body of Jesus for burial in a new sepulchre, he goes on: "There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand. But (δέ) on the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre" (xix. 42; xx. 1). Here it is evident that this Sabbath day (called "an high day," *μεγάλη*, since it was the Sabbath which fell in Passover week, and from which were reckoned the Sheaf day and the Pentecost), was a weekly Sabbath, next before the first day of the week, as in the other Gospels, and the Preparation was the *sixth* day.

Now it was a few hours earlier than the Burial, just before Pilate delivered up Jesus to be crucified, that St. John says: "And it was the preparation day of the Passover: it was about the sixth hour" (xix. 14). This verse is often quoted as if it proved the Preparation day to be the day before the Passover. But this cannot be, since it would make St. John irreconcilable with himself, as well as with the other Evangelists. For he evidently makes the delivery of Christ to be crucified (14), and the breaking of the legs of the malefactors (31), and the Burial (42) to be on the same Preparation before the Sabbath (31), which can only be the weekly Sabbath; and it is "THE preparation of the Jews," as the only such known to him. Grammatically, "the preparation of the Passover" does not necessarily mean preparation *for* the Passover or *before* it, as has been assumed. The genitive in Greek has a much wider scope. It simply means the Preparation day belonging to the Passover season (Winer's Gram., p. 189). This is the only meaning consistent with the context.

III.—ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES.

Certain passages in St. John have been urged as irreconcilable with the other Evangelists, and as proving that our Lord did not keep the Jewish Passover, but instituted the Lord's Supper on the day before it.

1. The first of these is John xiii. 1, 2: "Now before the feast of the passover Jesus knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end. And supper being come, . . . knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God, he riseth from the supper." The note of time in the first verse has been thought to determine the time of the supper in the second; whereas the serving of the supper is itself made another note of time for what follows. Jesus is represented as beforehand deliberately contemplating his separation from his disciples, and determining to give them a further token of his continued love. Then when the time of the supper actually arrives, he carries his determination into effect. And this supper, from the context, naturally means the Passover supper. And this is made certain by the 38th verse, relating to the same evening, when the Lord says to Peter, "Verily, verily, I say to thee, The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice." This can be no other than the night before the Crucifixion, as related in the other Evangelists for the 15th of the month.

2. But, because in the 29th verse the disciples understood Jesus to say to Judas, "Buy those things that we have need of against (for) the feast," it is inferred that the Passover supper was yet to be provided for. But if this was the night of the 13th, there was no occasion for such orders; for the necessary instructions were given to Peter and John the next day (Luke xxii. 8-13), and the lamb could not be offered earlier. Judas was present at the institution of the Lord's Supper; for St. Mark expressly says of the cup, "They ALL drank of it" (xiv. 23); when he had just spoken of the Twelve being present (17, 20). What remained to be provided were the special offerings for the morrow.

3. So again, when on the day of the trial it is said the Jews "went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover" (xviii. 28), this is thought to prove conclusively that the Passover lamb was not yet sacrificed. But St. John has already made certain that the time of Passover supper was past, as shown above. But though the Jews had eaten that supper, there were further festivities of the Passover season, from which they would not be debarred by defiling themselves.

It is thus sufficiently evident that there is no discrepancy between St. John and the other Evangelists as to the time of the Passover and the institution of the Lord's Supper.

IV.—HARMONY OF THE ACCOUNTS.

But the harmony of the Evangelists can be proved to a demonstration by tabulating all the notes of time from the Passover to the Pentecost, beginning with the definite note of time, "when the passover must be killed," on the 14th of the first month.

FROM THE LAST PASSOVER TO THE PENTECOST.

Day of Month.	Day of Week.	Time.	Events.	Matthew.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
1. 14	5		"The PASSOVER must be killed."..... Ex. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5	xxvi. 17	xiv. 12	xxii. 1, 7	xiii. (1)
	15	Even.	Passover eaten..... LORD'S SUPPER..... "Servant not greater".....	20 26-28	17 22-26	14, 15 19, 20 27	2 15, 16 30
		Night.	Judas went out..... "Cock shall not crow"..... To Mt. Olives.....	30	26 68	34 30	xviii. 1
		First cockcrow.	Peter denies.....		72	60	27
		Second "	Peter denies again.....	74		66	
		Day.	Council met.....	xxvii. 1	xv. 1		28
		Early.	Jesus led to Pilate..... "About 6th hour" (Roman). PREPARATION..... "Behold your King".....				xix. 14
		3d hour.	Jesus crucified.....		25		
		6th to 9th hour.	Darkness.....	45	31	xxiii. 44	
		Even.	PREPARATION DAY..... Jesus buried..... Sabbath drawing on.....	57 60	42 46	54 53 54	42 41, 42
	16	7	SABBATH. "Morrow of Preparation Day"..... Women rest "according to the Commandment" Chief Jews procure a watch.....	62 62-66		56	
	17	1	Sabbath past. Spices bought..... Early dawn. FIRST DAY of the week..... "Morrow after the sabbath" Lev. xxiii. 11 Women to sepulchre..... Same day tow'd even. Two at Emmaus..... "To-day is the THIRD DAY"..... Even. Jesus in the midst.....	xxviii. 1 1, 6	xvi. 1 2 2, 6 12	1 xxiv. 1 1, 6 13, 29 21 36	1 1, 2 19
	24	1	"After eight days." Unbelief reprov'd.....		14		26-29
	2. 26	5	End of "forty days." ASCENSION.....		19	51	Acts. i. 1-3, 9
	3. 7	1	PENTECOST. Baptism of the Spirit..... "Morrow after 7th sabbath," Lev. xxiii. 16				ii. 1-4

1. This table clearly shows, by the consentient testimony of all the Evangelists, that the Passover supper took place on the night beginning the sixth day of the week and the 15th of the month; and that during its celebration the Lord's Supper was instituted as a memorial of his impending Death and Sacrifice on the same day.

2. It also shows incontrovertibly that his Burial took place on the same 15th day before sunset; and his Resurrection on the third day after, according to his own prediction, that is, on the first day of the week at early dawn. The contention of some, therefore, that the Burial was on Wednesday the 14th, and his Resurrection on Saturday the 17th, is utterly untenable.¹

3. It further shows incontestably, in connection with the former argument, that the Levitical rule of reckoning "the morrow after the sabbath" as referring to the weekly Sabbath was the only reckoning known to the Evan-

¹ Church Review, 1885, October, p. 484.

gelists or the Jews in our Lord's time. For the Pentecost, or 50th day from "the morrow of the sabbath," must inevitably be another "morrow after the sabbath"; that is, the first day of the week, according to the universal tradition of the church. But on the rabbinical reckoning from the 16th of Nisan (Saturday), as "the morrow of the sabbath," the 50th day must also have been a Saturday, the 6th of Sivan, as the Jews maintain. Some Christian commentators have incautiously said it would fall on Sunday.

One can easily satisfy himself on this point by making a calendar of Sundays from Sunday, the 17th of first month, for seven weeks, the first month having thirty days, and the second twenty-nine days. The rabbinical rule makes Pentecost to fall uniformly on the 6th Sivan (3d month). The change in the reckoning must have been made between A. D. 30 and the time of Philo, who first mentions it, about A. D. 40-50. But the Samaritans had no reason to change it, as they had no hand in procuring the death of Christ, and did not share the bitter enmity of the Jews against Christianity. And so the old reckoning was continued by them, and also maintained by the Sadducees, the Karaites, and the Boethusians.

Baltimore, Md.

E. P. GRAY.

II.

DR. MAGOUN'S REPLY.

IN the *Christian Mirror* of December 17, 1892, Dr. G. F. Magoun expressed a somewhat indistinct but sweeping condemnation of an effort by me to set forth the place of Christian experience as a source of doctrine. His condemnation led me, as I stated in the "critical note" in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of April, 1893, "to examine again my position, to see if, indeed, it were true"; and I presented the most fundamental portion of my previous discussion in a new form under the title: "Do we know anything by consciousness of the New Birth?" This was courteous to Dr. Magoun, for certainly a writer cannot pay a greater compliment to a critic than to review his whole position in view of the criticism. Dr. Magoun, however, complains that I shifted the issue. I leave him to adjust this complaint to the following statement of his own: "Professor Foster himself starts by saying that I merely 'questioned the assertion that we know *some* things *about* Christian doctrine by consciousness,' which is entirely true, and is all that is true"; with the simple remark that the quoted sentence is the *only one* in which I mentioned Dr. Magoun's views at all. I simply restated my own views, and asked him what he now thought of them. That was both courteous and fair.

What kind of an answer did I receive? I find on an examination of Dr. Magoun's reply that he agrees with me in acknowledging that some things about the New Birth are known in consciousness. What they are he nowhere

specifies. The bulk of his reply is taken up in criticisms, some of which need my attention. But he should beware of implying, when I have explicitly said that I advanced from the domain of immediate consciousness to that of "inference," that I am claiming that we know these inferences by consciousness.

Dr. Magoun says that the statement, "The man knows by immediate consciousness that he is a sinner," made by me, "may pass as a *popular* statement, though conscience is ignored." The statement is strictly scientific. Conscience, among other things, presents the law of duty. The man *is choosing* something else. This fact, which is the *same* fact as that indicated by the phrase "is a sinner," since it is an activity, is and must be known by consciousness, which is "the knowledge the mind has of its own activities."

The next criticism shows, however, that we diverge too far to render it profitable to debate. I say, the man "knows by immediate consciousness *what* are the prevailing tendencies of his being, and what their *character*." I mean, as most men of the present generation will have no difficulty in understanding, that those prevailing tendencies are often activities, and known in their exercise, and when condemned by conscience that condemnation is an activity and known by consciousness. But Dr. Magoun implies that I "confound conscience as acting with the mind's knowledge of its acts." He apparently thus misunderstands me because he regards consciousness as a faculty, or else because he thinks I so regard it. But I do not. Evidently if we have not common ground here we cannot debate.

There is still other difference between us. Dr. Magoun says that he believes that "the New Birth is a change . . . of more than the will . . . of the whole soul," etc., and then remarks that "every converted soul is conscious of wicked states of more than the will." I am not sure I understand this; but if Dr. Magoun is here advancing the Old School view that a "state" can be "sin," and that there is sin which is not "voluntary transgression of known law," I may beg, after one hundred years of discussion of that theme in New England, to be excused from discussing it any more, or from arguing on kindred themes with an advocate of the discarded theory of sin.

I might say much more. Particularly I should be pleased to go into the subject of Dr. N. W. Taylor's views and show how Dr. Magoun misunderstands them as completely as did Dr. Bennet Tyler, and to maintain the proposition that Dr. Taylor's true meaning is the view at present prevailing in New England theology.

With these few remarks by way of rejoinder, and as a partial explanation of the reasons why I decline to continue the discussion, I commend the two "critical notes" to the consideration of the public without apprehension as to their judgment.

Chicago, Feb. 2, 1894.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

DER PENTATEUCH. Beiträge zu seinem Verständnis und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte von Dr. August Klostermann, ord. Professor a. d. Univ. Kiel. Leipzig, A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhdlg. Nachf. (Georg Böhme). 1893. (Pp. vi, 447. 6½ x 3¾.) 8 Mark.

This volume is a collection of essays which the author has been writing for twenty-five years. It therefore lacks the unity of a book written for a present purpose, and published fresh from the pen, upon a subject or a phase of a subject, which the author covers completely by his work. To be sure there is a unity of subject, the Pentateuch, but the author does not treat it exhaustively or with uniform care.

The history of the book he thus explains. Twenty-five years ago he planned the articles which now appear as the first five chapters. In 1871 he published in the *Studien und Kritiken* the articles upon the Song of Moses and Deuteronomy, now his sixth chapter. Six years later he wrote upon the relation between Ezekiel and the Sanctity Code, and the article appeared in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift*: this forms the seventh chapter. The last treatise, upon the importance of the Year of Jubilee in the calendar, was published in 1880.

The *Lutherische Zeitschrift* suspended before the first articles were ready for publication. Owing, says Klostermann, to my isolation and to my disinclination to speak what and when I was not wanted to, I have kept silence. Recently Holzhauser asked the series for publication in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, and there they have been appearing.

In the first of these chapters he exposes the fundamental error of all Pentateuchal criticism of to-day: then he defends himself valiantly against those who have criticised him for his conjectural criticisms.

In the second chapter he finds that the safe starting-point for future work in Pentateuchal analysis is the finding of the law-book in the time of Josiah. This law-book was of course Deuteronomy, and the third chapter describes how it was inserted in the "Pentateuch" already extant. This prejosianic law-book he discusses, in its original and its expanded forms, in the fourth and fifth chapters.

It is of course uncalled for to follow the argument throughout. A few points, however, may well be mentioned, to show his positions. The mistake of the Pentateuchal analysis is that it cannot break away from the traditional mode of procedure. Astruc's method was to begin with Genesis and distin-

guish the documents that Moses used. That is, he assumed Moses to be the compiler of Genesis, and his inquiry was as to what had preceded Moses. Moses was for him the fixed point, from which he worked backward. At present the Mosaic authorship is discarded, and with it the fixed point is lost, but still critics work from those same times, the author being unknown, the compiler and date of compilation being undetermined. It would be a more consistent application of the method of Astruc if the critics should fix upon the last manipulation of the Pentateuch, at some known date, and work upward from that time. The known date which he chooses as his starting-point is the finding of Deuteronomy at the time of Josiah. In his theory we heartily concur; with his application of it we cannot agree. He dismisses a possible post-deuteronomic date of any part of the Hexateuch with a short half page of argument. The final verses of Deuteronomy indicate to him that the writer was bringing the law to a final and lasting conclusion. These last verses do not seem to us to preclude the *possibility* of later editings; and if such were possible, then he must come further down in search of a fixed point. Especially in view of the prevalent opinion that the Pentateuch is post-deuteronomic, should Klostermann have taken a later date. Still further, the principle stated by him to guide in literary criticism should be extended to include the manipulations of the Pentateuch exhibited in textual variations. The canons of literary criticism can be confidently applied only to a text determined by textual criticism; but supposing we have not a reasonably correct text of Ezra's time, for example, and cannot get one, is it fair to use our own text as if it were that of Ezra's time? By no means. The uncertainty as to the early text attaches to all the results of literary criticism, in so far as such criticism rests upon the text itself. This it does to an extent far beyond the strict linguistic arguments of which it avails itself.

Working back from Deuteronomy, Klostermann finds that the chapters immediately preceding it contain the chronological scheme implied in the "frame" of the book. Still further back, he finds that all the narratives of the Exodus are brought into the scheme; the four hundred and thirty years of Ex. xii. 40 include the two hundred and fifteen years of the patriarchs in Canaan. This involves the co-ordination of the whole book of Genesis. Joshua was in the pre-deuteronomic Pentateuch, but was cut off from the Law when the book of Deuteronomy was inserted.

While many of Klostermann's views upon particular questions have received wide acceptance, as for example in regard to the relation of Ezekiel to the Sanctity code, it is not probable that he will find a following in regard to his general position. Really, what he offers as a substitute for the present views, does not correct their faults except by other faulty views.

OWEN H. GATES.

SABBATH HOURS. By Liebman Alder. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication of America. 1893. (Pp. 338. 3x3½.)

The author of these addresses was for thirty years a rabbi in Chicago, and was known as a conservative and kindly teacher of the Jewish religion.

This volume contains fifty-four sermons on the Pentateuch, including one on "Lead us not into temptation," which in spirit the author finds in the Pentateuch, though the words are quoted from the Lord's Prayer, of which he speaks approvingly. There are many things to commend, and few to which a Christian would object in this volume.

THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT . . . herausgegeben von H. Holtzmann. XII. Band, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1892. Erste Abtheilung: Exegese. Zweite Abtheilung: Historische Theologie. Dritte Abtheilung: Systematische Theologie. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn. 1893. (Pp. 148, 230, 74. 4¼ x 7 in.) 4 Parts, 14 mk.

The former editor, R. A. Lipsius, died in August, 1892, but the worthy enterprise is continued by H. Holtzmann, who also contributes the notices of New Testament literature. The increase in price from 12 marks to 14 is due to increased size of the volume. This, however, is but the natural growth, and not, as we suppose, any new departure in method.

The Jahresbericht is so well known that no extended notice is needed. No worker in Theology can ignore this bibliographical aid. It is compiled with exceeding patience, and furnishes a satisfactory view of the work done in different departments of theology. One who has kept himself otherwise informed, will appreciate the value of this *resumé*, and one who has failed to follow the course of current thought will find here just what he lacks.

SYNTAX OF THE MOODS AND TENSES IN NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. By Ernest De Witt Burton, Professor in the University of Chicago. Second edition, revised and enlarged. University Press of Chicago. 1893. (Pp. xxii, 215.)

This revised and enlarged edition of what was first published as a pamphlet in 1888, will be of great value to teachers and students of the Greek New Testament, and is destined to come speedily into general use. It is written with due reference to the standard works upon historical and comparative grammar, but is strongly marked by a spirit of independent and accurate scholarship, and is thoroughly inductive in its method. The author has fairly examined the grammatical phenomena of the New Testament and allowed them to dictate the statement of the principles which they illustrate. This is particularly evident in his treatment of the participle *iva*, and also in his discussion of the participle, which is so sadly neglected or confusedly discussed, in most New Testament grammars accessible to American students. The thoroughness with which the author has gone through the New Testament, and his skill in recognizing and stating the distinctions between various participial usages, will be recognized by all, whether they agree with him in all his conclusions or not. The arrangement of the subject-matter on the pages, the different types, and the unmistakable distinctness with which each point and its connection with related points are made evident to the eye, show that the author is a teacher and understands the needs of students. It is to be hoped that the appearance of this book is evidence of the author's purpose to write a New Testament grammar.

ANTI-HIGHER CRITICISM; or, Testimony to the Infallibility of the Bible. By Professor Howard Osgood, D. D., LL.D., President W. Henry Green, D. D., LL.D., Professor William G. Moorehead, D. D., Talbot W. Chambers, D. D., LL.D., James H. Brookes, D. D., George S. Bishop, D. D., B. B. Tyler, D. D., Professor Ernst F. Stroeter, Ph. D., Professor James M. Stifler, D. D., William Dinwiddie, D. D. Edited and compiled by Rev. L. W. Munhall, M. A., author of "Furnishing for Workers," "The Lord's Return and Kindred Truth," "The Highest Critics vs. The Higher Critics," etc. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1894. (Pp. iii, 354. 6½x3½.) \$1.50.

Of course the essays in this volume differ in value; but those of Professor Osgood, Professor Green, and Dr. Chambers of themselves amply justify its publication. Especially noticeable in Professor Green's first essay is the success with which he has divided the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan each into two independent, distinct, and consistent accounts, after the manner of the destructive critics of the Pentateuch. The following is his analysis of the parable of the Good Samaritan:—

THE GOOD SAMARITAN, LUKE x. 29-37.

A
29 But he [that is, the lawyer (verse 25)], desiring to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbor? 30 Jesus made answer and said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; . . . and they beat him, . . . leaving him half dead. 31 And by chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. . . . 33 But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: . . . 34 And came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine, . . . and took care of him. . . . 36 Which of these (three), thinkest thou, proved neighbor unto him? . . . 37 And he said, He that showed mercy on him.

B
30 (A certain man) fell among robbers, which stripped him. . . and departed . . . 32 And (in like manner) a Levite (also), when he came to the place (and saw him, passed by on the other side, . . . 33 And when he saw him, he was moved with compassion. . . . 34 And he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn. . . . 35 And on the morrow he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. . . .

37 And Jesus said unto him (that fell among robbers), Go, and do thou likewise.

The success with which the literature of Eastern nations may thus be analyzed and separated into apparently diverse accounts certainly ought to have suggested to some of the critics that its explanation is simpler than the one which has often been proposed. The susceptibility to analysis and separation is possibly due to the same literary tendency which shows itself in the parallelism of Hebrew poetry.

In this connection, also, it is worth while to emphasize a fact, concerning the story of the flood, which has been forcibly stated by Professor Bissell. The significant thing which has recently come to light is, that the story of the flood, which is so successfully separated into two narratives by the critics, and which is therefore by them supposed to be an amalgamation of separate traditions made long after the time of Moses, was really amalgamated long

before the time of Moses, as is shown by the account found in the Assyrian tablets. The Assyrian account, which was certainly written 2000 B. C., follows the same general order of topics with the Mosaic, and is remarkably similar to it in other respects. The two accounts "agree, in the main, as it respects the region of the cataclysm; definitely in stating that the warning of it was first given to one man; that it was to be a flood; that it was on account of sin. This one man is bidden to prepare a vessel, whose dimensions and other details are stated; and he does as he is bidden. The object of the vessel is said to be to save the Akkadian Noah, and others, in order to 'preserve the seed of life.' The flood has a *second announcement* as in the Bible. The hero embarks with relatives and the beasts of the field. The door of the vessel is shut, and the flood appears as announced. It is caused by rain and the convulsions of nature. Mankind is destroyed. The duration of the flood is given. This other Noah, like the biblical, opens a window. The ship strands in Armenia. Birds are sent out after seven days. The occupants of the ship disembark; a sacrifice is offered to the gods, who are pleased with the odor; and (as the text is generally read), a rainbow appears in the sky, and a promise is made that the world shall not again be so destroyed. At the end, the man and his wife are blessed by Bel. We have given the events in the order they are recorded in the Akkadian account.

"Without entering into details, which is here impracticable, it is clear that the bearing of this account on the unity of the biblical is direct. After a careful examination, we are unable to see why it is not *prima facie*, and really conclusive, evidence against the position of our critics. The Babylonian tablets contain, in the form of a continuous narrative, the more prominent facts of both the alleged Elohist and Jehohistic sections of Genesis, and presents them mainly in the biblical order, as one can plainly see. That is to say, several hundred years before the era of Moses, the principal contents of the biblical narrative of the flood were current in ancient Akkadia, the general region from which, and at about the time when, Abraham set out, at God's command, to find a home in Canaan. How improbable, then, on its face, the theory that in Genesis we have two essentially different and discordant accounts, originating hundreds of years apart and united together at the period of the exile, B. C. 444! Our critics have made but a feeble effort to meet this argument" (Genesis Printed in Colors, p. xiii).

Dr. Chambers' discussion of the imprecatory psalms is peculiarly satisfactory. He correctly regards them as "utterances of a mind in full sympathy with God's righteous government, and expressions of this rather than of personal malevolence" (p. 133). Otherwise he cannot account for their formal incorporation into the Old Testament devotional literature, or their quotation and approval in the New Testament. The advantage of having these vigorous forms of expression at hand is frequently seen in every generation by those who are engaged in vigorous contests with the organized forces of evil. For example, Dr. Chambers refers to a recent instance in the State of New Jersey, where a mass meeting of good people was held to protest against certain legis-

lation "designed to 'frame mischief by statute.'" An honored theological professor was called upon to open the meeting with prayer. "He complied by reading with emphatic solemnity the Ninety-fourth Psalm, whose opening words are:—

"O Jehovah, thou God to whom vengeance belongeth,
Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth, shine forth.
Lift up thyself, thou judge of the earth:
Render to the proud their desert.'

. . . there was not a single person in the vast assemblage that did not think that this was the most appropriate prayer that could have been offered."

The whole volume gives in condensed form a large amount of valuable material, and will be profitable both to the general reader and to the student.

THE GOSPEL AND ITS EARLIEST INTERPRETATIONS. A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and its Doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By Orello Cone, D. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893. (Pp. 413. 3½x6.) \$1.75.

By "the gospel" is meant the teaching of Jesus as reduced by the author to its lowest terms. This teaching is classified under the following headings: The Kingdom of God, The Righteousness of the Kingdom of God, Conditions of Entering the Kingdom of God, God as the Father, and The Teaching of Jesus Concerning the Old Testament, Himself, and his Death. Although Jesus, in his teaching of the kingdom of heaven, advanced beyond the doctrine of the Old Testament writers, the author believes him to have agreed with them as to the temporal nature of that kingdom, and holds that the first historic departure from the purpose of Jesus to establish on earth a kingdom in which dwelleth righteousness, "occurred through the weakness and superstition of his followers, when, after the tragedy which ended his earthly career, they began 'gazing up into heaven' to revel in visions and apocalypses of his second coming; and the latest infidelity to this heroic faith is presented in the absorbing occupation of modern Christendom with refinements of theological speculation and problems of future salvation" (p. 50).

Concerning God, and the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, the most striking and original feature of Jesus' preaching appears, as the author holds, in the reason why men should love and help one another, the motive for this benevolence being the paternal love of God for men (p. 67). Concerning the Old Testament, Jesus is represented as wishing to preserve the substantial contents of the law, while expressing in most decided form the incompatibility of the spirit of the two systems (p. 89). Jesus acknowledged his dependence upon God, yet regarded himself as the greatest of his sons; and it is probable that "he came to regard himself as the Messiah," though at what time is solely a matter of conjecture. Dr. Cone does not feel justified in discarding the scene at Cæsarea Philippi; but he is not very confident concerning other Messianic claims, especially prior ones (p. 101). Since Jesus held to self-sacrifice as the spirit of the kingdom of God, he may have given intimations of his own approaching death; the death of John the Baptist may well have suggested it

to him: but "the explicit and detailed announcements of his death and resurrection which Jesus is represented in the Gospels as having made, received their present form in the tradition of his life in the light of the events in question" (p. 111). This excludes from the teaching of Jesus, of course, all passages which might prove inconvenient in establishing the theories of the book.

Paul's interpretation is considered, not as an adaptation of the teaching of Jesus, but as an independent system of thought (p. 164). The ease with which the author shows that Paul attached little importance to the circumstances attending his conversion, will seem to many readers an illustration of the need of taking the conclusions of this school *cum grano salis* on points where the processes are not entirely visible. Hebrews is considered as a "Deutero-Pauline Interpretation, with important variations in the relation of the atonement to the righteousness of the law" (p. 243). The Jewish-Christian interpretation has been previously indicated in the author's "Gospel Criticism," and is concisely stated here, also. After a consideration of the anti-Gnostic interpretations, and "the Johannine transformation," in which, of course, it is claimed that John's Gospel was not written by John (p. 267), the author considers the apocalyptic literature of the New Testament, with the general result of treating the apocalyptic portions of the Gospels as interpolations, rejecting as un-pauline Second Thessalonians, and regarding the Apocalypse as a composite work "containing a mythology whose fantastic features find ample room for expression in its apocalyptic purpose" (p. 356). He states that one is hardly rewarded for reading the Apocalypse: since its authors did not understand the spirit of the gospel, were vindictive, and dealt in ideas "which are revolting to a humane sensibility" (p. 361).

To criticise the author's view in the space at our disposal were as impossible as needless. There is much to admire: the candor, the standing fairly by the conclusions to which his own logic forces him, the use of unequivocal terms,—all this we enjoy. From many of the conclusions of the book we of course dissent emphatically. As to its method, it is only necessary to say, that we regard it as a self-contradiction; since, while claiming to investigate without assumption, it really originates in a tremendous assumption,—that of the absence of the supernatural,—which makes room for any additional assumptions that may be required by the conclusion which is all the time in sight, however skilfully the claim of unprejudiced induction may seem to conceal it, even from the author. With this expression of our dissent from the author's opinions, however, we commend his book to careful students of the New Testament.

THE BLOOD COVENANT. A Primitive Rite; and its Bearings on Scripture. By H. Clay Trumbull, author of "Kadesh Barnea," "Friendship the Master Passion," etc. Second Edition. With a Supplement. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles. 1893. (Pp. 390. 3¼ x 5½.) \$2.00.

The first edition of this book was speedily exhausted, and attracted immediate attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The new edition contains about seventy-five pages of new matter on the importance of the blood-covenant, the

significance of the "blood stained tree of the covenant," the covenant reminder, blood ransoming, and the voice of shed blood, with allied themes. The author promises a companion work on the Name Covenant, the Covenant of Salt, and the Threshold Covenant. It were needless to commend the present volume, or bespeak a welcome for the forthcoming one.

BIBLICAL ESCHATOLOGY: Its Relation to the Current Presbyterian Standards and the Basal Principles that must Underlie Their Revision; Being a Review of the Writings of the Presbyterian Divine, L. C. Baker. By Henry Theodore Cheever, D. D. Supplemented by an Original Thesis by Mr. Baker on "The Eschatology of the Church of the Future." Boston: Lee and Shepard. (Pp. 241. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.) Paper, \$1.00.

There is no need to add to the title-page of this book, since it gives so fully the purpose of the author. We have already given our opinion of the theories of Mr. Baker¹ and need only say that Dr. Cheever is an appreciative and earnest advocate. It is, however, another illustration of the utility of the effort to hold the Presbyterian Church permanently to the Westminster standards.

THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS. Edited by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., Chairman of the General Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary. In two volumes. Chicago: The Parliament Company. Boston: The J. Q. Adams Company. 1893. (Pp. xxiv, 1600. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.) In cloth, \$5.00.

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS. With an Introduction by Rev. Minot J. Savage. Boston: Arena Publishing Company. 1893. (Pp. 428. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$.) Paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.50.

A CHORUS OF FAITH. With an Introduction by Jenkyn Lloyd Jones. Chicago: The Unity Publishing Company. 1893. (Pp. 333. $3 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.) \$1.25.

The most impressive and most potent event connected with the Columbian Exposition was the World's Parliament of Religions. It will prove also the event of most permanent influence. The record of the words spoken, and the impressions made, by representatives of so many faiths is of hardly less importance than the parliament itself. Naturally, the congress has already called forth several volumes. First in importance among these, and most to be desired, is the authorized history of the parliament, edited by Rev. John H. Barrows, D. D., the chairman of the general committee. Two volumes, octavo, contain not only the record of the meetings with the principal addresses, but much interesting matter relative to the rise and progress of the plan of the parliament. It is richly illustrated, not only with portraits of the representatives of the different religions, but of religious scenes in many lands, and is *par excellence* THE history of the parliament.

While students of comparative religion will hardly be content with less than the authorized history of the Parliament of Religions, there are multitudes of people whose limited time and general interest call for a condensed report, presenting the most important and representative addresses. Such a

¹ Bib. Sac., July, 1891.

demand may well be supplied by the volume entitled "The World's Congress of Religions." The selections are fairly made, and comprise the striking and notable features of the congress. It seems just what is needed by a very large class of readers. There are some points in Dr. Savage's Introduction to which many will decline to assent, such as the assertion that the parliament was "a recognition of the great fact that all religions are equally natural and equally divine,"—an inference which does not seem to us at all necessary,—but the introduction is very brief, and is not polemical. The volume deserves a hearty good word, and merits a large sale.

Some of the best things said at the parliament have been collected by Rev. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones into a volume entitled "A Chorus of Faith." The attempt is the production of a galaxy of good things, rather than an accurate portrayal of the beliefs of the several authors quoted. The volume would be improved by the omission of the polemic portion of the introduction. The body of the work exhibits much care and wise discrimination. The design of the cover is suggestive, embracing the first few bars of Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." The same author has preached a series of sermons on "The Seven Great Religious Teachers," which are issued separately in pamphlet form, and belong to the literature of the parliament.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION at the Twentieth Annual Session held in Chicago, Ill., June 8-11, 1893. Edited by Isabel C. Barrows, official reporter of the Conference. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1893. (Pp. xiv, 498. 6¼x4.)

The Columbian Exposition was notable for its congresses of specialists in many departments of human inquiry. The present volume gives the results of one of the most important of these gatherings. Under the presidency of Rev. Hastings H. Hart, secretary of the State Board of Charities of Minnesota, an exceptionally valuable number of essays and reports were made at the twentieth annual session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. These are contained in this volume, which should be in the hands of all sociological students. The president's address gives a summary of the progress during the last twenty years. Important papers, by the highest authorities in the country, were read upon "The History of State Boards"; "Charity Organization in the United States"; "The History of Public and Private Indoor and Outdoor Relief"; "The History of Immigration"; "Child-saving"; "The History of Reformatories"; "Report of the Committee on the History of Prisons"; "The History of the Treatment of the Feeble-minded"; "Progress in the Care of the Insane in the Last Twenty Years"; while one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to special reports from the states. Altogether the volume is a wonderful thesaurus of information, and it is enriched by a complete index of the annual reports from 1874 to 1892.

General Brinkerhoff's Report upon the History of Prisons, with its appendix summarizing the facts for each state, is one of the most important of the papers included in the volume. Among the reforms which General Brinkerhoff has been successful in recommending to the State of Ohio as a result of

experiments in progress in various places are the introduction of the parole system, and of grading and classifying the prisoners; the establishment of reformatories for juvenile delinquents; the introduction of industrial training, such as will fit the prisoners for self-support upon return to ordinary life; the diminution of corporal punishment; the introduction of the principle of rewards; and of conditional liberation. Upon the question of county jails it is humiliating to record that the "average American jail is practically that which John Howard found in Bedfordshire, England, when he entered upon his duty as sheriff of that county. The prisoners during the day are congregated in a common hall,—old and young, innocent and guilty,—and are thus permitted to contaminate each other at leisure" (p. 153). But the principle of a separation of the prisoners is already being adopted with considerable rapidity, notably in Ohio, "where nearly all new jails constructed during the past twenty years have been built on what is known as the central corridor, or 'Ohio plan'" (p. 153).

JESUS AND MODERN LIFE. By M. J. Savage. With an Introduction by Professor Crawford H. Toy. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. (Pp. 229. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.)

THE NEW BIBLE AND ITS NEW USES. By Joseph Henry Crooker. Same Publisher. (Pp. 286. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.)

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. Same Publisher. (Pp. 198. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.)

These are books which will interest others than Unitarians, and each for a reason of its own.

To those who have wondered what Dr. Savage thinks about Christ, and have hardly been able to infer from his sermons, this new book of his will at least satisfy their curiosity. More than this, we do not believe it can do. That anyone can rest on the conception of Jesus which it presents, the author's own misgiving that his audience must have asked, "Is it possible that a world-wide religion was created by a man no greater, no more wonderful than this picture?" (p. 43) would hardly seem to indicate. A very benevolent, fascinating "God-conscious" character Jesus was, as Dr. Savage conceives him to have been; but his Jesus and the Jesus of the Gospels are very different men. The influence of Jesus upon modern life is well treated; but we are persuaded that Jesus must have been far more than the author supposes him to have been, to have originated an influence such as his life still exerts in ever increasing power.

"The New Bible and Its New Uses" is by the author of "Jesus Brought Back," which we regard as one of the ablest of Unitarian treatises on the personality of Jesus. His work on the Bible accepts the extreme conclusions of the critics; and his plea is that this must make not for the disuse nor yet the abuse, but for a new use of the Bible as a purely human, but incomparably valuable collection of documents.

"The Spiritual Life" is a series of lectures on mysticism, devotional literature, and spiritual life by six Unitarian authors, and is a valuable and care-

fully prepared volume. If we were to offer any criticism upon the general tone of the book it would be that an excess of rationalism in religious thinking tends to make devotional literature from the same source seem a trifle unreal, as though the subjects were considered *ab extra*. And we are sure that the list of modern authors needs some modification. Dr. O. W. Holmes writes helpful poetry, but it is not to the dogmatic autocrat that we should go for "faith in God which is not dogmatic" (p. 179).

Barring these and like criticisms, we enjoy these three books. They are wholly independent, yet read in order they give as good a bird's-eye view of modern Unitarian thought and its drift as may be obtained anywhere.

THE DIVINE ARMORY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. BY Rev. Kenelm Vaughn. American Edition Revised. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange. 1894. (Pp. 928. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.)

This is a compilation of Scripture passages from the Douay version arranged topically for devotion and instruction. It has the commendation of Cardinal Gibbons, and will meet a warm reception among devout Roman Catholics. To us it is of interest as indicating a growing recognition among Roman Catholics of the people's need of the Bible; and we are glad to see it.

THE RELIGIOUS FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES enumerated, classified, and described on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890. With an Introduction on the Condition and Character of American Christianity. By H. K. Carroll, LL.D., in charge of the Division of Churches, Eleventh Census. New York: The Christian Literature Co. 1893. (Pp. lxi, 449. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.)

Dr. Carroll's relation to the eleventh census has afforded him better opportunity to furnish a complete view of the present religious condition of the United States than has heretofore been possessed by any writer. At first the number of denominations seems bewildering. For instance, there are twelve branches of Presbyterians, seventeen branches of Methodists, thirteen kinds of Baptists, nine kinds of Mennonites, and sixteen kinds of Lutherans. Some of these branches are very small and very peculiar. The Six-Principle Baptists have only eighteen churches, but the Old-Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists have four hundred and seventy-three churches. The total number of Baptist churches, however, is forty-three thousand, of which thirty-six thousand are regular Baptists, and so, on figuring up the whole statistics, it appears that the abnormal developments are comparatively insignificant, and are probably no more than is wholesome for the general religious life of the country. The volume is a good beginning of the "American Church History Series," of which it forms the first part. The statistics are the most complete that have ever been published for the United States, and are of the highest value to the student of modern religious history and development.

MY LIFE AND TIMES. By Cyrus Hamlin, missionary in Turkey, author of "Among the Turks," etc. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. 1893. (Pp. 538. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.)

Dr. Hamlin's long career as missionary in Turkey, and as promoter of the interests of Robert College in Constantinople, has given him a place in

the making of church history such as is occupied by few persons of any time. From beginning to end this volume is full of interest of every sort. The account of his childhood and education furnishes a mirror of the religious condition of New England fifty years ago; while his long familiarity with the political forces contending for the occupation of Constantinople enables him to shed most important side-lights upon what is known as the Eastern Question. Dr. Hamlin's great executive abilities and sincere interest in the people of Turkey made him a most important factor during the Crimean War, both in relieving the Protestants in their financial distress and in aiding the British government in the care of their sick and wounded. Providence combined with rare tact on his part to bring about the establishment of Robert College on a foundation that cannot be shaken, the charter being given by an inspired firman from the Sultan, an occurrence which was unique in the records of modern history. The volume is enriched by numerous photographs of prominent actors and places described, making it altogether one of the most attractive volumes that has appeared during the year.

TWO VOLUNTEER MISSIONARIES AMONG THE DAKOTAS: or the Story of the Labors of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond. By S. W. Pond, Jr. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. (Pp. 278. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.) \$1.25.

In addition to its excellent line of Sunday-school books, which grow better every year, the Sunday-School and Publishing Society is publishing some works of permanent value, suited to the needs both of Sunday-school libraries and of individuals. One of the latest of these describes the labors of two brothers who went in 1834, at their own charges, on a mission to the Indians of Minnesota. The story of their faithful labors is told in a most instructive way by the son of one of them.

JOURNAL OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION. Kept by James Madison; Reprinted from the Edition of 1840, which was Published under Direction of the United States Government from the Original Manuscripts. Edited by E. H. Scott. Chicago: Albert, Scott & Co. 1893. (Pp. 805. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.)

The Madison papers, purchased by Congress for thirty thousand dollars, give by far the best, and in some respects the only accurate, information concerning the debates of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. They are of permanent value to all students of the American Constitution. The publishers have done well to bring out this new edition, which is carefully indexed. We could wish that the volume had been made less bulky.

LETTERS ON BAPTISM. By Rev. Edmund B. Fairfield, D. D. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. 1893. (Pp. 249. $4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.)

This little volume summarizes the argument for the validity of baptism by sprinkling through which the author was converted from his original views as an advocate of immersion. The argument is ingenious and able, and presented in a spirit which captivates the reader. The eminence of the author, as well as its intrinsic merit, bespeaks for the book a wide reading.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE CHINESE: THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE, MEDICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL. By Robert Coltman, Jr., M. D. Philadelphia and London: F. A. Davis. (Pp. 212. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$.) \$2.50.

Dr. Coltman is a medical missionary, and has told the story of his work among the Chinese in a very entertaining and instructive way.

KING'S HANDBOOK OF NEW YORK CITY: An Outline History and Description of the American Metropolis; with over one thousand illustrations from photographs made expressly for this work. Edited and published by Moses King, Boston, Mass. 1893. Second Edition. (Pp. 1008. $4 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.) \$2.00.

EVOLUTION IN SCIENCE AND REVOLUTION IN RELIGION. With Other Addresses. By Wayland Dalrymple Ball, late pastor of the Associate Reformed Congregation of Baltimore. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1893.

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE ROMANS. By Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge. Boston: Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. (Pp. 167. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.)

NEW LIGHT FROM THE GREAT PYRAMID. The Astronomico-Geographical System of the Ancients Recovered and Applied to the Elucidation of History, Ceremony, Symbolism and Religion. By Albert Ross Parsons. New York: The Metaphysical Publishing Co. (Pp. 420. $4 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.) \$4.00.

THE NEW TESTAMENT; OR THE BOOK OF THE HOLY GOSPEL OF OUR LORD AND OUR GOD, JESUS THE MESSIAH. A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By James Murdock, D. D. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository. (Pp. xliii, 507. 4×7 .) \$2.50.

BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. Edited with an introduction, by Mowbray Morris. In two volumes. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. (Pp. 590, 609.) Per volume, \$1.00.

MURDOCK'S TRANSLATION OF MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM THE BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With Copious Notes by James Murdock, S. T. D. A New Edition, with a Biographical Sketch of the Translator, by H. L. Hastings, Editor of the Christian, Boston, Mass. Three volumes in one. Boston and London: Scriptural Tract Repository. 1892. (Pp. 470, 485, 506. 4×7 .) Cloth, \$3.50; Half Leather, \$4.00.

ARABIC CHRESTOMATHY IN HEBREW CHARACTERS, with a Glossary. Edited by Hartwig Hirschfeld, Ph. D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1892. (Pp. viii, 174. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.)

CHRIST ENTHRONED IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD: A Discussion of Christianity in Property and Labor. By Charles Roads. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1892. (Pp. 287. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.) \$1.00.

OUTLINES OF ECONOMICS. By Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History in the University of Wisconsin. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1894. (Pp. xii, 432. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.) \$1.25.

OBERLIN BOOKS

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ARTICLE I.

THE BIBLE AS AUTHORITY AND INDEX.

BY THE REV. A. A. BERLE, BOSTON, MASS.

WE have seen in the previous discussions, that the development of the religious life is a process involving many and differing forces.¹ Some of these are of so simple a character that they can be traced readily, and do not for a moment perplex us either as to their own nature or the sources from which they are derived. Others, on the contrary, are more elusive. They do not reveal themselves easily or frequently. They change in their manifestations. They are, if not strictly supernatural, so much like supernatural forces as to demand a classification peculiarly their own.

Forces of this latter type have always abounded in the history of religion. They are the variants, amid the permanent elements of religion, which supply in each case a certain rationale which without them we should utterly lack. They are many, but feeling is one of them. We may say it is one of those which we have the least difficulty in catching and examining, though it may not be for long at a time. It has also appeared that these forces have an important part to play in the crystallization of religious thought into institutions, and afterward into literature descriptive of them. More than

¹ *Bib. Sac.*, Vol. 1. pp. 52 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*

this, they have the power of reproduction and self-extension. They possess a kind of appeal to the ages. They are never without expositors. And these expositors are the prophets of their time.

But up to this point, religion, considered as the aggregate of the phenomena which express the human spirit in its upward struggles to higher life and growth, is purely personal and of a psychological nature. It hence demands at this stage a psychological treatment. But religion cannot long remain personal, and must of necessity, as soon as it seeks expression, become social. It must busy itself with the content which it secures from the immediate problems of society. And from this fact, the progress of religion may be said to be coeval with the progress of society. Its laws grow like social laws. They extend in application or they diminish in limits as the society under which they flourish admits of such extension or requires such repression. But it is this very fluctuation which marks the presence or the absence of the variable elements of the religious life which form the problem of investigation. Their exceptional character leads, in the earliest times, to the inference that they are supernatural interferences with the existing order. Their recurrences at stated intervals or under similar conditions may lead, in a scientific period, to their reduction to the sphere of law. But the essential fact is their existence and their undoubted sway in the religious life.

When the processes thus described have passed through centuries, they are recognized in the record of the world's experiences as history. The simple statements of the visual manifestations constitute the annals of time. These annals interpreted make history. Searched for the underlying personal and social forces, history becomes philosophy. The unexplained residuum of the philosophy of history is revelation. What the nature of revelation thus acquired is, is a question which will be examined later; but the important

fact to be noted here is that revelation comes through the ordinary channels of personal and social development. It is neither unlike history in the media of its expression nor divorced from it in the body of the literature of human religious effort.

When, therefore, we use the term "supernatural revelation," it is far from accurate to think at once of interference with the established order of human development. What is commonly called a miracle need not thus be thought of, unless the mind cannot grasp the fluid character of the powers which go to make up the universe as well in its physical as in its intellectual aspects. Interferences strictly so-called would in the modern conception of thought be highly unnatural. Yet what is very much like interference takes place constantly in the arrests of development, in the physical battles of growth, and the triumph, at least for the uses of the present generation, of the unfit. All this, however, merely indicates the material for another law, which, when the data have sufficiently accumulated, will be announced and verified.

Now the revelation which is thus left as the unexplained residuum of the philosophy of history, is so interlinked with the explained portions, that without the former the latter would be inexplicable. For example, the destruction of the Confederacy would be unintelligible unless we knew the facts concerning the fall of Richmond. *Why* Richmond fell, or *why* the forces operating in the Confederacy produced such a result at last, are other questions; but the essential thing is that Richmond fell. Its fall had ulterior causes, no doubt. These form a separate problem by themselves. But they were at work during and before the Civil War. Indeed the Civil War itself loses its rationale, without the long history which precedes it. Now it is simply impossible to separate the fall of Richmond from the influences which made and finally destroyed the Southern Confederacy. But the process by which this is proved, is a very different one from that which proves

that the Confederacy fell because Richmond was taken. It is just as real and true. It has as certain a claim to rational assent. It produces a logical conviction equally as strong. But the arguments which prove it are of the character which at every step can be denied as stoutly as they can be affirmed. No one can deny that Richmond fell. No one can deny that that fall ended the existence of the Confederate States of America. Anyone *can* deny that the institution of slavery ultimately destroyed those States. Anyone *can* deny that the prevailing social conditions of the South before the war ultimately destroyed them. But can anyone deny the valid character of those conditions as historical forces, or their real influence upon the Southern States? Now precisely this difference prevails in the logical estimate of simple facts, and the forces behind the facts. These forces are actual and intelligible. They are unquestionable. But they are elusive when we attempt to pin them down to a certain fact or result.

This illustration may fairly be taken as representative of the authority of revelation. It is so interlinked with the facts and accidents of history that a separation is practically impossible. To cast out revelation as untrustworthy would be to render the remainder equally untrustworthy. Revelation is an integral part of history. When history becomes untrustworthy, so likewise does revelation. But, *vice versa*, when revelation is discredited, so also is history. By the side now of the former example take one from the New Testament. The conversion of Paul the apostle, from the standpoint from which we now view it, was a unique fact. Apart from his own explanation of that phenomenon, we have the historical Paul. His ministry, his teaching, his life and character, are history, apart from all considerations of religion or otherwise. Paul *was* the creator of modern Christianity. Paul *did* make his journeys throughout the Roman Empire, with certain well-defined results. What becomes of the explanation which Paul gives of the motives which produced that life and its

activity? It is precisely in the category of the explanation that slavery caused the downfall of the Confederacy. It is similarly open to argument. It can be denied. That is to say, Paul can be charged with delusion, or lunacy, or any other malady. But his explanation remains logically upon exactly the same basis as the assertion that slavery caused the destruction of the Confederacy. If we seek proof for the latter, it is of a like nature with that by which Paul's assertions are proved. *But a difference between them remains in one particular. One is revelation, the other is history. They rest, however, upon the same grounds. They have the same authority. The conclusion is clear. The Authority of History is the foundation of the Authority of Revelation.*

The inquiry will now at once be raised, if we mean to imply that revelation is merely a form of history. And the answer to this question must be an affirmative one. Only this qualification must be made, that it is history of that large and unverifiable character which places it within, and yet beyond, the ordinary historical canons of investigation. There is no desire here to relieve revelation for an instant from any test which is applied to ordinary history. But, as we have seen, there are influences in the world which must be classified as historical which, nevertheless, are so removed from the mere uses of factual narratives that they stand by themselves. It is among these in their historical character that we place those influences which from their exceptional nature we denominate revelation. But by such a classification they lose none of the trustworthiness or authoritative force which belongs to simple chronological records. Indeed, it is upon their alliance with, and by their consonance to, verifiable history that they derive an exceptional authority, as we shall see later. As part of the common record, however, they are exactly like, and exactly as authoritative as, ordinary verifiable history.

WHAT IS AN HISTORICAL AUTHORITY?

Perhaps, before we raise this inquiry, it may be well to ask, What is authority itself? And the answer is not an easy one to give. The revolt against the Bible as authority seems to be based upon a notion that authority is in some sense destructive of free inquiry or of natural development. It is supposed to impose upon critical investigation a sort of restraint which says, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Indeed on this very point Mr. Huxley has expressly said: "I had set out on the journey with no other purpose than that of exploring a certain province of natural knowledge; I strayed no hair's breadth from the course which it was my right and duty to pursue; and yet I found that whatever route I took, before long I came to a tall formidable looking fence. Confident as I might be of the existence of an ancient and indefeasible right of way, before me stood the thorny barrier with the comminatory notice board 'No thoroughfare. By order. Moses.'"¹

What this shows is, that, at the point where Mr. Huxley saw the board fence and the forbidding sign, there really stood a false idea in his own mind concerning the nature of history, and a more false one concerning the structure of the literature in question. It indicated furthermore that he had not the requisite knowledge to discriminate as to what was actually before him, for later he came to the conclusion that "Moses is not responsible for nine-tenths of the Pentateuch; certainly not for the legends which have been made the bugbears of science. In fact the fence turned out to be a mere heap of dry sticks and brushwood, and one might walk through it with impunity, which I did."² The conclusion clarified the situation at once, because it was based upon true knowledge. There was no less authority in the Pentateuch after that discovery, however, than before. Not one jot or tittle of the Pentateuch had disappeared. It appeared in different rela-

¹ *Collected Essays*, Vol. v. p. vii. ² *Ibid.*, p. ix.

tions, which were the right relations. Instead of reading the margin of his Bible, Mr. Huxley now read the text. And the board fence was found to be a creation of his own imagination, not an actual hindrance to inquiry.

And yet it remains true that there is such a thing as authority in history and literature. And while it does not announce the closing of the path of knowledge in a given direction absolutely, it does often close it all but absolutely. That is to say, for the purposes of scientific inquiry it is regarded as final. An historical inquiry may be said to be finally established when reasonable affinity with correlative facts and forces has been established. How far the term "reasonable" is applied to the question must, like all other things, be determined by the consensus of judgment by competent observers. This will not secure infallibility, let it be remembered, but it will secure finality in the sense of practically closing the case. To be sure, such finality has all the force of infallibility, using that term in a literary sense. Such an inquiry becomes by its finality an authority. And such an historical authority acquires with each succeeding century that its decision remains unquestioned a greater force, and creates a greater presumption as to its substantial correctness. It is in this way that the body of so-called common law has become established. It is in this way that literatures secure their place in the abiding records of human experience. And the influence of such an authority is immeasurably increased, when it is discovered that an analysis made centuries ago is found to tally accurately with similar conditions when these occur to-day. The presumption then is, if possible, more final than before. For added to exactness of correlation, demonstrated experience has, so to speak, signed and sealed the judgment of the past.

The question now arises, What do we mean by exact correlation in history? It must at once become obvious that we cannot mean by exactness in history what we mean by exact-

ness in chemistry, for example. Here we have the elements at our command and can combine them as we will. But history is not produced by any power that can be swayed by the human will. Every act of the will helps to make history, but its way and influence is utterly beyond its own control, in the universal result; so that a reasonable affinity with correlated facts cannot mean mathematical accuracy. If it did, there never would have been any philological investigations, since these, for the most part, rest for a long period upon pure conjecture. And how important, and how accurate too, such conjecture may be, is seen in the remarkable story of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. For the most part, reasonable affinity is satisfied by the term natural development. But natural development is not sufficient; for that term itself is limited to what we already know about the laws and methods of growth, variation, and reproduction. But historical science has proved, again and again, that natural development is insufficient as an explanation for all the historical results with which we are acquainted; unless indeed all development is styled natural development, and then the expression ceases to have any descriptive value.

As an instance, therefore, of what we mean, take for example such a case as the following: In the book of Amos we find that prophet vigorously denouncing the luxury of the court of the northern confederacy, and giving expression to most threatening prophecies of the destruction of Samaria and the general ruin of the kingdom. Now it is not necessary that a verification of every particular utterance of the prophet should be found, to assure us of his accuracy and the integrity of the contents of his book. When, from the various sources at hand, we gather, that the court *was* licentious and corrupt, that the poor *were* oppressed and robbed for the luxurious living of the nobility at the capital; when we know that an Assyrian army *was* advancing, and Samaria *was* destroyed,

and the threatened prophecies were more than fulfilled,— these are sufficient to give a credibility to those parts of the book upon which we have no such direct light, which differ only in the very slightest degree from the rest, if they ought to differ at all. It is of course possible that interpolations may have crept into the text; or the prophet may have been mistaken with reference to particular points; but, for historical purposes, it is scientifically accurate, to say that this book is trustworthy and thoroughly credible. It fits into its period. It is in reasonable affinity to the correlated facts and contemporary records. Substantial accord is sufficient. Mathematical accuracy is not needed. You have an historical authority. It is all but final. Exception to it throws the burden of proof upon the objector. It is as final an authority as a piece of literary work can be, and be of its character. Slight and unimportant contradictions no more invalidate its authority as history than the newspaper exaggerations of election majorities invalidate the fact that an election has been held. It is a general and reasonable accuracy that is needed and desired. This is usually all that can be secured in literature that is not simply annalistic. And chronological tables do not make literature, and are not subjects of literary criticisms. They are simply right or simply wrong.

Thus it becomes evident what an historical authority is. We see ourselves requiring, indeed, that we shall not be deceived; but we do not find ourselves with multiplication table and two-foot rule in hand. If the subject-matter can be treated in chronological tables, then we have these for reference easily accessible, but we do not call that studying history. For history we demand a philosophy or rationale by which we shall see beyond and under the operations of the parties to the events, to the motives which governed them and the ends which they sought to establish. And if, in the endeavor thus to portray the spiritual and intellectual influences at work, we have in the matters of mere detail a reason-

able and not positively untrue or misleading picture, we are ready to accept its accuracy and accord it the authority of history. If the source be an original one, so much the more. If only secondary, the ground is still firm and for scientific purposes sufficient. Literature and the literary sciences have none of the technical subterfuges of the criminal courts. Reasonable accuracy stands, in the absence of the charge of actual falsehood, in the place of truth. Historical authorities in their very nature are subject to the laws of literary structure and form. They are victims to the assumptions on the part of their authors of a given amount of knowledge on the part of their public. Posterity may never know what those assumptions were. It may never be able to solve some of the mysteries of the author's omission or allusion. But it cannot impugn his accuracy without assailing his moral purpose first, and thus creating a presumption of deliberate fraud. But literary fraud is one of the hardest of all accusations to prove, except in cases of direct and bodily plagiarism. The importance of this distinction, when we examine the Bible according to the method proposed, is very great. It removes the responsibility of the biblical revelation from the nature and fate of mere documents, and by freeing the documents it increases by so much the difficulty of assailing their essential facts. Whatever of weight it takes from the mere books of the Bible, it adds to the burden of proof of him who would undertake to divest them of what they still possess.

THE BIBLE AN HISTORICAL AUTHORITY.

As literature, the Bible is the combined aggregate of survivals of an immense amount of literary material of various kinds produced under varying conditions, from the crudest to the most highly organized. In this survival are the remains, not only of original works by the authors themselves, but numerous fragments by unknown authors, and these again brought together by a series of editings, the precise number,

or the extent of which, we cannot at this distance positively determine. We shall in all probability never know how many hands have been responsible for the canon of Scripture as we have it to-day. Of this there is not the slightest doubt or reason for doubt. Moreover this literary composite now called by us the Bible, has within its limits all kinds of literary style and material. Composed it obviously was under conditions widely differing, and often strikingly contrasting, and even contradictory. The literary problem of classification and analysis is thereby one of vast comprehensiveness and almost interminable length. The literature of biblical criticism amply proves this.

But after we have admitted the composite character of the Bible, and the singular character of the documents contained within it, and the numerous editings and redactions before the present canon was formed, we ask, whether the Bible as we examine it presents on the whole an appearance of heterogeneity which would naturally be expected in a collection of books brought together under such circumstances. And on this point there is but one reply possible, namely, that, no matter what the circumstances under which the fragments and books of the Bible were brought together, there is throughout a singular unity and homogeneous character, which is probably the most extraordinary literary fact known. The very compositeness has added to its unity by the astounding correlation of the most dissimilar parts. The cosmogony in Genesis, for example, and the development of the creation history, is in our judgment one of the most remarkable pieces of literary work ever accomplished. Either of the original narratives alone would be tame by the side of it. As it is, the complementary force of the two narratives woven together makes what will in all probability through all time be the final epitome of the divine creative activity at the beginning of things.

But this same quality of unity and homogeneity is visible

throughout, and never for a single instant obscure even to the unpractised eye. Occasions there certainly are where the welding process is evident and some unintelligible combinations appear. But these are exceedingly rare and of almost no significance at all in the general structure of the whole. We speak now of the mere literary unity. It is without doubt absolutely without a parallel in literature. In order to get the full force of this fact, one needs only to examine a work of the most modern times, constructed with all the wealth of scientific arrangement and documentary authority and collation, to see how extraordinary the literary unity of the Old Testament is. Such a work is the "Narrative and Critical History of America." Edited by a scholar of unusual historical insight, the helplessness of even the most expert mind, with a host of authors of marked individuality and widely divergent views to deal with, becomes at once evident. The unity of this work (magnificently conceived as it is) is positive chaos compared with the continuous thread in the Old Testament. To be sure, the latter is very much smaller in bulk. But that very fact would tend to make the difficulty greater. Eight large volumes offer an area sufficiently large to obliterate the blemishes and to present a finished and well-rounded narrative. But to compress into one volume, and that numerously subdivided and endlessly edited, the bulk of material and the innumerable details and side-lights which are found in the Old Testament, is, humanly speaking, a most miraculous undertaking. And yet our Old Testament presents a finished unity like one of those exquisite mosaics of the East, so elegantly wrought that only a magnifying glass can reveal the parts. The Old Testament is for all practical purposes a literary unit.

The case is stronger still when we take one step further and examine its motivation. In every instance, whether we take the books which show least traces of editing, or those which reveal the most, the animating purpose in production

is the same. Centuries apart as some of the documents are in time, they are one in the impulse which directs their composition and preservation. It is the unity of motive which suggests the quality which we know as inspiration. And this inspiration, being of the nature that it is, lays the foundation for the reverence which culminates in divine authority. But the only fact to which we call attention now is, that there is no discordant note throughout to mar the effect of the sustained and ever developing motive which led to the composition of the Old Testament books.

But now we come to the question of debate. Is the Bible an historical authority? Its literary unity and its singleness of motive are of no value here, except as they give us an insight into the nature of the book which we are to test. And we are led by the use of such resources as we can bring to bear to conclude that the Bible is an historical authority. The argument here takes a somewhat different turn, but it moves in essentially the same lines as before. Some parts of the Bible are confessedly annalistic. Of these we expect certain things. Let us leave them for a moment and turn to the rest. The largest part of the Bible, the Old Testament being now in view, is not concerned with chronology at all. It takes for the most part no cognizance whatever of existing conditions, except as these affect the underlying motive of writers and editors. Now let us ask the question, Is the material of the Old Testament in reasonable accord with the related facts and contemporaneous records? No man possessed of the ordinary faculties of discernment would venture to deny that, whatever forces or machinations may have brought it about, the writings of the Old Testament are in substantial historical accord with the times which they purport to represent and in which they allege to have come forward. If at this point the Pentateuch be cited as an illustration contrary to this rule, the reply is at once at hand, that, when the Pentateuch is analyzed, and the component parts are placed in their proper classification, and

the sources traced to their beginnings, and the history of their development followed out, it will be found that the very Pentateuch itself is the strongest witness to the truth of our proposition in the whole Old Testament. Its alleged literary ascription to Moses of course is cast off. Historical succession and growth take the place of pious hopes and conjecture. But when all this has been done, the Pentateuch itself becomes the guarantee for the historical accuracy of the book. To be sure, if a chronological arrangement were attempted, the beginning of the Old Testament might stand very near the end. But, in its place, it would be accurate, and for all purposes of science sound as history. It would not, as we have shown, partake of the exactness of the mathematical sciences. But it would be as scientifically accurate as literary work of its kind and compass can be. It would stand the keenest scrutiny as such. Indeed it already has. And the effect of all this is to place the whole structure of the Bible upon an historical basis with all the rights and all the credibility that belongs to historical authorities of a literary character. The documentary analyses have brought this into clearer relief than anything else could have done. The Bible is true history. It is for literary purposes accurate history. If it is not true history or accurate history within the limits which we have described, the allegation must be, not against its structure or the vicissitudes of pious customs of false ascription, but to moral obliquity in the direction of deliberate fraud. Return now for a moment to the annals of the Old Testament, consisting of lists, genealogies, and the like. When these are accurate, so far as accuracy can be proven, there is nothing further to be said. If, however, they are found false, it is at once apparent that the main argument has not been touched at all. Lists are special in their character. Genealogies are more or less determined by local motives. They may be wrong, but their inaccuracy cannot be more than scribal. They hardly admit of a moral character, since

they appeal directly to the reader's consciousness of their verity. They in no wise affect the historical accuracy for scientific purposes of the Old Testament as a whole.

HISTORICAL AUTHORITY AND RELIGION.

We have now seen that the Bible is not only an authority, but an authority linked with history and of established literary accuracy. The next stage of the inquiry is, What has this to do with religion as a practical matter anyway? What does religion have to do with history and historical authority? One answer, and one not infrequently made, is that religion has nothing at all to do with history. The religious life, not being governed from the past, but from the present experiences and influences, has no concern about what happened in other times or answered for others' needs. Religion and history have no interdependent relations whatever.

Now if religion is merely limited to that which exercises control over the ethical life, and the ethical life as expressed in conduct be substantially the entire content of religion, the reply is a correct one. Ethical relations are independent of historical association or dependence. It makes little difference what others thought about a given procedure, so far as our duty in that same matter is concerned. Duty is always in the present tense. It does not concern itself with the evolution of the idea or its previous form and requirement. It lives for to-day, and to-day alone. But religion is more than ethics. Conduct may indeed, as Matthew Arnold alleges, be three-fourths of life and perhaps of religion; but, if it is, it may be also said that the largest part of the human body is made up of trunk, legs, and arms. But that fact does not alter the fact that the important thing about a man is his head. Ethics may furnish the body of religion, but its head is vastly more important than conduct. This being the case, we cannot say so readily that it makes no difference what the past has wrought, or what the past has thought, in matters of re-

ligion. In fact, what we are thinking is a survival or an evolution of the past, and to understand it we need to know what that past has been, and how far it has survived and remained a force in our own life and development.

This is the reason why it is true, and justly true, that the religion of many people is traditional. The Illuminati who scoff at traditional religion, simply show by that fact their profound ignorance of how human life is carried on, and how the permanent from the thought of one generation is carried over and applied to that of another. Traditional religion has been perhaps the greatest conserving force in civilization. At all events, if the multitude had not received their religion traditionally they would have been without any. Observe here that this is not saying that the personal experience which makes for vital religious living is absent in traditional religion, but that it comes in connection with it. The simple truth, whether we like it or not, is that all religion is now traditional religion. The reason for this is that religion now comes to the vast majority of mankind, and certainly to all Christendom, freighted with the vast wealth of centuries of experience and experiment. These traditions that come in connection with the experiences and labors under which they were formed are, so to speak, the raw material of the intellectual structure of the religious life of to-day. It is the message of the past. It is the setting in which the jewel of personal piety and devotion is to be placed. It gives historical continuity to the past, and brings a pledge for orderly succession toward the future. Nothing has so sound a basis or is worthy of more respect than the much abused "traditional religion."

Now the medium through which tradition comes, is history. And, as we have seen, we soon develop from the mass of traditions those to which we accord certain distinctions, and these become for us historical authorities. The Bible is such an authority. Now religion by its very nature calls for just such authorities as the necessary substructure upon which

its rational growth may be based. That is to say, for its intellectual unity religion makes certain assumptions. If the evidences at hand are of a kind to accord with the intellectual demand, they are appropriated and the process is at once begun. If they must be searched for, the field where the search is made is the field of history. The thought of man may be compared to a series of interlinked circles, of which one-half of each is always covering another half of that which preceded it. The religious life moves forward in just this same way. If the connection is easily established and readily apparent, then the onward process is also easy and readily entered upon. But what this shows is that religion almost from its beginning is linked with history, and, being thus connected, soon demands historical authority. If the authority sought for be of the proper character, it will soon be found; but if the exaggerated kind of historical evidence which we have described be demanded, why of course it will never be discovered, and the religious life will be the usual set of contradictions and perplexities which we find a religion begun *de novo* to be.

But what then? Do the religious experience and the faith which inspires it rest upon these authorities as their base? By no means. When once the individual experience has been recognized as connected with the current of human experiences, the demand for authority gives way to another and very different demand. This is not for rational foundation, but for spiritual guidance. The first requirement was for a sure alliance with the historical order. The second has no more discussion about the historical succession, but asks for guidance and direction. As the Bible was found in the first instance to be a trustworthy historical source, so now it is examined with a view to making it a spiritual guide. In fact this is exactly the process which takes place from generation to generation. The evidences are examined. The main line of argument remains the same. Subordinate lines are changed and the literary examinations are made, but the

main line of Christian evidences stands substantially undisturbed, though it is added to, and new arguments are made from new facts. But this once done, and it is rapidly done (so rapidly in fact that often we are not aware of the process), then the Bible becomes the spiritual guide and index of rational religious living. It is one of the most interesting of processes to observe how soon the transition from authority of the Bible to the spiritual guidance of the Bible takes place. And this is precisely what ought to take place. The perpetual search after mere authority or the verification of mere facts is almost fatal to a sustained Christian experience. No generation was ever intended to examine independently for itself *all* the evidences. It is concerned with those which correspond most to its temper and mental tone. It does not meddle with others. Having settled the points which interest it most, and these are usually few, it goes on to the practical thing, which is the maintenance of the spiritual life. For this it desires not an authority, but an index; not a force which shall dominate the intelligence, but one which shall answer the moods of the spirit. And so historical authority, however important at the beginning, gradually fades away as an element of first importance, and in its place comes a spiritual guide, to which the spirit yields for leadership and direction in spiritual growth and development.

It is just here that the great confusion among critics about the Bible is most manifest. When the vast mass of Christians insist upon the divine authority of the Bible and its infallible character, they mean, for the most part, its spiritual sufficiency and its infallible response to the soul seeking for spiritual enlightenment. Even the most fierce of the destructive critics cannot gainsay this. To be sure it will be, it must be, that from so sturdy a security, which the spiritual guidance of the Bible produces, a more or less similar feeling and confidence will attach to the mere details of history. It could not well be otherwise. But the fact is, there is every pre-

sumption for such confidence. In the sphere of spiritual guidance and direction, the Bible is final, supreme, and infallible. There is no room here for even the slightest doubt. The combined experience of the church throughout its history makes doubt on this point simply childish. It is but a step from spiritual guidance to historical credibility, and the step is readily taken by all who have been under the direction of the Scriptures. Whether rightly taken or not, the process is very easily discovered. The presumptions are certainly in favor of the step. Not to take it would seem like questioning one's own self. But here we have the picture and the process of the way in which the authority of the Bible grows and is sustained. It is idle to expect that that authority will ever be undermined. It is absurd to imagine that criticism will ever change the love and regard of people for their infallible spiritual guide.

THE BIBLE AS SPIRITUAL INDEX.

What we have been saying up to this point has had to do chiefly with the intellectual assent which is required to give the Bible a leading place in the mental furnishings of men. It must not be supposed, however, that the authority of the Bible is held in doubt until this intellectual assent is established. Far from it. The fact is, that another process has been going on, parallel to the one already described, which has even a greater force in the determination of the religious life and conviction than that of intellectual belief and authority. This is the development of the spiritual necessities and the process of building up a spiritual index through the means of satisfying them. To this we now turn our thought.

The human feelings of fear, hope, joy, depression, and the like, do not wait upon any intellectual process in their production. To be sure, they require certain concomitant mental conceptions; but the emotions themselves are not the direct product of these conceptions, but rather a kind of appli-

cation of them to the problems of selfhood and self-expression. Now each one of these seeks naturally a means of expression as soon as experienced. If the sensation or spiritual emotion be that of fear, it almost simultaneously evokes a desire for defence from the impending evil, or a placating of the offended power whose wrath is dreaded. Likewise, hope is not held as a vague, indefinite feeling, but is almost at once accompanied by an expression of confidence in the subject-matter of the feeling. So is it with joy; so is it with grief and depression. All are at once directly allied with an effort at the corresponding secondary stage through which we recognize the emotion as existing. Thus joy is almost always allied to some expression of the voice, melodiously or otherwise, but still the use of the voice in a way which all but infallibly indicates the ruling mood. This is why prayer and praise are so closely bound together.

But observe that when these emotions are at work, and in force so to speak, they do not wait upon some authority by which they shall express themselves. What they require is not an authority, but a medium of expression. And in seeking for this medium, by which they shall not only identify themselves but provoke and secure fellowship, they may be said to be infallible. They *are* infallible. Men in deep contrition do not take kindly to exuberant expressions about the joys of the righteous. Men in deep anxiety are not prone to find relief in expressions of abounding fulness and abundance. All human experience shows that the allied moods seek each other. So they go to any source whatever; and if they once find their proper need supplied, to that source they will go again. When this process has been carried on for a certain period, longer or shorter as the case may be, these sources of rest and recuperation for the spiritual moods become a kind of index for the moods themselves, and lead to their identification more quickly, and their satisfaction more

readily, than before, and from this fact the source or sources become final and authoritative in the spiritual life.

Now this is exactly what has happened with the Bible. While the intellectual questions of date and authorship and a great variety of critical problems have remained, and must remain, unsolved to the end, the work of spiritual guidance is going on just the same, and will go on. What effect this finally comes to have on the mental attitudes concerning the problems of the Bible, we shall see later; but the important fact is, that this process goes on without the slightest interruption. Spiritual needs are constantly recurring, and their satisfaction cannot be made to wait upon a question of date. For this reason the spiritual-minded man does not care as a matter of his spiritual life, whether the psalms he reads are exilic, post-exilic, or Maccabean. The essential thing to him is not the date, but the result to his own spirit. The same thing may be said about the Gospels or the Epistles, or in fact about any Scripture, for it still remains that all Scripture inspired of God is useful for the given purpose for which it was intended.

Of all, therefore, of the world's responses to the spiritual desires of enlightened mankind, the Bible is the most complete, the most sure, and the most accurate. The very gradualness with which we see the moral sense developing in the Old Testament renders this more true than it otherwise would or could be. For these various stages of the moral sense are here to-day. They require the same process of unfolding and education that we see indicated in the Old Testament. It is still necessary to master the decalogue before there can be a just appreciation of the gospel. Sinai still precedes Calvary, spiritually as well as historically. This is why the equal authority and the equal use of both Testaments will never be essentially disturbed. With the spread of the knowledge of the Scriptures the appeal to the spiritual guidance of the Bible becomes more and more universal. What a trifling matter

then the mere questions of letter, when the weighty matter of the spirit is settled! And so reason the world and the church. There is no room for arguments here. Each man's experience is his own. If he has once successfully appealed to the Bible as an index to his own spiritual state and aspiration, nothing ever can or will invalidate the response thus obtained. The court which renders that decision is beyond human appeal or reversal.

The Bible may now fairly be called the World's Index of the Spiritual Life. If civilization has anything to teach, it teaches that. If the structure of the Christian family means anything to the modern life, it teaches that. If the splendid development and culture of the intellectual faculties of mankind under the nurture of Christian education teaches anything, it teaches that. If the science of comparative religion, with its unearthing and comparing of the religious classics of all ages and peoples, has any light at all, it teaches that. No one in his senses would seek to question the fact that practically civilization, as we understand that term, rests upon the Bible as the spiritual index of human life. But this fact, like all other facts, cannot be separated from a vast mass of other facts. Indeed this fact is of so great magnitude that it provokes a question whether this, so satisfactory spiritual index, does not thereby create certain intellectual presumptions concerning itself.

And so it does. And the presumptions which it creates are somewhat as follows. The moods of men's lives are the products of real living and real suffering. They are not produced by fairy tales and sun myths. They easily discriminate between the fanciful and actual. Sin and sorrow are not dreams. Goodness is not a natural state of moral creatures, so far as we are acquainted with them. It is not probable that falsehood can express with minute fidelity the human passions and their manifold train of consequences. The Bible does express them. That it does this rests upon what to

each individual is indubitable evidence. It is not a subject of argument. It is still possible to allege delusion, but the person who thus alleges is simply an incompetent witness. The Bible expresses the spiritual life. Falsehood cannot do that. Only a real experience, analogous and of similar import, could leave such an index of itself. The index is true. It has been true before. It will be true again. It must be a record of truth.

It would be utterly vain to reason that this argument has a fallacy in it. It has, but the fallacy in the expressed argument is more than made up in the revealed experience. It simply bridges the chasm between the rational power strictly and the revelation which attests divine authority. And sooner or later the index becomes an authority, and an authority of the first order too. And we can say too that the process by which this has come about is a perfectly legitimate one. It has a scientific quality without being in an absolute sense a scientific process. But it carries with it the conviction that the soul at rest is a soul allied to the Bible. If ever afterward the form of the truth changes, and it seems reasonable that it must change, there is, notwithstanding, the same stern conviction and same unbending, uncompromising fidelity to the Word which, whatever its origin, was a Word from God.

THE ANALOGY OF INDEX AND AUTHORITY.

The key to the analogy which we are now seeking to establish is found in Lessing's famous expression, that revelation is the mother, reason is the daughter, and that education is the form of progress for both. We have shown that there are two forms of evidence by which individual men become convinced of the power and moral worth of the Scriptures. We have seen, on the one side, how this evidence becomes, by a developing process, historical and authoritative. We have seen, on the other hand, that along with, and in strict conformity with, this process there is another which, wholly

independent of authoritative direction, builds up for itself a manual of spiritual decisions which afterward become an infallible index to those experiences, and all others like them. How, is now the question, are these related, and what is the effect of their union upon the view of the Bible as a record of events and a final authority?

It is easily seen that we have followed merely the line of inductive reasoning, tracing the steps as they have indicated themselves, making note, step by step, as to what the meaning of each stage on the way might be. We must hold that there is still no rational theory of the world which is not dualistic; that is, God is in the world, but God is not the world. There is a human and there is a divine element in life. If there is a point of union anywhere, that point of union must be the desirable end of human endeavor, and there will be found light to guide and wisdom to direct. In our search for the human element under such a plan as this, we have been led to the Bible because of the historical and philosophic interest which attaches to it as a human production of extraordinary worth and power. On the spiritual side we have been attracted to it by the excellence of its spiritual advice, and the accuracy with which it has responded to our spiritual aspirations. What is there still to be desired? A union which shall show both these processes to be differing sides of the same thing; which shall show our spiritual processes rational, and our rational processes spiritual. It is here that we shall see the Bible in its most excellent aspect.

It is one of the fundamental precepts of the New Testament that redemption is a process of individual effort and personal experience. It is not a question of mediators. Confession and forgiveness is a matter of the soul and God, without human intervention or human aid. This being so, we inquire, What, in the light of it, is the essential difference between the process first described, which resulted in our acceptance of the Bible as an historical authority, and the one last

described, by which we accepted the Bible as a spiritual index? That there are differences, we do not doubt; but what essential difference? A moment's reflection will show that of *essential* differences there are none whatever. In each case we started out with what was a personal question to be solved, for a personal end and the securing of a personal aim. How true this is, may be seen in the enormous differences between the estimates which men make of the same evidences. What is weak to one man is strong to another. The personal equation is the most important factor to be considered. Information for a rational consideration, just like help for a spiritual need, is a matter of personal judgment and individual decision.

The consensus of such judgments by a large number of persons becomes the argument from experience. And the argument from experience becomes with the lapse of time and increasing certitude the voucher for historical truthfulness. The analogy thus indicated is therefore quite clear. The spiritual purely and the rational purely are never so far apart as would seem to be the case, and they are perpetually exercising a reflex influence upon each other which must always be estimated, and upon the correct estimate of which rests the value of every historical judgment and every spiritual analysis. Both processes are allied in the relation of being forms of the same problem. Stated now in precise terms, this analogy may be traced in various ways.

1. History and spiritual experience are both a part of the record of the world's life. They are inseparable parts. The Bible is related to both. It is inseparable from both. As history, it has authority; as index, it offers direction. Both are the necessary conditions of spiritual existence. Just how much this is the case, and to what degree history and experience of spiritual things have at given points in the biblical narratives been combined, is the work of biblical criticism. If any elimination of history results, it simply means that at such a point there is the preponderance of the spiritual emo-

tions. And where we wander over the endless and often barren plains of simple and dry narrative, we have the dominance of the other element. But in either case we have the combination which solves the problem of personal redemption, which is the supreme aim of every revelation. Revelation as mere information is absurd. Revelation as a contribution to the æsthetic taste or the poetic fancy is equally absurd. There is no rationale which is sufficient for a revelation except redemption, in view of the great moral perplexity and the moral necessities of mankind. A record which would contain the most exact and precise statement of facts, and also the most correct and analytic exposition of the human emotions (as any modern psychology does give them), without the impulsive force that comes of the motive of personal redemption is simply an annalistic document without either the insight or the power of the inspired narrative. But when it becomes alive with the touch of the Spirit of God and calls out into being and action the hidden reserves of the human soul, then we call it revelation and look for the manifestation of divine power. Nor are we disappointed in our search. We find gradually that the sifting process separates the temporary and fleeting from the permanent and the eternally true. Both the inquiry for objective and subjective truth are constantly kept up, and in the clearing atmosphere of truth tried and experienced we come into the security of an intelligent and a spiritual faith. Such tests as these have made the Bible the rule and the authority for civilized mankind. Such tests will keep it intact in the ages to come. But the processes of the spirit and those of the rational faculties cannot be divided. They are one. If the index is true, the contents of the volume will be found as represented. When the volume has been searched through, or investigated even in parts only, the thesis is established and we know that we have a Word of God.

2. The analogy is further shown in the preservation of the parallel and relation of the rational and spiritual progress

of the religious life. When the religious life becomes a matter of signs and symbols which can be answered only by reference to the rational powers, then religion strictly has vanished. For the sense of dependence and the sense of mystery which are parts of the religious development are not present in the use of the rational faculties, nor can the ethical life be directed without reference to them. We can see the effect of this view of religion in the utter indifference to the influence of example on the part of the so-called rationalists in religion. The need of self-denial on account of the imperfect development or knowledge of others is never understood by mere rationalists in religion, for the simple reason that, when we consider the ethical act called self-denial, we cannot assign a rational justification for the act. It is simply impossible to justify self-denial or self-renunciation in the court of logic. When all nature calls for self-expression, and when all the forces at work in the world are of a character which educate, that is, draw out from man his resources, great and varied as they are, there can be no justification, by means of logic, of the self-repression which all the Christian world knows as self-denial. The life of Christ, and the life of every martyr in fact, has this same contradictory element in it. It is beyond rational understanding. But when added to the reason is the mystery and the wondrous insight of revelation, these things become not only intelligible, but sublime. Some sights are seen only from the mountain peaks! Of course the man in the valley can argue that they do not exist! He can urge that he has never seen them! He can claim that they are beyond the reach of his imagination, and so they are! He can even prove from his standpoint that they are impossible! And yet there they are to the man on the peak.

It is one of the striking facts about the spiritual influence of the Bible that while demanding in the highest degree the belief in the supernatural, without which by the way it would lose its intelligibility, it has always so preserved the relation

of the spiritual powers of man and the supernaturalism which it required as its necessary background, that it has not only not retarded the rational advance of mankind, but stimulated it in a measure that no other force in the world has done. On the contrary, where men have left the rational supernaturalism of the Bible, they have drifted into the wildest vagaries and the absurdest wanderings of spiritualism imaginable. The famous English deist who could not believe the miracles of the Bible, but could believe that the Lord thundered out of a clear sky his approval of a work against the Bible, is only a type of many such excesses.

The most marvellous of all the effects of the Bible in the direction shown, is just this stimulation of the intellectual life, so that the very inquiries which are most feared by many are the direct fruit of the desire for truth which the Bible inspires. Only, kept in the just relation, and within the parallelism in which the Bible keeps them, there will not only be no clash between the results of rational investigation and spiritual aspiration, but on the contrary the most perfect and enduring harmony.

It is through such a method as this that we find the divine authority of the Bible appearing in stronger terms than ever before. Not shut up to the barren terms of critical statement, but enriched likewise with the wealth and warmth of spiritual fruitfulness, the recasting of the faith and the search for a true underpinning to spiritual endeavor are carried on. It is authority, but it is the authority of a spiritual force, spiritually apprehended. It is an index, but an index understood by the partakers of the experiences which have been interpreted. But out of both it comes a Word of God.

ARTICLE I.

THE ADORATION OF JESUS IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

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[*Concluded from Page 330.*]

II.

It may indeed be questioned whether there are any who are impartial with reference to the subject which we have been treating. The Jews and the Gentiles who from the beginning reproached the Christians with revering a Crucified One as God, can certainly not be called impartial. Among the Gentiles it was a very natural thought, that men should deify a man, and revere him as God. Malicious Jews might easily be believed, when they took occasion to express the expectation that the Christians might some day resolve to honor as divine, instead of the Crucified, some other from among themselves—say a martyr, like Polycarp, under the impulse of the immediate impression made by his heroic death. Thus might Jews scoff, and Gentiles believe.¹ Some centuries had already passed since Greek philosophers had explained that all the gods of Olympus were men by birth and death, who had been deified because of their services to civilization. But such an explanation was the beginning of the end of all serious worship of those gods. The Romans soon became accustomed to having their emperors translated to a place among the gods, immediately after their death. This was connected with very old traditions of the Gentile world. But the

¹ Martyr. Polycarpi xvii. 2. Cf. note 2 *fn.*, p. 317.

way in which it was accomplished, and the ease with which intelligent people accustomed themselves to it, can be accounted for only on the ground that the old religions were dying out. The noble emperor Trajan was praised for not claiming divine titles and honors for himself while yet alive, like some of his predecessors, but waiting patiently to be *made* a god after his death. This expression "to make a god" was apparently used with entire ingenuousness.¹ We possess a description of the ceremonies, with which at the end of the second century this so-called apotheosis was consummated. While the body of the emperor was buried in the earth, a wax figure representing the deceased with the utmost fidelity, had to take his place, and to be made the centre of pantomimic solemnities lasting several days. When finally, at the close, the wax figure was burned on a costly funeral pile, an eagle fastened there was let loose, in order that it might ascend to heaven with the flames. The narrator adds: "Of this eagle, the Romans believe that it bears the soul of the emperor from the earth to heaven, and from that moment they worship that soul with the rest of the gods."² We will not ask how many of the Romans really believed this; but we may confidently affirm that no human being in the wide Roman empire ever called on these emperor-gods in his distress. Even the official style of the writer shows no trace, yea no semblance, of serious adoration. Any belief that these new-made gods could bring down a special blessing on the commonwealth, or on its subjects, was out of the question. We possess a solemn panegyric on the emperor Trajan, which Pliny, whom we mentioned at the beginning, pronounced before the assembled Senate in the emperor's presence.³ It might be compared with the sermon which a Christian court

¹ Plin. Panegyric. 35; Vell. Patern. hist. rom. ii. 126: "non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum."

² Herodianus iv. 2.

³ The so-called Panegyricus, especially chap. lxxxix., xciv.; cf. chap. i.

preacher is expected to deliver on the birthday of his monarch, in his hearing. The orator rises in one place to an invocation of Nerva, now translated among the stars, the predecessor and father by adoption of the emperor who was present. But he has only this to say to the emperor-god in heaven: that it must be a real joy to him that his successor on earth is still better than himself. In truth the emperor on earth, who was still a man, occupied a higher place, and received more respect, than the deified ex-emperor in heaven! The prayer for the health of the emperor and for the weal of the empire, which the consul worthily voices at the close, is not addressed to the new-made quasi-god, but to the good old gods, especially to Jupiter, the castellan and warder of eternal Rome.

When we turn from this picture of heathen deification of men, back to the worshippers of the living God, to the Jewish people, and to the Christian church which grew up in their midst, we find there a unanimous verdict of condemnation on everything that has any relation or likeness to such worship of men, either living or dead. The fact that the worship of the emperor was not seriously meant, but was only a ceremony, which gave symbolic expression to the inviolable majesty of the empire, of Rome's universal sway;—that fact did not find acceptance as an excuse, in the eyes of the Jews and of the early Christians. The blasphemy was not lessened by the frivolousness with which it was uttered. When in the years 38 and 39 A. D. altars were erected on the soil of Palestine and at Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, who had just ascended the throne, and images of him were set up by the populace even in the Jewish synagogues, a cry of indignation was heard throughout the Jewish world. And when later, Caligula, in order to break down the stubbornness of the Jews, gave command to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem by force of arms, it came very near bringing on at that time the bloody conflict which thirty years

later ended in the destruction of Jerusalem. It was not the idea that such an emperor as Caligula, but the fact that any human being, should require from those who "know what they worship" divine honor, which roused the death-defying anger of all Jews.

And the Christians in Palestine, with the missionaries who thence carried the gospel to the Gentiles, were Jews, genuine Israelites in this respect. But this includes all those with whose adoration of Jesus we are now concerned. It was part of their tradition that Jesus fully and completely accepted the fundamental article of the Israelite creed, faith in the one God, alone to be worshipped.¹ They preached this tenet to those who did not yet know it; and their constant contact with heathenism, more than their continued connection with Israel² and with its worship, kept alive the conviction that every divine honor paid to the creature instead of the Creator, or beside the Creator, was an exchange of truth for a lie, a crime which invoked God's wrath, and for all religious men, an abomination.³ When the seer, John, once and again was about to fall down in adoration before the angel who showed him the visions of the Apocalypse, he received each time the warning: "See thou do it not: I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren; worship God" (xix. 10; xxii. 9). On the other hand, before the Lord Jesus he prostrates himself, and hears only words of encouragement, in order that he may not die from fear of the adorable majesty of him who ever liveth (i. 17 f.). Jesus in laying his hands in blessing and tranquillizing power upon the head of his worshipper, only confirms the long-standing usage of the church. But precisely because the Christians were conscious that they adored as God, a Lord who had died as men

¹ Matt. iv. 10; Mark xii. 28-34; John xvii. 3.

² Cf. the fragment of a dialogue between a Jew and a Jewish Christian, Jas. ii. 18 f.

³ Rom. i. 25; Acts xiv. 11-15; xvii. 16; I John v. 20 f.

die, was their abhorrence intensified for all heathen deification of men. This seemed to them a satanic caricature of the most holy truth, an antichristianity. It is not generally known, but can be clearly proven, that Christians of the second century found in the mysterious number, which in the Apocalypse expresses the name of Antichrist, the name of Caligula, "Gaios Kaiser," and allowed themselves to alter the number to correspond.¹ And it can hardly be doubted that even Paul drew his picture of Antichrist under the memorable impression of that emperor's sacrilegious crime (2 Thess. ii. 4). The question renews itself: "How can we explain it that the Christian Israelites, to whom every deification of the creature was an abomination, worshipped Jesus, whom they had seen live and die as a human being? It would not be answering the question, but evading it, and artificially postponing the answer, if one should say: They were far removed from the heathen idea, that they could or dared make a human being into a god, though he were the holiest and most glorious of all men; but they were convinced that God had exalted Jesus out of the lowliness of human life to divine dignity, and made him Lord in heaven. For, apart from the fact that the heathen also had similar beliefs, so far as they were at all serious in their worship of the heroes,² where else, but in the belief and thought of the disciples, existed that divine act of exalting Jesus to the throne of God? How did it come into their thought? But that is only, in other words, the question to which we are seeking the answer. Nor is it any answer thereto, but only a rejection of false answers, when we affirm that for Christian Jews it was unthinkable that one could be god in the sense of being an object of wor-

¹ Cf. my *Apokalyptische Studien*, *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1885, p. 568 ff.

² Even a Pliny says (*Panegy.*, chap. xi.) to Trajan, in contrast to his more frivolous predecessors: "Thou hast translated thy father (Nerva) among the stars, not in order to frighten the citizens, not in order to offend the gods, not to honor thyself, but because thou believest in him as God."

ship, who had become such only in the course of time. A new god, one come into being, not to say "a made god," was to them at least as much a self-contradiction as to ourselves. God does not come into being; God is, God was, and God will be. Just this was implied concerning Jesus, as often as he was addressed in prayer.

Nor is this by any means only our inference, but the express confession of the first Christian generation. The same Revelation of John, which so absolutely forbids all adoration, not only of the idols of the present and of the last days, but of the good heavenly spirits as well, gives also the sufficient explanation of the fact that to the slain Lamb is due identical and equal adoration, with that due to the Father, from all creatures in heaven and on the earth (v. 13). This is no deification of the creature, because Jesus is in the fundamental element of his person no creature, but the beginning of every creature, the eternal source of all coming into being, and of all that has come into being (iii. 14). Before him, man may and must fall down and worship, since he can testify of himself that which the God of Israel has asserted of himself through the prophets, and that which this same book of Revelation (i. 8; xxi. 6) says of the almighty Father: "I am the First and the Last, the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End" (i. 17; ii. 8; xxii. 13). But these are not special disclosures, which were vouchsafed to a single apostle. In this respect there is no difference between what John asserts here, or in the beginning of his Gospel and of his First Epistle, and that which is incidentally and variously expressed by Paul and other apostles. Paul also knows that he who is now a Lord, rich unto all that call on him, was once poor; and that he existed in the form of God, before and when he emptied himself of his possessions in power and glory, and took upon him the form of a servant.¹ This, as the common belief of Christians in the early days, is attested by

¹ 2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 6f.

all the passages where Christ is represented as personally participating in the creation of the world, and in the events of the history of the Old Testament revelation.¹

The supposition that the apostolic church ever saw in Christ nothing but a deified human being, has no historical evidence in its favor, and is excluded by the fact that from the beginning he was not glorified as the first of the redeemed, but adoringly addressed with the Father as the only Redeemer, as God and Saviour, as source of salvation and grace for sinful men. And if we should read anywhere, that which indeed is nowhere to be found, that God had made him to be a God worthy of adoration, then we should not be able to interpret this otherwise than Peter's saying: "that God hath made him both Lord and Christ" (Acts ii. 36). For there it is not meant that during his earthly life he was not yet the Christ, or, not yet a Lord, but only that God has now raised him to a position and transfigured him to a glorified form of life, in which he can manifest himself to his church as the Lord and the Christ which he was before. This is all self-evident to those who have not only grown up in the faith of the church, but also by their contact with extrachristian thought have in the end ever renewed the strength of their conviction, that this faith of the earliest church will also be the faith of the latest church, and that this faith, together with the church, will be carried safely through all storm and strife into another world, where the enigmas will be explained, and all the fragments of human knowledge will give place to the vision of the truth we have believed. But not all are so happy; and it is thoroughly comprehensible, it is not by any means a phenomenon only of these more modern times, that some Christians should no longer recognize in the original forms of Christian worship, which date from its early days, the appropriate expression for their personal faith, and yet have not

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16-18; Heb. i. 2, 10; John i. 3.—1 Cor. x. 4, 9; 1 Pet. i. 11; John xii. 41.

the courage to create entirely new forms for a new faith. The friends of the old-fashioned faith should not be very much astonished nor very much excited at this. The case becomes grievous only when the new-fashioned Christians, who existed, as has been said, just as really in the first centuries of the church as in its nineteenth, begin by falsifying the facts of the history of Christianity, and then, with a supercilious air and a tone of superior knowledge, proceed to explain these facts according to their own views.

In this way they represent the belief in the personal and eternal deity of Jesus, testimonies to which are met with in the most different writers of the New Testament, as the fruit of the theological or philosophical thought of certain individuals. It is true Paul was a pupil of the rabbins before he became a teacher of the faith of the Christians, and there are not wanting in his epistles traces of his rabbinic education. In itself it would be conceivable, that in the years of waiting and preparation which he spent at Tarsus after his conversion, he might have tried to express his new-found faith in Jesus, the Lord of glory, in the forms of Jewish theological thought. Jewish theology was inclined to conceive of and represent the activities, attributes, and self-manifestations of Deity as distinct personal beings, and on the other hand to ascribe an eternal existence to that which shows itself influential in the sacred history. God's Wisdom, Word, Glory, are spoken of as if they were persons; and even the Law, which was given through Moses, is said to have existed with God, before the creation of the world. But where does a trace of these ideas appear in the utterances of Paul concerning the eternity and divinity of the person of Jesus? There can be no question of a system original with Paul, in connection with which the person of Jesus was exalted above its historic position, and above the estimate hitherto placed on it in the church. Thoroughly unsystematic are the utterances of Paul concerning the eternal deity of Christ; for there is found with

them the ancient Israelite belief in the One and Only God, beside whom there is none other, without any reconciliation between the two.¹ It is not to be supposed that his thought was so unconnected, or, to express it more correctly, the acute Christian rabbi was hardly so unthinking, as not to become aware of the formal contradiction involved in speaking in the same breath of the one God and of the one Lord, who indeed is also a God worthy of adoration. But his faith in Christ was so little a result of scholastic thought, that he never betrays any sense of need to reconcile together in thought and word that which had been from the first a part of the faith of the church; the solitariness of God, and the eternal deity of the Saviour.

Stress has been laid on the fact that Paul never expresses his knowledge of the eternity of the person of Jesus in a formal manner and with a didactic purpose, but always in a merely incidental way. But what conclusion can we draw from this, other than that he did not view this as a new, higher knowledge, which had dawned upon him, and therefore needed to be didactically explained as a novelty to other Christians? It is precisely the way in which Paul everywhere speaks on this subject, even when he is addressing Christians whom he has not instructed, which forms the conclusive proof that he assumes the same knowledge on the part of all worshippers of Jesus. In this assumption he could not be mistaken, and was not. We found the same knowledge and the same formal self-contradiction in the book of Revelation, whose author was at all events not a pupil of Paul. It is clear, therefore, also, that Paul cannot have been the originator of a theological development, whose result was the general belief of the second generation of Christians in the personal and eternal deity of Christ. Our historical view concerns the first generation, especially the Jewish Christians of Palestine and their leaders, James, the Lord's brother, Peter,

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6; Eph. iv. 5 f.; Rom. iii. 29; Gal. iii. 20.

John. It would be absurd to suppose that these men exchanged their original conception of Christ, embodied in the preaching and teaching, in the worship, and in the entire vocabulary of the church, for another essentially different, which had originated in some speculative brain. Such a speculation could have met with nothing but opposition from them. And the New Testament could not fail to show distinct traces of a discord in the estimate of the person of Jesus, if on this subject there had been a development proceeding through the clashing of opposing views. Nor was Paul the man to obliterate or to hide such opposition. But he testifies that even the hostile Jewish-Christian teachers, who were to him a thorn in the eye, preach no other Jesus than he proclaims.¹ All this simply confirms that which was presented to us at the beginning, in the fact that, even before the conversion of Paul, the Christians worshipped Jesus.

If this attitude of the church to her Lord was in any respect the result of a development, it can only have been a development which was practically finished at Pentecost. Only the personal work and teaching of Jesus can have brought to pass in the hearts of his disciples this development, or let us rather say, this revolution in their religious thought, which found its highest expression, but yet one entirely natural, in the worship of Jesus. We might indeed say: the same Spirit, which seized them with irresistible power, so that "Abba, dear Father" broke forth from the hearts of all believers as a cry of nature, also impelled them beyond the range of their own knowledge and understanding to cry: "Lord Jesus, help!" There is some truth in this. But it would be superstitious, and contradict historic truth, to imagine such working of the Spirit as unconnected with the teaching of Jesus. Jesus himself had said: "The Spirit shall glorify me, for he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you." He would "bring to their remembrance all that Jesus had said to them." To abide

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 4; cf. Phil. i. 15-18; Col. iv. 11.

in the word of Jesus, in his sayings, was the command on whose fulfilment all true discipleship was to depend. And "disciples," that is pupils, remained for a long time one of the names by which the worshippers of Jesus called themselves. Paul, also, who had not himself heard the teaching of Jesus, recognizes the authority of no other gospel except "Christ's gospel," that is "Jesus' preaching."¹ That which is not essentially contained therein, that which does not follow the line of the "gospel of God" first preached by Christ, and cannot evince itself as an amplification and application thereof, required by circumstances, is regarded by him, as by the other apostles, as a caricature of Christian teaching.

But just when we clearly grasp this, arises a difficulty in our subject. The "Abba" which the Spirit teaches the children of God to say, has its firm foundation in the teaching of Jesus; for from the beginning he taught his disciples to set forth before God, as their Heavenly Father, all their petitions in few words. Prayer to *Jesus* appears not to have an equally solid basis in his teaching. Yet it is certain, in the first place, that Jesus did not confine himself to purifying the prayers of his disciples from the distortion and degeneracy prevalent in his day, from pharisaic boastfulness before God and men, and from heathen babbling. Their prayer was to be wholly new. Though Jesus in the Lord's Prayer, in the pattern of prayer which he gave his disciples, follows Jewish forms, yet it was a new relation to God, one founded by Jesus, which should find expression in all the praying as in all the conduct of his

¹ The incorrectness of the translation "gospel about Christ" (Gal. i. 7; Rom. i. 9; xv. 19; 1 Cor. ix. 12; 2 Cor. ii. 12; ix. 13; x. 14; Phil. i. 27; 1 Thess. iii. 2), or "preaching about Christ" (Rom. xvi. 25), or "testimony about Christ" (1 Cor. i. 6), or even "word about Christ" (Col. iii. 16), and "teaching about Christ" (2 John 9), is evident from the comparison with "gospel," "testimony," "of God" (Rom. i. 1; xv. 16; 2 Cor. xi. 7; 1 Thess. ii. 2, 8, 9; 1 Pet. iv. 17; 1 Cor. ii. 1). It is evident further from the fact that, where Christ is to be designated as object of the preaching, other constructions are used (Rom. i. 3; 1 John i. 1 *fn.*). Even Mark i. 1 means the gospel first preached by Jesus; cf. Mark i. 14; Heb. ii. 3; iii. 1.

disciples. Not as members of the people, which God had called his first-born son, but as disciples of Jesus, who had called them as individuals to the kingdom of God, his Father, were they to know and worship God as their Father. It was a new thing in Israel, that an individual, like Jesus, should say to God "my Father," and that individuals should be spoken to of God as "thy Father," as Jesus spoke to his disciples. But above all was it new, that men were now to stand, on the ground of their relation to another man, in a nearer and more intimate relation to God, than the most pious members of the Jewish church who had known nothing of Jesus.

Now if prayer is the most direct expression of religion, this new religion must utter itself in a new kind of prayer. This prayer must express not only the emancipation of religion from national limitations, and its consequent elevation of character as a personal relation to God, but also, and with equal emphasis, the mediation of this new relation to God through Jesus. Neither the one nor the other appears in the Lord's Prayer. That prayer every Israelite could pray, and Israelites who wholly ignored Jesus have prayed in a very similar manner. When Jesus, however, instructed his disciples to concentrate all their petitions into this prayer, this is only one example of the fact that he wished to show them, by word and deed, how to fill the forms of Jewish piety with spirit and truth, and make use of them "in spirit and in truth." The Lord's Prayer was not yet the new prayer of the new church. Still Jesus did not leave it to the natural development of the germ planted in the hearts of those who revered him, to produce spontaneously the kind of prayer appropriate to their religious position, but gave his disciples express instructions in this direction. He instructed them to pray in his name, and attached special promises to this new kind of prayer. Where he, according to the gospel tradition, repeatedly and emphatically referred to the prayer of the disciples in his name, namely in the discourses of the last evening when

he was with them, he expressly calls attention to the fact that this is to be for them a new, hitherto untried way of communion with God, and indeed a way so perfect that it will not cease in the glorious future, when the disciples will no longer stand in need of teaching through Jesus, nor even of the intercession of Jesus, because they have become worthy in themselves of the love and favor of God, by reason of their faith and love steadfast to the end (John xvi. 23-27). On the other hand, we notice that Jesus, the same evening, shortly before the sayings cited, speaks of the future prayer in his name as something long known or self-evident (xiv. 13 f.; xv. 16). It agrees with this, that, according to another source, Jesus at an earlier time assumes it as self-evident, that when two or three shall after his departure gather for united prayer, they will gather for his name's sake, in his name (Matt. xviii. 19 f.). According to this, Jesus must have spoken long before of the relation of the church to him, and of its nature after his departure, so that prayer in his name came to be regarded as the natural and self-evident expression of this relation.

“To pray in the name of Jesus” means indeed nothing else but to call upon God with invocation of Christ, and in the consciousness of belonging to him. So the utterance of the name of Jesus in prayer means something entirely different from the mention of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by Elijah in his prayer (1 Kings xviii. 36). They were great men of the past, who had no active part in the present. Great things had God done for and through them, and the memory of these divine acts strengthens the faith of the later-born petitioner of their race. But they have finished their service, and cannot help their posterity. “Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us” (Isa. lxiii. 16). Jesus, on the other hand, laid claim to the whole future till the end of the world, for himself and for his active working. Death and the grave are to him only the

transition to an activity increased in scope and power in the church and in the world. The worshippers who assemble for his name's sake, and call on God in his name, know from his own words two things, which essentially differentiate their relation to him from any reciprocal communion of dead and living men. They know, first, that Jesus only since his resurrection and ascension to God is possessed of his full life and power, that he is actively participating in God's government of the world, and that he specially intercedes with his Father for his church. And, second, they know from his words that only now, since he was exalted, he can and will fully give them his presence, that he will be with them and their work as constant ally, and especially that when they pray he will tarry invisible in their midst.¹ And therefore their praying in his name is not the naming of one who *was*, but of a living one, and not of one who is absent, but of a present Lord.

Now from this it is a self-evident result that those who pray in the name of Jesus to God, pray also as well to Jesus. It would be unendurable to think of Jesus as being with God as his co-regent and as intercessor for the church, and also as present in the assembly of the worshippers, and yet to believe that prayers spoken in his presence to God, would not reach his heart as the cry and petition of his own disciples. That prayer in the name of Jesus would rather by an inner necessity shape itself as prayer to Jesus, Jesus himself said, at the time when, according to the existing tradition, he first expressly and emphatically treated the subject. When he says: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son" (John xiv. 13), this implies that Jesus will regard the prayer addressed to the Father in his name, as addressed to himself; for not of the Father, but of himself, he says that he will fulfil those petitions. But while here this idea is only incidentally disclosed, and the main emphasis is laid on the fact that all such prayers

¹ Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 18, 20; John xii. 32; xiv. 16; xv. 4 f.; xvi. 7.

shall find fulfilment, Jesus in the next verse proceeds to say: "If ye shall ask *me* anything in my name, that will I do."¹ That Jesus does not himself instruct his disciples to set forth, after his going to God, their petitions in prayer to himself as well as to the Father, but on the contrary allows this to come in unnoticed, as a self-evident consequence of their relation to him, is the strongest proof that prayer to Jesus was not the result of theological reflection in the first or second Christian generation, but the necessary expression of the religious life created by Jesus in his disciples.

And yet we have not explained how it was that in the whole number of the Israelites who became believers in Jesus, the objections already mentioned against any adoration of another beside God, should have been so completely overcome that we cannot discover the slightest trace of them in the original documents of early Christianity. They could have been overcome only by clear and reiterated testimony of Jesus concerning his relation to God, such as would present the adoration of the man Jesus not as a religious aberration, but as the most fervent way of adoring God. But this is not only a postulate, which results from reasoning back from the adoration of Jesus to its cause, it is also part of the tradition. The same Gospel of John, which alone clearly witnesses that Jesus expected from his disciples prayer in his name and prayer to him, tells us also of such utterances of Jesus as alone give sufficient ground for that prayer, if they were really spoken by Jesus, and are founded on the truth. In this Gospel alone does Jesus speak plainly, and at last

¹ The genuineness of the well-attested reading $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ is evident on the following grounds: 1. It would seem very unnatural beside "in my name." 2. The $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$ in the conclusion, which is more strongly attested than the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ not only by the same authorities, but also by others, presupposes the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ in the condition. 3. Without these pronouns verse 14 is after verse 13 a purposeless tautology. That which is new in the second sentence is precisely that Jesus now characterizes the prayer as one addressed to himself, and that he in this connection now first emphasizes the fact that he whom his own disciples address, will answer their petition by his action.

“without a parable,” of his origin from the heavenly world, to which through death and ascension he returns. There he speaks of his being before Abraham was, and of the glory which he had with the Father before the world was. On the other side, it is precisely in this Gospel that no line is wanting in the picture of a truly human life of the Son of God, in subordination to God, in gradually developing knowledge, purpose, and action, in experience of human suffering and sympathy for it, also in the cultivation of human friendship. But all this is enclosed within the circle of the eternal divine life of this unique personality. From this point of view it becomes also more comprehensible, than it would be otherwise, how a man who proclaims the truth to men (John viii. 40) could require as conditions of salvation a faith in himself, a love to himself, a dependence on himself, an abiding in himself; how he could teach that all religion and morality which had been before him must develop into joyful allegiance to him, yea, to an honoring of the Son, which should correspond to the honoring of the Father.¹ The accusation of blasphemy he denied as often as it was put forward; but he did this without taking back one of those sayings, which were certainly blasphemies if they were not true. And he could repel the accusation, because he knew that any honor which he might receive would not at all encroach on the honor paid to God, but, like his own work and teaching, would redound to the glorification of the Father. At the end of the book which narrates these things stands the risen Jesus, and before him the doubter, Thomas, who, shamed and conquered, can only stammer: “My Lord and my God.” The Gospel which ends thus tells us how the adoration of Jesus originated. He who regards this Gospel, for this reason, as untrustworthy, as many do, robs himself of the principal means of explaining the common belief of the early Christians.

It is true that the first three Gospels also contain enough

¹ John iii. 21; v. 23; vi. 35, 45; xiv. 1; xv. 1-8.

that implies the same background which the fourth Gospel reveals. There, too, Jesus speaks of himself as in fact no human being before or after him has spoken of himself. That which he there says of his central position in God's kingdom, and of his mediatorship between God and men, enduring till the end of the ages, can be judged only in three ways. We must either find it inconsistent with the well-attested humility and piety of Jesus, that he should have claimed to be the Christ, the Son of God in a unique sense, the Saviour and Judge of all men, and must therefore reject the witness of these Gospels also, in the most essential points. Or, we must allow weight to this historical testimony, and explain the claims of Jesus, which far exceed all that is possible to man, by the supposition that he was of unsound mind, was affected with the illusion of greatness, as has been seriously maintained more than once, even in our own day. Or, finally, we must not only allow weight to this historical testimony, but also permit ourselves to be convinced by the true witness who speaks therein. Perhaps the confession of those who content themselves with the testimony of the first three Gospels, need not be essentially different from the confession of Thomas. We see even in these Gospels preparations for the subsequent adoration of the exalted Jesus being made during his earthly life. For the disciples go far beyond the reverence paid in the East to kings and lords, when, having seen Jesus walking on the waves of the lake, they fall down before him and say: "Of a truth thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). At the end of Matthew's Gospel we read that the disciples knelt before the risen Lord. But we learn also that "some doubted," and we are not told that this doubt was overcome. This is a symbol of the incompleteness of the testimony of these Gospels, of their insufficiency for the needs of those who are to believe without seeing. Had the church then been confined, or remained for ever confined, to those reminiscences and traditions which are preserved in the first three Gospels,

there would not only have been sensible gaps in her historical knowledge of Jesus, but also doubts would have remained and have constantly reappeared, such as cannot be overcome by religious contemplation and the mere inferences of a ready faith. But doubt is an enemy of prayer. Were that which the fourth Gospel narrates as word and deed of Jesus, unhistorical, or had its contents remained a secret known to few, without influence on the faith of the whole church, then the adoration of Jesus by the early church would not only be historically incomprehensible, but also essentially unjustifiable. Jesus would have had no true disciples, for those who so called themselves would not have been "abiding in his word." But this is incredible. Incredible, because the personal disciples of Jesus desired and would accept no other Master, except him who had blessed them with happiness, and recognized no higher authority than his words. To their faithful memory, and to their own and their pupils' record, we owe all our knowledge of Jesus, and also our acquaintance with those words of the Master by which we measure the right of his disciples to call themselves such. They stand the test, if we do not arbitrarily lower the standard.

When we to-day address Jesus as our living God and Saviour, with the church in her most fervent songs and prayers, or when we stand with our children round the well-spread table, and, folding our hands, say: "Come, Lord Jesus, be our guest," we may feel ourselves united with those whom Jesus himself taught to pray. Though we may deem ourselves, in comparison with those highly favored men, weak in faith and poor in experience, yet we can certainly utter a heart-felt "Kyrie eleison"; and though our restless and eager hearts should often receive no other answer than this: "My grace is sufficient for thee," yet even this is an answer for which it is worth while to pray.

ARTICLE III.

A NEW METHOD WITH AN OLD PROBLEM.

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IF we take care not to hold the Bible responsible for doctrines which it does not expressly teach, then we are quite at liberty to offer as more or less probable other doctrines inferred from these. More still, we may ask help from the current philosophy and science in exploring the nature of the biblical facts. A better science or philosophy than that of a former day may improve our theology. This article proposes a new method with an old problem, because it would make full trial of an accepted doctrine of science.

Which holds the primacy, justice or benevolence? It may seem a narrow issue; but thin blades cut deep, and the answer to this question is the real answer to a great part of the questions by which, ostensibly, the church has been distracted. It was a conviction on this point that led Anselm to protest against, and enabled him to overthrow, the unworthy fancy of Origen, that Christ was given over as a ransom to Satan; an opinion on this theme divided Bernard from Abelard, Scotus from Aquinas, Socinians from Lutherans and Calvinists, Calvinists from Arminians, rent American Presbyterianism into Old School and New, set Princeton against the Andover of Dr. Park, and in our day defines to popular apprehension the issue between the old and the new theology. There is only a theory to offer; but, unless one can keep his mind clear of all theory, he needs a definite view on this point; otherwise he cannot hold coherent opinions on the perennial issues of all Christian generations.

And it has been a difference on this point which embittered the debates. Not only because the issue is fundamental, but because it is an issue on which different minds are radically disqualified from seeing alike. To some it has seemed to give us one or another God. Wesley went as far in this as Channing, and both refused to worship the God of the Calvinist,—a God to whom justice was necessary, and mercy optional. The question can never lose its interest until Christians cease to think, and they have not yet given sign that they will ever stop thinking on this matter.

And yet it is not one of those problems about the Most High which it is absurd to attempt. True, the attributes of God are infinite, and we cannot foresee what his infinite attributes will lead him to do. But the infinite is a factor in every term of the equation; it may therefore be cancelled out, leaving, as the subject of inquiry, the nature and relations of the moral attributes holiness, benevolence, and justice. These are exactly the same in man as in God. Differing between God and man in quantity, they are identical in quality. The theological problem resolves into an ethical problem, as to which we need not despair of gaining further insight.

We need not despair, although the debate has run so long, because we can bring a means of analysis which has not a great while been available, and which is confessedly so potent that it has been thought too hazardous for use by any except the reckless. This relatively new means of resolving the moral attributes into their elements is found in the scientific conception of law. Familiar as its use has become in the evolutionist school of ethics, its service has not been fully drawn upon for the theological aspects of ethical problems.

Law is order of facts. To science, this is all. Science cannot complicate her statement of facts or law with any notion of cause; for in the physical world cause is efficient force, and force is utterly undiscoverable to the appliances of physical science. The closest approach which science can make

to causation is the purely phenomenal relation of invariable sequence. Science does not even know substance; she knows only phenomena. Matter is to science, what Mill called it, only a "permanent possibility of sensation." I have said that science knows only phenomena, meaning that scientific men say so, and we have no need to take issue with them on this point. But it is clear that some philosophy underlies any study of phenomena; and the philosophy germane to science is realistic. Science takes for granted that she does not deal with mere ideas, or with phenomenal symbols of fact, but with fact, with things. Philosophy affords to science force as the cause of change, and matter as the subject of change. Law as defined by science may accordingly be further elucidated by philosophy, as an order of facts determined by the nature of the facts. The phenomenal order which the student of science calls law, is really the characteristic, the inherent quality, of the facts which he studies.

Now this observation, that law, or order of facts, is another aspect of the quality, or characteristic nature, of things, indicates the use to which the idea of law may be put in theological inquiry. In accepting this notion, theology finds herself forbidden to regard the order or law of the object which she studies as merely attached to it by the divine will, and changeable at the divine discretion. She accepts law as inherent in the object, as an expression of its innermost nature; theology is therefore obliged to reject any theory as less than thoroughgoing, as not even presumably correct, which is anything else than an exposition of law. The normal alone is the credible in God's ways. We may be sure that, in dealing with his creatures, he never violates his own laws, and therefore never does anything not provided for in the natures of the beings with whom he deals. Even the transcendent operations of atonement and regeneration are provided for in the natures of the beings concerned, or they would be impracticable.

For beings who choose their way, for beings that can recognize the moral element in the normal, that is, for all rational beings, the normal, and only the normal, can be right. We ought to use our faculties, because we have faculties; and we ought to use them according to their nature, because they have a nature. Every sin is therefore essentially a crime against nature. It is an evil which cannot be further analyzed, and does not need further analysis. Unhappily we are not so constituted as to be able always to fulfil all our functions. The physical has to yield to the mental; the mental employment to the domestic or social; this, it may be, to the physical; all to the patriot's function, in time of war, and even this last to the duty which the missionary must expatriate himself in order to fulfil. In any case, when choice between functions has to be made, the highest ought to be chosen. It then becomes the function of reason to know which is the highest; and when reason so decides, the normal is still the right, the law is still the order of facts which is prescribed by the nature of the facts. To follow reason is not only normal, but it is the highest order of the normal, it connotes man's place in the same class of being with angels and with God.

The morally good, as interpreted by the scientific idea of law, is just the normal, the conformable to constitutive law in rational beings. Moral acts are not acts of a special faculty, and of no other, as are those we call intellectual, emotional, volitional. The moral is sheer quality inhering in the relations to law of a rational being, whatever the faculty in exercise may be. It is doubtful whether, in the last analysis, any normal conduct of such a being can be called morally indifferent; it is certain that any abnormal conduct is morally bad. What help do we thus get toward understanding what holiness is?

Moral purity is the absence of the abnormal, freedom from anything in character or conduct contrary to the typical constitution of man as a rational being. But holiness is much

more. Purity or innocence is negative; holiness is positive. It is unalterable and supreme conformity to law, in the scientific meaning of the term. If a somewhat figurative statement may be allowed, holiness is moral excellence persisted in with all the energy of which a moral being is capable. With God it is moral excellence persisted in with infinite energy, as of infinite worth. This distinction between the negative and positive forms of moral goodness enables us to answer the question, whether finite beings can ever equal God in moral goodness. They may be as free from fault, that is, as pure as he; but they cannot be as holy, because they cannot guard their normality with infinite energy. The holiness of God is unapproachable. As the Temanite said of a higher order of beings than we are, "His angels he chargeth with folly," surely meaning no more than that their wisdom was but as folly to his wisdom; so any righteousnesses even of the innocent, when compared with God's righteousness, "are but as filthy rags."

Normality then in a rational being is *the objective fact* of conformity between the dispositions and conduct of such a being and the constitutive laws of his nature, while holiness is the *moral aspect* of persistent normality. It is moral excellence *per se*. As such it is a characteristic shared by all other moral attributes, such as benevolence and mercy, justice and veracity; but it is not the sum of those attributes. *They* are attributes of relation; *this* is an attribute of being. Holiness must therefore hold the primacy over all other moral attributes in God. Among moral excellences none can be more excellent than moral excellence.

Holiness, as interpreted by the idea of law, has also an important relation to all the divine attributes. It is not indeed the sum of them, for they contain non-moral elements. Eternity, immensity and spirituality, omnipotence and omniscience, are something else than moral, and the sum of their non-moral elements does not make them a moral perfection.

At the same time they are perfections, and they are distinctively divine. To impair either of them would be wickedness too awful to harbor in our imagination. Holiness insists upon their maintenance. In its relation to the other attributes of the Most High it may be regarded as the moral instinct of self-preservation. There is thus much of justification for the frequent definition of holiness as "wholeness"; not that it is the entirety of God, as holiness is not even normality; for it is not a merely objective reality; but it is a moral quality inherent in wholeness as normal.

From this supreme excellence, which claims the worship, the love, the obedience to God of all rational beings, and the due recognition of which gives to Christian monotheism its throne in the convictions of those who have accepted it, we turn to the attribute which makes the thought of the divine holiness endurable to us sinners; and we ask, whether the conception of law which is furnished by modern science will give us insight into the love of God. For benevolence is the best name we have for that attribute of the divine essence which is revealed in the sentiment, or emotional movement, that we call love. Benevolence is literally well-wishing; but well-wishing is *an act* of the divine mind; and we must sacrifice something of etymological strictness in adopting the word "benevolence" as a name for the quality of the divine nature described by the adjective "benevolent." The real nature of this attribute is best explored by making its exponent love the immediate object of study. Here the idea of law is at once available.

Love, from the lowest to the highest reach of it, from mere liking for physical objects to absorption in spiritual things, from self-recollection to self-forgetfulness,—love in all its forms and in all cases is essentially a native impulse to fulfil functions. One may be as willing to admit this concerning appetites as to deny it of social and religious love. Yet it is to this result that the idea of law leads; and in so lead-

ing, this idea affords the only rational justification of love; that is, the only indication of its place in that organism of powers and functions which constitutes a sentient being. The idea of law calls attention to organs and their offices. It sees in their use the only possible, the only worthy, end of being. If love can be accredited with the office of securing the discharge of all normal offices, it is certain that love is not thus belittled; it is certain that it is exalted to the highest thinkable relation toward the active powers of a sentient creature, or even of the Creator himself. Further analysis ought to make this plain.

To confine our attention, for the sake of simplicity, to man and his Maker, a personal being has self-regarding and social faculties. That is to say, he has powers the office of which is tributary to himself, and other powers the office of which makes for him a place in the lives of other persons. All these powers are his to employ, and the moral value of their exercise is exactly proportioned to the rank they or their objects severally hold. It is not the highest duty of a man to look after his own interests, but it is one of his duties, because it is one of his functions. Furthermore, his self-regarding faculties normally make the first claim upon his attention, for on their employment his existence and the use of his higher powers depend. Self-love incites him to self-service, that is, to discharge of his self-regarding offices or functions. Well for him that a liking for food, if we shrink from calling the impulse to eat a sort of love, well for him that a relish for this fleshly office does not deduct as much from his enjoyment as it does from his time! Well for him if he likes, that is to say, loves, the employment of his mental powers which we call study; and if he has a relish, an inward driving toward those spiritual exercises by which he gains spiritual good. The office of love as a native appetency for fulfilling self-regarding functions is as normal, as strictly lawful, as any longing which the soul can feel.

But we have also social faculties, and nature happily supplies an impulse toward their activity. This impulse is love to others. If studied from the point of view which the idea of law furnishes, its phenomena are found to be very curious, and as consistent in origin as they seem to be incongruous in result. The first of all the social powers in a rational being is reason itself, the ability to take account of foundation truths. Reason teaches us that in others, as in ourselves, the self-regarding faculties are of primary importance, if not of highest rank. What is the corresponding dictate of love? It is the peculiarly rational desire that those we love should discharge for themselves any practicable self-regarding offices. We would not have them fail to look out for themselves, so far as this is their normal office. In our relations with the poor, experience proves that it is emphatically in their interest to turn them back, so far as practicable, upon their own resources; and what experience has proved, the idea of law shows to be the primary dictate of love. Experience recommends it as wise; the idea of law enjoins it as normal. In like manner, one who loves God sincerely and deeply, wishes that God himself should use his self-regarding faculties, that he should get for himself all the good suitable to him, all which his own nature provides for. The truly pious spirit longs that God should come to his own, should provide for his own interest as the noblest aim for the universe, the only aim fit to be supreme with God himself. If the self-regarding faculties are not the highest for man, they are for the Most High, because he *is* the Most High. There is also a further reason which will presently come to light, and which will bring this conclusion into order with others more obvious.

Our other social faculties are faculties of both giving and getting. The lofty power of speech is a faculty of giving; sight and hearing are faculties of getting; the hand has both functions. The impulse to exercise the office of giving is the familiar impulse of love to bestow something, to bestow even

one's self, on the person loved; but the impulse of the getting faculty leads the lover to win and possess the person beloved. The impulse to give is so congenial with what love is naturally felt to be that love is often defined as the sentiment which leads one to bestow himself upon another. Those who hold to this definition utterly refuse the name love to a passion toward one's own enjoyment. But the only explanation of the longing of love to give is that giving is a normal function, and love a longing to fulfil this function. This is the physiology of love; and this is seen to be in physiological accord with the not always lower love of possession, and even with the love of self, when we hold our minds to the fact that in all cases love is but a yearning to do what we are made for doing. When the reader can imagine a form of love which is not thus to be accounted for, then he may deny the name of love to the passions, and confine it to the nobler sentiments. Whether the longing shall be to give or to get, all turns on what faculty wants exercise. It is the parent's office to give, and parental love is noticeably self-devotion; it is a child's office to get, and he normally loves the things he can get from a parent,—little animal that he is. But that neither parent nor child is confined to one set of offices is seen when the mother greedily hugs her child as her very own, and when the "little animal" lovingly puts his sweetmeats to the mother's lips.

Strangely diverse as the counter demands are of the giving and the getting faculties, their normality is further revealed by the fact that love leads one to wish that the person loved should use *his* faculties of both sorts, that he should take what one offers, and offer himself to the one that loves him. Jealousy is, of course, but an allotropic form of love, a form which love must take when the appetency to perform its office of getting is opposed by someone else's bent toward the same end. The jealousy is normal when the interference is abnormal.

Now it is easy to understand that love's twofold office of putting into exercise the faculties of getting and giving is to be accounted lawful in the case of man's relations to that Being whom it is the first of laws that he should love with all his heart and soul and strength. What less does real love toward God exact than that we should surrender ourselves wholly to him as worshippers, and in turn fully possess him as our God? It is but the counterpart of this social function Godward, that we should wish God himself to put in use his social functions, and accept what we offer, and grant what we seek. In terms, then, of the scientific conception of law, religion is an exercise of social functions between God and man, while the office of love in religion is to serve as an appetency, an "hunger and thirst," toward the due employment Godward of our social faculties. The possession of faculties which can normally be so used, makes their religious use as much the dictate of constitutive law as any other use can be; conversely, it notifies us that the mere neglect of these uses is a process of degeneration, tending toward atrophy and the lapse of man into a lower order of being.

It was remarked above, as to the ends which God sets before his own mind, that for him to seek in himself the worthiest end of being would presently be found in keeping with every other worthy end. The further lesson which the idea of law affords on this much debated subject is that self-regarding and social functions differ indeed in ostensible aim, but are alike normal functions; therefore those which are not self-regarding are even the more profitable to one's self as they are superior in dignity and importance. From this point of view we may understand the scientific accuracy of that repeated saying of the Master, which all four evangelists have reported in various forms, "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall save it." A man can hardly constrain himself to love others by dwelling upon the fact that this is the dictate of rational self-love; but

God, on the other hand, in making the normal employment of his powers the highest end of his existence, must find use for such powers or faculties as belong to his normal relations with creatures; that is to say, the completest guarantee men can have of divine concern for them is that God cares supremely for himself. If this yet seems at all unworthy of him, we must raise our thought concerning God until we have so exalted an idea of what he is as to feel that it would be unsuitable for him to seek supremely any end outside himself, or to furnish to the universe any guarantee of well-being equal to this, that it shall find its good also in him, when he makes everything subservient to himself.

If the idea of law has not led us to misinterpret the nature of love, we are prepared to see that love's merit is not something unaccountable, but is due to its relation toward the normal functions: it is the incentive to them all. It follows also that there can be no issue between the divine holiness and benevolence. The holiness of God, in its relation to his other attributes, is his moral persistence in being and acting conformably to what he is; it is plain that this cannot lessen his desire that all his creatures should be and act according to what he has made them; and this, we have seen, is the dictate of love toward them, as well as of love in them. Or, if the resolution of love into a native impulse to fulfil functions seems to degrade it to the level of animal appetites, it is enough to reply that the rank of any function, in the estimate of reason, is to be determined in part by the end sought. The moral difference between destroying the body by sensual indulgence and spending it in the service of one's fellow-men is solely in the relative worth of the ends sought. Physical exhaustion is as real in the one case as in the other; but one object is rational as being best, the other irrational as being worst. And so the impulse to fulfil functions is high or low according to the object of the function. Love is love whether it is a little girl's fancy for a doll or a mother's devotion to a

child; whether it is a sensualist's appetite for victuals and drink, or a saint's appetency for righteousness. It will be impossible to find any form or any instance whatever of love which is anything else than a native impulse to fulfil a function. This truth clears the way to a settlement of the ancient feud between benevolence and justice.

Peace is not to be won by inducing either attribute to give way to the other. But no issue is left between them when each is allowed its full rights. In fact, when both are put in their proper places, they move from opposite sides toward the same goal. It might be known in advance that the idea of law would refuse to acquiesce in that conflict between justice and benevolence which the elder theology believed was going on in the divine mind, and which the later theology sought to be rid of by denying that God has need to be just. Whether justice is as native and necessary to God as benevolence, we may perhaps be able to answer, if, bearing in mind that idea of law which finds rules of conduct prescribed by one's constitution, we then answer the question, whether we may not call it "just" to render to anyone that which is precisely fitted to him, which is therefore his due, his own; and then, whether the attribute which impels a rational belief to deal justly after this fashion may not fitly be named "justice." Whether one's due be evil or good,—that is, whether evil or good be most suitable,—that idea of justice which the idea of law suggests is precisely the rendering of what is suitable. To withhold the fitting would be abnormal, and if man may not render it, God must. In fact, justice is so enclosed in law, according to the notions of both which natural science supplies, that to act according to law is nothing more nor less than, in one's relations to others, to act justly. Still further, since it is the essence of holiness to be normal, to act normally or justly is the exact demand of holiness upon conduct.

There can hardly be doubt as to this point, except on the

part of those who have set up some notion of benevolence which cannot be correlated with the idea of the normal, or law, and who are therefore afraid that to concede the normality of justice is to risk the reign of love. And so it would be, if justice sought anything else than the fit, or benevolence anything else than the well. But the well-for-us and the fit-for-us are identical. The kind to anyone is that which is fit for him, and the just to anyone is that which is well for him. Why may not a father give his child a stone when he asks for bread? Only because the human stomach cannot digest stones. The only thing fit and proper in the case of any being is that he should use his powers according to their nature; but the only thing well for any being is that he should use his powers according to their nature. Justice contemplates this result as proper, benevolence looks to it as kind. What departure in the least degree from such a standard would be either kind or just? If there seem to be any disparity, or even a conflict, between justice and benevolence, we may be sure that the difference is not between the ends aimed at; but, on the part of God, it is in the fact that the same end is approached from opposite directions, and on the part of man it is in our own greater, astonishingly greater, ability to discern what is well for any man than what is precisely due to him. This alone were reason enough why with us "mercy should always rejoice against judgment."

If we allow ourselves to follow such conceptions to their logical issues, it ought to be with the express admission that our conclusions are but the best conjectures we can make. Now two very different inferences from the doctrine of this article seem equally valid. The first is that, if it be true there is no issue in the divine mind between justice and benevolence, then it was as much the part of justice as of benevolence to provide an atonement. This has often been laid down as a basis for some theory of atonement; but it is too exclusively in the nature of an inference to allow it a place so

important. And yet, if justice contemplates the exercise of one's powers according to their norm, I see not how it can be anything less than just on the part of our Maker to provide by means of the atonement for such a result. God, we know, "is faithful and just to forgive us our sins," if we are penitent; and his justice may well have been engaged with his mercy in providing the conditions of redemption. But if we are to venture this wholly speculative inference as probable, or even as possible, we must go as frankly and as far in the opposite direction.

To wit: if the justice of God impels him to provide whatever is well for sinners, his benevolence impels him to provide whatever is fit. If justice concedes what benevolence asks, benevolence must yield whatever justice demands. Should it then prove that some impenitent sinners have forever to endure any fitting penalties of sin, these penalties are precisely what benevolence would accord in such cases. Just penalties are by definition precisely what is suitable; and what is suitable is the only good, is the very best for any being. It must be so, even if we can see nothing well in so woful a case except that the case is no worse. God is kind, and God is just; he is both, because he is holy; he is all,—he is holy, just, and kind,—because he is the perfect One, the ineffably Normal.

ARTICLE IV.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP AS AFFECTED BY
RACE.

BY THE REV. W. E. C. WRIGHT, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THE United States is the great meeting place of races. The material riches of our territory have invited the needy and the ambitious. The rapid improvement in means of communication has made our borders so accessible that a generation has been sufficient for greater migrations than were possible in a century of earlier time. The political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence has been no unimportant factor conspiring with these material forces to make us in one respect like heaven:—we have gathered well-nigh every kindred, tribe, and tongue. The problem of the relation of the races is upon us. Our solution will dominate history for coming centuries. The attitude of the Christian church to the problem must profoundly influence the answer.

With a single exception, Christian fellowship among us gives little heed to the lines that separate these different races. The many churches made up of a single nationality or race, as German, Welsh, or Swede, are segregated by the practical influence of language, rather than by the sentiment of race. Whenever such churches attempt to hold the second and third generations to services in what has become to them a foreign tongue the attempt is at best slow suicide. The Christian fellowship of the young people reaches out for the sympathy of churches that worship in the English language, and this desire is seldom repelled by English-speaking churches.

So there are churches which at first glance might seem

to be drawn together by the tie of nationality, whose bond on close inspection will be found to be doctrinal rather than racial. These churches welcome to their membership those who agree with their views of truth, without asking in what country they learned so to view the truth.

A similar remark applies to churches whose membership has been consciously or unconsciously sorted by education, or tastes, or habits of thought, or methods of Christian work. The liberty to join the church where one can receive the best spiritual impulse, and can work most freely and efficiently, tends to bring together in each church of a large town those whose similarity of manner and thought promises the largest mutual helpfulness in the Christian life.

The danger of using this liberty so far as to turn the church of Christ into a social club is, however, generally realized by thoughtful, earnest Christians. In country places and small villages, a healthy church life is not possible, unless "all classes and conditions of men" can find fellowship in one church. The recent achievements of "college settlements" in tenement house city quarters emphasize on the positive side the same truth uttered negatively a generation ago by Dr. Leonard Bacon when he protested against the "stratification of churches."

In spite of satirists finding plenty of instances of social exclusiveness marring our church life, the principle prevails among us that the church should give the help of its spiritual fellowship to whoever sincerely desires it. The church is to preach the gospel, not to any one set, but to all mankind, and especially to the poor. In whatever man it finds Christian faith, showing itself in Christian life, it is to recognize a brother. It is to receive even him that is weak in the faith, if satisfied that he has faith at all.

The only serious exception to the prevalence of this principle in the United States is found in the relation of white Christians to negro Christians. Both in the South and in the

North, nearly all the negro Christians are in churches by themselves. The white churches are few that have any negro members. Even in Ohio, in a Congregational church, the application of a candidate for admission who was partly negro, has been known to occasion heated debate before the decision was reached to receive him whom Christ had received.

It should be remarked, in passing, that most Congregational churches in the United States would receive a negro candidate without any regard to his race. The same is true of probably the great majority of churches of every name in the North. It is only in the former slave-holding States of the Union, and in other localities where some shadow still falls from the influence of American slavery, that negro blood is a bar to church, or school, or hotel privileges. The great world knows nothing of this standard of discrimination. Europe has it not, nor the South American Republics, nor Mexico, nor the West Indies, but only a little corner of the world embracing a part of the United States.

To present in its breadth the Southern view, here is a quotation from a man who may be called representative, though exceptionally favorable to the advancement of the negroes. Judge A. A. Gundy, of Louisiana, at the Southern Teachers' Association at Atlanta, Ga., in July, 1892, made a powerful plea for the better and higher education of the negroes. This he published soon after, with some revision, in the *American Journal of Politics*. In the midst of appeals to the highest Christian motives, and assertions that no one can foretell how rapidly and how far a negro may advance, we find such emphatic sentences as these:—

“There is a public sentiment which demands that the races be kept absolutely distinct, and forbids the least approach to equal association. . . . Say what you will, this public opinion is founded in the deepest philosophy. The races were made distinct by the Creator and it would be impiety to efface the distinction. The one way to keep the races in the South

distinct is to provide separate schools, separate churches, separate social walks, separate customs, and separate coaches, and he who censures these provisions is a traitor to nature, and a rebel against divine wisdom."¹

The practical application of this principle has illustrations at hand everywhere in the South. The former slaveholding States have public schools with two sets of districts covering their territory, but prohibit any child procuring an education in a school of the other race, even though the nearest school of his own race be ten miles or more distant. Eight of these States forbid, under penalty, riding in a railway car or apartment assigned to the other race.² Southern white academies, colleges, and professional schools are hermetically sealed, by a white heat of sentiment, against pupils that show any trace of negro blood. At the same time some of these colleges boast of having educated Indians.³

State Sunday-school conventions in the South, while interdenominational, are purely white gatherings, although in several of the States there is more negro than white material on which the Sunday-school should naturally operate. Young Men's Christian Associations in the South are, as a rule, for the whites, and scarcely one of them will allow any negro to make any use of its reading-room. Christian Endeavor Societies growing up in local churches naturally follow the same lines of separation that prevail in churches. It may indicate no lack of fellowship when a local Christian Endeavor Society is made up of a single race; but is not Christian fellowship plainly sinned against when the committee in charge of arrangements for a state convention of Christian Endeavor So-

¹ American Journal of Politics, September, 1892, p. 306.

² These are Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. The Carolinas and Virginia have thus far refused to pass similar laws.

³ See this boast, in announcements of Randolph and Roanoke College, in advertising pages of early numbers of the Forum.

cities, refuses to permit the attendance of negro delegates?¹

These are the consistent results of Judge Gundy's doctrine. The separate church is more than a co-ordinate part of the scheme. It is the central point, holding the rest as the hub holds the spokes. Only from a region where the white churches have no cordial welcome for negro members, can we believe there could ever come such a horrible story as lies before me in a slip from a recent Memphis paper. It relates the burial of a negro woman in a white cemetery at Germantown, Tenn., by white friends who esteemed her. But there were some in that community who regarded separate burial places as essential to the right relation of the races. They dug up the body, and scattered the bones and flesh about the mouth of the desecrated grave.

The separate church means more than permission for those who are like minded to associate themselves in church fellowship. Who dare gainsay that liberty to his fellow-disciples? When negro church-members in Oberlin preferred to form a church by themselves, and to make it Baptist or Methodist, instead of Congregational, who could forbid them? In the city of Cleveland, where teachers of negro blood are freely appointed to public school work, and negro members are freely received in all churches, and no race discrimination guards the door of reading-room, or lecture hall, who can say that it has been unchristian for enough of the negroes who were Congregationalists to come together and form a church

¹ See correspondence in full in Berea College Reporter, Berea, Ky., June, 1892. The following quotation gives the core of the final letter from the secretary: "Whether rightly or wrongly, the prevalent opinion of the South decides against social intercourse on a basis of equality between white and black. The State Convention of the Y. P. S. C. E. is distinctly a social gathering, and the only business it transacts is the election of officers. Were it known that colored delegates were received at its gatherings, it could not fail to injure the cause of the South. Last year, it is true, a colored delegate was received, but Louisville is a large city, and more cosmopolitan than our smaller Kentucky towns, and there were probably not a dozen in the convention who were aware that a colored brother sat among its members."

that has wrought the excellent Christian work of the Mt. Zion Congregational Church? The principle of Christian liberty may command us to bid God-speed to our brethren in organizing themselves as they are led of the Spirit. It is a very different thing to bar any church door against a brother in Christ, with either a positive rule of race discrimination, or positive advice against crossing a race line unknown to the gospel, or a silent pressure of discriminating treatment at the communion table.

The negro churches of the South may have arisen in a large measure from the choice of their members. But the presence of negro pupils in all the important schools of the North shows that something else than spontaneous choice keeps them away from Southern white schools. There are here and there negro members lingering in Southern white churches. Generally they are conspicuously absent. The circumstance is suggestive of a similar inference to that drawn by the fox when he could find no tracks of small animals leading away from the lion's den. Has some propulsive force from the white side emptied the Southern churches of negro members? A sufficient force may be discerned in the objection made in the South to anything more than the most distant fellowship between even ministers of the two races. In the summer of 1893 the daily papers of Atlanta, Ga., were enriched with numerous letters criticising two white ministers because they had attended an ecclesiastical organization with negro ministers of the same denomination, participated in a literary or theological programme, and even participated in a general luncheon between the other exercises. Another complaint urged in this correspondence was that one of these white ministers had actually exchanged pulpits with another white minister who was pastor of a negro church.¹

¹ The following quotations from the salutatory of the *Advocate*, a journal whose first issue is dated Atlanta, Ga., April 14, 1894, states distinctly the Southern attitude, and shows how central is this matter of Christian fellowship :

Such influence of race on Christian fellowship in the South is no unimportant matter. It is not transient, but tends to crystallize into a persistent element in our type of civilization. Its effects are not limited to ecclesiastical affairs, but are interwoven with the whole life of the South. The alarming increase of lynch law in dealing with negroes, and the open demand for a special criminal code for the negroes,¹ is of the same piece with the demand for enforced separation of races in church, and school, and railway train. These all rest on a theory that the negro race is less than human.² They are varied applications of Judge Taney's dictum that "negroes have no rights that white men are bound to respect."

The influence of race on Christian fellowship in the South is not a local question. Northern Christians are spending not less than a million dollars annually of missionary funds on churches and Christian schools in the South. They cannot avoid the responsibility of encouraging whatever custom or spirit they tolerate in the institutions they sustain. Times of

"It will stand for Congregationalism from a Southern standpoint.

"While it will recognize the rights of all citizens, it will oppose and expose all efforts looking to the amalgamation of the races in the line of church life and work, as well as that of social equality, believing that the one naturally leads up to the other, and thereby works a great injury to the cause of Christ and the progress of his kingdom.

"This will be a white man's paper.

"Believing that it has a mission, it goes forth to speak the truth and blaze the way for righteousness, for freedom and humanity."

¹ See C. H. Smith, in the *Forum*, for October, 1893. Also *Anthropology for the People: A Refutation of the Theory of the Adamic Origin of All Races*. By Caucasian. Richmond, Va., 1891. "In ecclesiastical legislation, the two races are almost entirely separated. A similar separation should be provided in state, so as to give the negro different laws, different institutions, and different legislative, executive, and judicial officers" (p. 306).

² This is the whole argument of "*Anthropology for the People*," referred to above. The writer defends slavery and caste, on the ground that the lower races have no spirits, and that they are without sin and need no Saviour (p. 215); that education makes them insolent (p. 310); and that labor and money spent for their elevation might as well be expended "in the training of monkeys" (p. 320); and so on, with the emphasis of more than three hundred pages of detail and reiteration.

ignorance may rightly be winked at only when processes of education are working the removal of the ignorance. Issues should never be raised unnecessarily with those we are seeking to lead into a larger and richer Christian life. When those for whom we labor raise the issue of human and Christian brotherhood we must meet it. If white pupils threaten to leave on the admission of a negro pupil, or negroes make the same threat on the admission of a white pupil; if churches conspicuously avoid fellowshipping other churches assisted from the same treasury, but of another race, the missionary administration supporting these schools and churches cannot avoid exerting an influence and giving a testimony on the question of Christian fellowship as affected by race.

Missionary societies laboring in India find the caste system of that country the chief obstacle to delay the progress of Christianity there. Those most closely in touch with foreign missions are most alert against the possible growth of any similar hindrance to the gospel at home. In the United States no race or class feeling must be suffered to develop forms or acquire strength that will nullify the gospel.

The open agreement of the Congregational Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association, that "neither Society will establish in any locality a church that will not admit to membership colored persons suitably qualified, nor will it sustain any church that will not fellowship the neighboring Congregational churches, or that will not unite with the local Congregational conference or association," is every way to be commended. The endorsement of this policy by every National Council that has in any way touched the question shows the strength of conviction in the Congregational churches that the gospel is for the whole world; that the rich and poor meet together in the kingdom of Christ; that in him there is neither bond nor free, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, but God hath made of one blood all nations and we may call no man common nor unclean.

ARTICLE V.

SIN IN THIS AND OTHER WORLDS.

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I. THERE are reasons, not lightly to be rejected, for believing that other worlds than our own are inhabited. Indeed it is very difficult not to suppose it. There does not seem a sufficient reason for the creation of so many and such mighty balls as now stud the heavens, if this world alone carries human freight. The minute pencil of light that, after some thousands of years of travel, reaches a human eye, multiplied by all the eyes that have been or will be thus lighted, does not appear to warrant the existence of such forces as combine to send that feeble ray on its long journey, while almost an infinity of light and heat is wasted in the empty realms of the skies.

The lessons these far-off globes teach of the majesty of God are of vastly more value than the light they give us, and yet without them the exhibition that we have of "his everlasting power and divinity" is far beyond our comprehension. According to all our knowledge, they must have existed countless millions of years before there was a human being on this planet to observe them; and now that they are the objects of attentive study, they give us no geological records by which we may read their past, and the knowledge that we have any prospect of acquiring concerning them is as meagre as the dim radiance that greets the eye.

The nebular hypothesis has to such a degree solved the problems of the heavens and the earth, that we have a right to regard it as in the main correct. But, if true, it must be

true for the rest of the stellar universe outside our little system. In that case it is reasonable to assume that, swinging about the blazing orbs in the heavens, there are countless non-luminous bodies, many of which have reached, while many will in the future reach, the condition of temperature which our earth possesses. Yet it will be of importance in this discussion to bear in mind that the possible denizens of other worlds are not to be assumed necessarily to require such conditions of existence as we demand. We may, however, assume that some at least of these globes, if populated at all, are peopled with creatures possessing intelligence and moral agency. Such only, so far as we know, have great value in themselves. It is evident that the power of moral discrimination and choice forms the larger part of our possibility of worth; and we can but conclude that it is true in all parts of the universe, because we are ourselves made in the image of the Creator.

II. Then, if the inhabitants of other worlds have the power of moral choice, they have the power of sinning, and the question must arise, Are they not as likely to sin as are we? From what we know of the tendency of finite beings to sin, may we not expect that to be the case? If they do not sin, there must be some sufficient reason. That reason can hardly lie in the simple, universal choice of righteousness. Although the will of man is a sufficient cause of evil, yet we would not be justified in thinking that, with conditions on other worlds similar to those on our own, sin is a sporadic growth, belonging to this world, and this only, and that elsewhere finite wills have unanimously rejected sin. A single will may be a law to itself in any decision; but unanimity of choice in exactly opposite directions on the part of vast multitudes, in different locations, demands an examination of circumstances.

There is a reason which can be given for the freedom of other worlds from sin, if that be the fact, though we may not

be able confidently to state that reason. Moreover, we are told, and human experience corroborates it, that on this planet man is helped to sin. The attractiveness of forbidden things is overstated to him by one who is plotting his ruin. But, so far as we have yet discovered, there is just as much reason to expect that moral beings elsewhere will be tempted by forces outside of themselves, and the scale weighted, as here. The telescope has not revealed any wall capable of fencing Satan in and confining him to this world.

III. If the dwellers on other globes have sinned, we are assured, from the character of God and the nature of the kingdom of heaven, that they must all be lost, or else an atonement must be made by the Son of God. This lies in the nature of sin. They cannot atone for themselves or each other, nor can any being except the Son of God provide that sin may be forgiven, and the government of God kept free from danger.

IV. To this point people come. Then the question arises, Why may not Jesus have died many times before the tragedy on Calvary, and have in the future many such sacrifices awaiting him? He is distinctly said to be the "only-begotten Son" of God. Hence there is no other who can make an atonement for sin. This sometimes comes to thoughtful people as a perplexing problem. We turn to the Scriptures,¹ for theories are of little value here.

Rom. vi. 9: ". . . knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him. For the death that he died, he died unto sin once: but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God." It may be said that these expressions are meant to apply only to this world, and can have no bearing on the question of atoning work elsewhere. But the fact of Christ's dying but once is here used to show how a Christian ought once for all to die to sin. It is the very basis of the illustration. Note, also, that his living

¹ Scriptural quotations are from the Revised Version.

unto God would seem to make him as little likely to die again as God is to die at all.

Heb. x. 12: “. . . but he, when he had offered one sacrifice for sins forever, sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made the footstool of his feet.” The whole trend of thought in this passage is toward a single act of atonement in all eternity. To say that its meaning may be limited to this world is to affirm what cannot find proof in the Scriptures, and is to put a supposition against what seems plain teaching.

Heb. ii. 10: “For it became him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings.” Having been perfected, there could not be in any other world for him the same experience as here; and if not the same experience, then not the same work of encouragement for tempted mortals, since a large part of the helpfulness which he brings to us is the record of his being “tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.”

The lesson of 1 Cor. xv. 20-28 is that he is reigning, and shall reign until the last enemy shall have been destroyed; and then, the entire victory gained, shall lay down all authority with himself at the Father's feet, and thenceforth God shall be all in all. There seems to be no room left for any need of a redemptive work after that triumph, for there shall be no rebellion.

Heb. vii. 25: “Wherefore also he is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near unto God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.” There can at least be no more death for him till the last soul who needs his intercession has passed from this earth.

We notice lastly Rev. i. 18: “Fear not: I am the first and the last, and the Living one: and I was dead, and behold I am alive forevermore.” The meaning of these words cannot be mistaken. The biblical argument might be carried

much further; but probably few will question that there is to be no other death of Christ, and if no other, then no other atonement in this world or elsewhere.

V. Therefore, if each peopled world would have the same likelihood of sinning that has marked this one, God must either cease creating moral beings, or must in some way make the atonement of Christ in this world to be sufficient for the pardon of penitent sinners in other parts of the universe. But the first supposition is hardly in accordance with the infinity of God, to which a throng that passes an archangel's comprehension is no more of an approach than is a dozen. We are distinctly assured that a time is to come when every foe is to be subdued; when in all the vast realms of space there shall no more rebellion be found. But endless eternities will follow that time. Shall God be restrained from creating other worlds, and peopling them with beings to receive and return his love? That is inconceivable. He may not create; but we cannot suppose that he will be fettered by circumstances, and so prevented from creating. And the second supposition is not satisfactory; because, while an atonement worked out on another sphere might accomplish purposes of warning to beings who had not sinned, it would hardly have the effect of recalling from sin those whose eyes were dimmed, and whose hearts were hardened by iniquity. Christ would, so far as we can see, hardly draw all men unto himself, if only lifted up on some distant world.

VI. What solution can be found for the problem?

1. It is well to note the difficulty of explaining the fact of sin in this world. How often it leads to doubt of God's love and providence! The question comes, Is sin necessary for the best development in virtue? That is a monstrous thought. Adam and Eve were not improved by sinning, nor were their opportunities for moral or intellectual growth increased. They fell downward, not upward. The subsequent

development of the race is not because of sin, but an illustration of what divine grace can do in spite of sin and under adverse conditions. Disobedience in the home does not tend to the best character. It is not necessary for the youth to be impure, in order to learn purity. Sin is not needed for training in virtue, and there is no demand in the nature of things for it, or in the constitution of man; though, since sin has come, there is a need of its hateful character being shown. It is evil, and only evil, and when God uses it as an instrument, he has a poorer tool than righteousness would be.

2. Yet to coerce men to virtue is to change the definition of that quality, and to despoil it of its value. Man must be led to choose by seeing the superior worth of virtue. Superior to what? some may ask. Superior to sin; yet an exhibition of sin in the concrete is not, in the nature of things, necessary, for that would make God necessitate the coming of sin into the universe. A rational being who has never sinned, can have the results of disobedience so stated to him as to make it evidently wise to obey. Our first parents must have known that their wisest course was to keep within the prescribed bounds. Finite beings, by sinning, have now made a different course from the originally best one to be necessary.

3. We have a hint of the coming of sin into heaven.¹

¹ Some fail to satisfy themselves from the Bible that sin ever entered heaven, regarding such statements as Rev. xii. 7 as merely figurative, or perhaps prophetic, instead of a record. We may, however, note that the existence of a personal devil is distinctly taught, and that he is possessed of superhuman power, and that our first parents received their first suggestion of evil from outside themselves. There was therefore sin in the universe before the creation of man on this earth. But there must have been a time when the first sin in the universe was committed, unless we are ready to resort to Manicheism. That first sin must have been committed by a finite will that had previously been sinless! There we have the entire problem, to be solved by God's loving wisdom. Sin has begun.

A question rises here. God foreknew what angels would sin, and who would not. Why could he not have created only those who he foreknew would not sin? The difficulty seems a real one; but it involves an absurdity, requir-

How it came, who began it, is not revealed. But it could have been no surprise to God. He knew it would come when he created the first finite moral being, and "before the foundation of the world" provided the remedial plan. We can see some light on this coming of sin. As finite beings were created in greater numbers, their attention would be increasingly attracted to their multitude, and to their power, and so, in some instances, away from God. In full view of God's majesty here, and of death, men think to effect combinations which will justify them in ignoring the law of God, and in expecting success on unrighteous lines. So it might be with the great angels in heaven. The finite cannot comprehend infinity, and Gabriel is no more of an approach to the greatness of God than are we. God sees with infinite clearness the woe of sin and the value of righteousness. Finite beings do not. Satan cannot understand eternity. Finite creatures know enough to condemn them if they sin. Knowledge of duty is enough, no matter what the consequences. Yet we can see that, as the throng of created beings became as great as would fill the comprehension of a created mind, some one might, blinded at once by the cherishing of such a thought, imagine it possible to head a successful rebellion against God.

Since sin has come into the universe; or rather, taking our stand back before the first creation, seeing that it will come, God sees that a presentation of three facts in the sight of the universe is necessary.

(1) *The Effect of Sin.*—How shall an exhibition of the ing God to deal with uncreated beings as though they were actually existent. The only possibility akin to that suggested would be for God to give to each soul such a bias toward obedience as would necessitate conformity to the law, and that would be not merely foreknowledge but foreordination of the extremest type, and would abolish free agency and true virtue. It is, however, not the province of this article to explain the origin of sin. Sin is not to be explained on any grounds of reason. It is the one thing in the universe utterly unreasonable. What is desired now is to show what seems to the writer the method by which God is dealing with the whole problem of sin,—a method which is eminently wise and hopeful.

baneful effects of sin be so made that the universe shall see and be impressed by it? If an exhibition is to be made, it should show sin full-grown, and with a sufficiently large opportunity of making its destructive results manifest. It should also be quarantined. Spectators should not be imperilled by it.

This world is taken. The human race starts its course in purity and with every necessary aid to righteousness. Man is most happily situated. God is his companion. But Satan is let loose to do his worst. He deludes and tempts man, who has, however, been sufficiently warned. The whole race, with few exceptions, becomes awfully depraved. One presentation has been given, and man has evidently become too vile to be tolerated. He is justly swept off the earth. But some might say that man had not had a fair treatment, in that he had had no previous experience in sin, and took the first long step down as the result of ignorance. Another trial is given; and this time those are chosen who have looked upon the deadly results of sin, and have seen the summary retribution with which incorrigible sinners were visited. Surely men will now be obedient. But the venom of sin is too powerful. Sodom and Gomorrah, the Canaanites, debauched Israel, the abominations of Greece and Rome, the bestiality of savage tribes in every age, the loathsomeness of the modern metropolises, prove that the life of the race has become corrupt. The manner in which men will use God's best gifts, and yet rebel against him, is one of the clearest proofs that sin is no ordinary malady. The disobedience of the moralist, as well as the brutality of the savage, has its place in the picture, and to the eyes of angels must give more striking evidence of the hardening of the heart. God takes a special nation, gives it laws, deliverances, unprecedented tokens of his presence and power. They are little better than, often as wicked as, the nations around. He sends them into captivity; they learn monotheism, but not holiness.

The work of sin is such that the man, originally made in

the image of God, ready for companionship with him, must be born again before he can associate with holy beings. The very life germ of spirituality has been killed by sin. Yet the demonstration is not complete. It is one thing for man to ruin himself, to destroy his brother; but then he might change his course if an illustration of what he was intended to be were set before him. The view of what he has lost will perhaps lead him to choose obedience. The Son of God comes to earth. He is at once a representation of the beauty of holiness, and of what it is man's privilege to be if in harmony with God. He comes not only to show a contrast, but to call men to return, and receive forgiveness. Sin thereupon shows its true character as never before. It is not only selfishness, a desire to please the lower man, but such a determination to do so as leads to intense hostility toward whatever condemns it. In nothing could the character of sin be made more apparent than by the fact that it made this world absolutely untenable for a perfectly holy being, unless protected by infinite might. The Son of God, illustration of the life of heaven, cannot live on this planet. The work of Christ was not only to seek and save the lost of this world, but to present to the universe the climax of sin's deadly work, and this has surely been done. Man is blind; but let some heavenly minister show these things, present and urge the work of Christ, and call attention to eternal rewards and penalties in addition to the temporal ones that had been chiefly used in the past, and will he not repent? This the Holy Spirit does, actually convincing men, but vast multitudes remain unmoved.¹

It may be asked, Why would not the fate of the fallen angels be a sufficient deterrent? As it was necessary to show sin in the ripened fruit, so perhaps it was needful to show it

¹ It may be that the predicted loosing of Satan after the millennium (Rev. xx. 3) is to show how entirely untrustworthy is the human heart under temptation, and how deadly is the slightest bias toward evil, though weakened by godly living of the race for an indefinite period.

in the bud. So far as we know, Satan headed an armed rebellion against Jehovah. Lesser beings, shrinking from that, might still yield to self-indulgence in forbidden things that seemed unimportant. It was needful to show that from the smallest wilful breach of a perfect law an evil could grow that would wreck a world. The taking of the apple was the first step toward the crucifixion of the Son of God.¹

(2) *The Difficulty of its Cure.*—Yet the finite mind cannot fully appreciate the effect of sin, the ruined possibilities of a single soul, or the insult to the Son of God. It cannot comprehend the worth of one human being through eternity, or value aright the majesty of God. An additional and very effective illustration will be given if the difficulty of cure be shown. Leprosy is an awful disease, but it is vastly more awful when we know that there is no human remedy for it. If we can see tremendous but unsuccessful attempts, we shall be prepared to appreciate the successful one; because, if the latter involve great suffering and untold expense, we shall know that there has been no waste, and that nothing less would have accomplished the task.

So God let man try it with, in large measure, human resources, for thousands of years. He gave aid, writing the law on the conscience, and giving it from Sinai; but he did not

¹ The question, How could God know that man would sin, and so further the plan of cure, without constraining him in that direction, and so becoming the direct author of iniquity? requires more extended treatment than is possible here. This, however, may be suggested, that it is possible so to surround man with circumstances as to make it morally certain that he will choose a certain course, while he is perfectly free and able to reject that course. Some will revolt from the possibility of such a work, because it seems to present God in an unloving light. Let it be noted that no more sin is really added in the universe, because, should other finite beings be created, they would be at least as likely to sin as the angels who fell, but, as will appear in the development of the theme, the result will be to ultimately entirely stop the progress of sin. This scheme assumes God doing on a vast scale somewhat as we do on a smaller when we send hundreds of thousands of men South to die, that millions may be saved. "Nor do ye take account that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not" (John xi. 50).

give the uplifted Christ, nor the outpouring of the Spirit as to-day. It was necessary fully to demonstrate, that, even when God sent his divinely inspired messengers, man alone would not, as a race or in any large numbers, repent and turn to righteousness. Time was, of necessity, an important element in this demonstration. It must be no hasty trial. There must be time for experimenting in different ages, under varying conditions, in widely different lands.

The failure of Egypt's moral rules, of the ethical teachings of Socrates and Aristotle, of Seneca and Epictetus and Confucius, was needed, and even that of the chosen people, who possessed the law. They could have obeyed, but so deeply rooted does sin become, that they would not. The fulness of time for the coming of Christ was not merely when the world was ready for that appearing, but when the universe was ready, that is, when the necessary exhibition had been given of the hopelessness of human effort. At last, by the life and death of the Son of God, and by the mighty operation of the Holy Spirit, the cure is being effected, and the slow progress of the work, even with these divine agencies, is proof of how deadly has been the working of sin. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and it is desperately sick" (Jer. xvii. 9).

(3) *The Impotence of the Sinner.*—It is very necessary that a complete demonstration should be made of the utter inability of a sinner, or any number of sinners, to cope with God. This appears but dimly to the rebellious soul, because of the blindness which sin has caused, and that fact must have a very salutary effect upon those who, looking on, are as yet sinless. The fact that man is wholly unable to continue his life in this world, which has been the arena of his sin, is divine irony. If God may at any time transfer the soul to another field, the perfect helplessness of the sinner has been by that fact clearly shown. Yet it is but the beginning of God's might. Sinners are unable to keep his saving gospel down, even

though a large part of the world join in that endeavor. God lets the candle be almost snuffed out at times, and then flames it out with a brilliancy that dazzles the world. He works often with the greatest deliberation, showing to all the universe that he fears the united force of earth and hell not one whit. Again, he pours out his Spirit, and nations are born into the kingdom in a day, while the ungodly are compelled to tremble with the realization that they are resisting an irresistible God. He gives Satan all the odds; lets him get his Son upon the cross, into the grave, and then quietly crushes the devil on his chosen battle-ground, lifting his Son above the adversary's head, "far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named" (Eph. i. 21). There is need that this exhibition be made on a vast scale; and in this day, when civilization has become widely extended, and powers undreamed of a century ago are put into the hands of men, the kingdom of God on earth has a vigor and a spirit of victory never known before. The twentieth century will perhaps reach the acme of demonstration.

Thus the baneful effects of sin, the difficulty of its cure, and the impotence of the sinner are made clear.

VII. This earth has therefore a vicarious work to do: it suffers for the universe. No wrong is done to any human being; for none are constrained to sin, and from the beginning it has been that "in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him" (Acts x. 35). And when the problem of sin is settled here, the last rebel sent to punishment or reclaimed, there shall forever in all God's universe, except in hell, be no more refusal to do his perfect will. There may be countless worlds, peopled with unnumbered millions of happy souls, and none shall choose sin, because the exhibition of sin's effects, the difficulty of its cure, and the sinner's impotence shall be universally known.

Is it asked, How? We know not: yet surely that problem would not be difficult to God. It is not necessary to

suppose that the denizens of other worlds carry flesh and blood as do we. That may be part of the necessary machinery for the work this world has to do, giving our adversary an additional advantage, and making the victory of Christ more glorious. It may easily be the duty and privilege of the heavenly host, who certainly are not idle, to publish the progress of this drama in other worlds, so warning their inhabitants to be obedient to God. It need by no means be supposed, that, because Satan is permitted (for merely permitted he certainly is) to work woe in this world, he is therefore allowed an opportunity upon any other in all the realms of space. Therefore angelic heralding of the woful results of sin here would probably be sufficient to deter sinless beings, who have no outside tempter, from yielding to any suggestions of disobedience that might arise in their own hearts. It is said in 1 Peter i. 12: "which things angels desire to look into"; and I find no intimation that the privilege is denied them. They may well desire this knowledge, for some of their number have fallen, and the exhibition may be for their warning as well as for that of others. It will be through all eternity a preventive of sin. There will surely be records in heaven. The science of history will be in its perfection there. If earth can learn how accurately to describe events, how to photograph the actors and even preserve the tones which they use, then through all eternity the tragic drama of sin on earth, the fall and the redemption, will be common knowledge. We shall hear our Saviour's words in the upper chamber, see the look that melted Peter, and behold the death on the cross. We shall see the work and cure of sin as we cannot here. We shall get behind the scenes, and look upon the "principalities, the powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places," that we have contended with here, and this history, this spectacle, will be open to all. Forever each created moral being will be taught the awful results of sin with a minuteness of circumstance that will be a moral

education in itself. The downfall of Rome, American slavery, London's "submerged tenth," and the liquor traffic of the nineteenth century will be an endless object-lesson.

Light is by this view thrown on some important and interesting questions.

(1) The sorrow over lost souls which we now experience is not excessive, for each one means a lost eternity. Yet the proportion between lost and saved will not be the same as if restricted to this world. Out of the woe and ruin here shall come, not only a great throng of the redeemed, but a presentation of moral issues that will forever prevent a repetition of the fact of sin, keeping all coming ages through the endless future free, and in all probability saving countless myriads in other worlds from throwing away their souls. Thus the contrast will be not between the saved and lost of this world, but between the lost of this world and the saved of the universe.

(2) This will give a more uniform position to all finite moral beings. Angels and archangels, as well as denizens of this and other worlds, will have a personal interest in the work of Jesus Christ; not in his atonement, as a means of saving souls already lost, but in his entire work, as part of the universal lesson on sin and its effects. Where to us it is restorative, to them it is preventive.

(3) Perhaps, too, we may view the death of infants in a different light.

It is said that at least one-third, perhaps a majority, of the race die before reaching moral accountability. This can but be regarded one of the loving provisions of God, since the evil which destroys souls serves to remove, by the diseases which it entails, so large a number from its own curse and penalty. And we may readily conclude that the presentation of the drama of sin does not require the service of so many actors as are born into this world. Some of us are taking the place of peril, and millions are exempt, God being unwilling

to expose any unnecessarily to such awful danger. We who survive are therefore not the favored ones, but suffer vicariously, taking the place of the more fortunate babes, for whom, with the angels and other-world dwellers, the tragedy enacted on earth will be warning enough. As sin slowly disappears from earth, and life here becomes less perilous, more are permitted to remain.

(4) Light will be thrown on the position of sin in the universe.

It is not a permanent fact, but a temporary one. Though this process by which it is being rooted out and prevented from returning should last a million millenniums, yet that is but a moment to eternity, and the day will come when, not the earth only, but the universe as well, "shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God as the waters cover the sea" (Hab. ii. 14), and there will be eternity still before us.

Nor is sin at all a universal or even a wide-spread fact in the universe to-day. By all the probability which this view has, we are justified in believing that the field in which Satan has any power at all is restricted to this world.

(5) Finally, we are given a position of great responsibility and importance. This little world is at present in a very important sense the pivot of the universe. Our position is one that is held but once in all the endless sweep of the eternities. We are helping solve the universal problem. The entire throng of created moral beings might say, with Tennyson, "Through the shadow of a globe we sweep into a younger day," while we with larger view of its possible meaning repeat the exhortation of the apostle to the Hebrews: "Therefore let us also, seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us" (Heb. xii. 1).

ARTICLE VI.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.

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THERE never was an institution on earth lasting through a long stretch of time without change. The change may be simply that of growth or that which comes from an adjustment to new circumstances. In these cases it is of a kind with the changes that come to individual men. The boy grows into the man; and the man adapts himself to the changing conditions of life. His continuity is not broken; his identity is not destroyed. Sometimes, however, institutions so change as to lose their original character. Their spirit changes; their functions change; they are not what they were.

The United States government furnishes an example of change of the first kind. Its power has increased, and the sphere of its operations has widened. Whereas it was the government of a new and weak people, it has come to be the government of a great and powerful people. It has to do things which its founders did not foresee; but these things are not alien from its spirit. It is the same government because it has kept itself in the line of normal development.

It would be easy to find institutions illustrating changes of the second kind; cases in which the servant has come to be the master; in which the temporary and occasional have come to be permanent; cases in which, if the original purpose and spirit have not been forgotten, the organization and methods have been greatly perverted. The Catholic Church, claiming to be always the same, has been the subject of changes

of this second kind. In its long history it has changed as a whole, and it has changed in its parts—especially has it changed in its organization. Its offices have multiplied and some of them have got to themselves new and strange functions. It is my present purpose to speak particularly of the office of Bishop as illustrating this change.

A bishop has not always been a bishop. As we know him he was not made or constituted or appointed. He was developed or evolved. Before he was a bishop he was something else. He was indeed called a bishop, but he was not a bishop as we know bishops, or as bishops have been known for centuries. He was an elder, or presbyter, or priest. He was not an elder with certain peculiar functions added: he was simply an elder: any elder was a bishop and any bishop was an elder. The two names designated the same person or office. The New Testament writers use them interchangeably. In Acts xx. 28 the apostle calls all the Ephesian elders bishops. "Take heed," he says, "to yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*."¹ There is no place in the Acts or the Epistles in which all the three orders, bishop, elder, and deacon, are named together. If bishop is mentioned, nothing is said of elder; and if elder is mentioned, nothing is said of bishop. If the two words appear in the same general connection, it is evident that they are to be taken as synonymous. Both occur in the twentieth chapter of Acts, where Paul expressly calls the elders bishops. Both occur, too, in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus, where the apostle directs his young friend to "ordain elders in every city, as (he says) I appointed thee." He then mentions the qualifications of an elder (ver. 6), and adds, "For a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God."² See also

¹ Ἐπισκοποι.

² "Ordain *elders* in every city, as I had appointed thee: if any man be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly. For the *bishop* must be blameless," etc.—Titus i. 5-7.

Phil. i. 1, and 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, where bishops and deacons (not elders) are mentioned.

Leaving the New Testament, and coming down to the first of the apostolic fathers, the same usage seems to be preserved. Clement of Rome, who wrote a letter to the Corinthians near the close of the first century, does not mention "the three orders" together. He writes in the name of the church at Rome, rebuking the Corinthians for their contentious opposition to the church officers. He says, "The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So, then, Christ is from God, and the apostles are from Christ. . . . Preaching everywhere, in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Holy Spirit, to be *bishops and deacons* unto them that should believe."¹ He contended that these men, so appointed, "with the consent of the whole church," ought not to be thrust out. Their appointment was virtually from God; and they had been faithful. "It will be no light sin for us," he says, "if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily."² He adds immediately, "Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe." Later, he says, "Submit yourselves unto the presbyters, and receive chastisement, bending the knees of your heart."³ He does not speak of a single bishop in Corinth, but of those who held "the bishop's office"; and who were then exposed to insult and wrong. He compares their situation with that of the *presbyters* who had gone before, who had filled their office without opposition; and finally the people are exhorted to submit to the *presbyters* whom they were unjustly opposing. The natural (and

¹ The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, chap. xlii. It will be useful to us hereafter to note that bishops and deacons were appointed "in country and town."

² *Ibid.*, chap. xlii.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. lvii.

almost irresistible) inference is that presbyters in Corinth were filling the bishop's office; and that Clement makes no distinction between bishops and presbyters.¹

So late as the fourth century, the church was still conscious of the original identity of bishops and elders. In his comment on Titus i. 7, St. Jerome says, "An elder, therefore, is the same as a bishop." Jerome was a witness for what was thought in his time. Bishop Lightfoot is a witness for what ought to be thought in our time. He says, that "Irenæus entirely overlooks the identity of the terms 'bishop' and 'presbyter' in the New Testament, which later fathers discovered."² Dean Howson³ is a witness of the same kind. He says: "The next in rank to that of the apostles was the office of overseers or elders, more usually known as bishops and presbyters. These terms are used in the New Testament as equivalent, the former denoting the duties, the latter the office.

Yielding to the weight of testimony, all pointing in the same direction, scholars are now generally agreed that elder and bishop in apostolic times were the same.⁴ This being taken for granted, the inquiry is, How did a bishop, at first only an elder, get to be a bishop in the usual ecclesiastical sense? As we have no definite and explicit account of the matter, we are left largely to conjecture, in our attempts to an-

¹ In chapter xlvii., Clement says: "It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful, and unworthy of your conduct in Christ, that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters." In chapter lvii., quoted above, "Ye, therefore, that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters," etc.

² Apostolic Fathers, Part ii. vol. i. p. 392.

³ Life and Epistles of Paul, Vol. i. pp. 433-434.

⁴ This was written before the publication of "Opinions by Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church" (Independent, March 8, 1894). The writer had in mind such Episcopal writers as Professor Hatch, Bishop Lightfoot, Dean Stanley, Dean Howson, and others. Of course, he did not mean to exclude the Bishops of the *Independent* from the class "scholars."

swer this question. We are shut up to the method so familiar in scientific investigation, the method of hypothesis and verification. That is, we put ourselves, as best we can, back into the apostolic and subapostolic times, and, knowing something of the condition of things, imagine how in the peculiar circumstances one presbyter might have been lifted above his fellow-presbyters; and how a distinction at first incidental and personal, came at last to be regarded as essential and official. We begin at the beginning, with the original church at Jerusalem. For some years, that is, until the persecution that arose at the time of Stephen's death, it was the only church in the world. All the apostles remained in the city, and the number of the brethren came to be many thousands. Probably all the converts did not remain; but those who did remain were far too many to meet together in any one place. Most likely they had many meeting places, few of which could be regarded as permanent, or as belonging to the church. The very fact that they were divided into many small and changing congregations, and that there were no places in which large numbers of them could meet stately, as in a church home, brought it about that the whole brotherhood was regarded as one church. Then, as all the apostles were together, no one of them could be regarded as the pastor or bishop of that one church. It was only after the rest of them had departed from the city, that the apostle James seems to have become the responsible leader. In that great church the assistants of the apostles were called by the general name of elders or presbyters.¹

In what I have here said about the church at Jerusalem, I am in substantial agreement with Mosheim and Neander, but I do not consider it necessary to refer to them as authorities. I have mentioned such things as submit themselves to the judgment of any intelligent reader. In some respects the

¹ "And the apostles and elders came together," etc. (Acts xv. 6). "It pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church" (ver. 22).

first church would be a model for all the churches. In others it stood alone. It was the first church, having to make an entirely new beginning; it was without fixed meeting places; it was subject to annoying persecutions from the Jewish rulers; it was under the personal supervision of the apostles. But, with all its peculiarities, that which it sought to accomplish, was what all the churches were to seek to accomplish, and its methods were substantially those which they were to employ. When the gospel was introduced into any great city, it had its small beginnings, its growth, and afterwards its multitudes. As in Jerusalem, there was no meeting place for all; and the many small congregations formed one church. It was necessary, too, that there should be many elders or bishops to shepherd the great and scattered flock. And so it came to be the rule that, in great cities, however numerous the brethren, they were regarded as constituting one body. There was one church at Rome, one church at Alexandria, one church at Carthage, one church at Milan, and so on, as at Jerusalem.

That there should at first be only one church in great cities was natural, if not necessary; and it was suggested by the example of the church at Jerusalem. It was this condition of things that led to the first step towards the development of bishops as distinct from elders. In a great and growing community, in some cases increasing in wealth as in numbers, there would be conflicting interests, jealousies and parties; and there must be some one to whom all could look as the representative of all. This some one would naturally be one of the elders; and naturally he would be chosen because he may have founded the church, or on account of his age, or wisdom, or ability, or character, or all combined, by the whole multitude of elders and brethren. So chosen, he was the pastor, the bishop.

What I have here suggested as likely is what St. Jerome says actually took place.¹ It is also substantially what takes

¹ "Before, by the instigation of Satan, jealousies arose in religion, and it

place in the missionary work of the present time. However many churches may have been gathered among the Burmese or Karens or Telugus, the missionary had the general oversight of them. The native pastors looked to him for advice and instruction. He was their superintendent, their pastor. It would have been easy for Carey or Judson to become a bishop in the ecclesiastical sense. In fact their position was very nearly that of a bishop of the second century. I will mention another case that will not be without interest. In Geneva, in the first workings of the Reformation, there were six preachers who constituted "the venerable company of pastors." Over these Calvin always presided. He always presided, too, in the meetings of the consistory. He wished Beza, his successor in the pastorate, to succeed him also in this presidential office. If he had done so, there might have come to be a permanent presiding officer, and what at first was given to Calvin on account of his work and character, might have become vested in an office. Beza saw the danger and was unwilling to comply with Calvin's wishes. The pastors, too, saw it, and, in order to avoid it, adopted the plan of electing their presiding officers week by week. They did not want a bishop.¹

It is well known that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, martyred at Rome in the reign of the emperor Trajan, is the first to mention distinctly the three orders, bishop, elder, and deacon. It is also known that his epistles have long been the occasion of controversy among the critics. As first known in modern times, they were suspected of being either spurious or greatly corrupted. The grounds of suspicion were, that they were supposed to represent a development of church
was said, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the churches were governed by the common council of the elders. But after each one began to claim those whom he had baptized as his own, rather than Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world that one of the presbyters should be chosen and placed over the rest, to whom the care of the whole church should belong."

¹ Henry's *Life of Calvin*, Vol. i. p. 401.

order far in advance of the age in which Ignatius lived. As to the epistles first known, the suspicions of the critics have been fully confirmed. There are, however, three forms of them,—a short form, consisting of three, a middle form, consisting of seven, and the long form, consisting of fifteen epistles. The last has been entirely discredited. The question now is between the short and the middle form. Some years ago Bishop Lightfoot favored the short form; later study and investigation led him to accept as genuine and uncorrupted the seven epistles of the middle form. My present purpose does not require me to have an opinion on the question. It suits me well enough to agree with Lightfoot. I am only concerned that we should know and understand what Ignatius taught. He says: "Everyone whom the Master of the household sendeth to be steward over his own house, we ought so to receive as him that sent him. Plainly therefore, we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord himself."¹ "It is meet for you in every way to glorify Jesus Christ, who glorified you; that being perfectly joined together in one submission, submitting yourselves to your bishop and presbyters, ye may be sanctified in all things."² In another epistle he says: "When ye are obedient unto the bishop as Jesus Christ, it is evident to me that ye are living, not after men, but after Jesus Christ, who died for us. . . . It is therefore necessary that you should do nothing without your bishop, but be ye also obedient to the presbyters as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, our hope. . . . and those likewise who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus must please all men in all ways. For they are not deacons of meats and drinks, but servants of the church of God. . . . Let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God and as the college of the apostles."³ "Give heed to the bishop that

¹ Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. vi. ² *Ibid.*, chap. ii.

³ Epistle to the Trallians, chaps ii. and iii.

God may give heed to you." "It is not lawful either to baptize or to hold a love feast without the bishop."

In quoting from Ignatius I have used Lightfoot's translation. In the quotations, and all through the epistles, we find no hint that bishops are successors of the apostles in the sense of having apostolic power or authority. It is the presbyters who are likened to the college of the apostles. And even the deacons are to be respected as Jesus Christ: they are the servants of the church of God. The language of the epistles is that of a man, of fervent piety, who has a nervous dread of schism, and a profound sense of the importance of preserving the unity of the church. There must indeed be obedience to the bishop, but obedience to the presbyters and deacons as well. All the officers of the church act in a representative capacity, and must be treated accordingly. If the language in reference to bishops is extravagant, it is also extravagant when it refers to presbyters and deacons. The bishop is not the autocrat, ruling alone in the church; but only one of the church's representatives; the chief, but only one.

It is easy to feel that the words of an ancient writer meant for him just what they mean for us. But can any of us really think that a bishop was to Ignatius exactly what he was in the Middle Ages, or in our own time? He wrote *bishop*; if he had written *pastor*, it would have meant nearly the same. He claims nothing for the bishop that such a man might not claim for any pastor. He would not regard the pastor as simply the servant of the church, whose business it is to preach, to visit the sick and bury the dead, and to make himself generally useful and agreeable. To him the church was a divine institution, and the pastor in it was the servant of God, and representative of Jesus Christ. It was his business to see that nothing was to be taught or done that was contrary to sound doctrine; and that no unsuitable person should be admitted to the church. Hence nothing was to be done without his approval: no one was to be baptized, no

love feast was to be held, contrary to his will. If Ignatius emphasized the pastor's or bishop's authority, we must remember that that authority had been given him for the express purpose of maintaining discipline and unity. Even in our time it would be irregular and disorganizing for any one to baptize or hold meetings, without consulting the pastor. In times when doctrines were undefined, when jealousies were bitter, when a church was a great multitude, with no common meeting place, and great funds were to be administered, such things would be far worse.¹

Thus far, in thinking of bishops we have been thinking of the presiding officers of the churches in great cities. The truth is, however, that the presiding officer in any separate, distinct church was a bishop. In early times, even in cities, the churches must often have been small, and of course the bishop of it was only the pastor of one congregation. In small towns the churches were necessarily small all the time. The canons of various synods furnish an interesting proof of the poverty and weakness of some of these early bishops. They forbid a bishop to wander from his parish or diocese; or to attempt to supplant a brother bishop. The disposition among them to seek better places for themselves was checked by forbidding a bishop to leave his original church. In some cases, no doubt, the laws were designed to protect the weak against the encroachments of the strong. Bishops sometimes refused to take the churches to which they were assigned; sometimes the churches refused to accept the bishops sent them, asserting their original right of choice. I refer to no particular canons because they are so numerous, having been passed by synods all through the third and fourth centuries, that is, during the time when ecclesiastical usages were grow-

¹ The reader might profitably consult Cyprian's letters on the state of episcopacy in his time. See particularly chap. iv., in which he exhorts the presbyters and deacons to discharge both his office and theirs, and chap. v., in which he speaks of his fellow-presbyters, etc.—Cyprian's Works, Vol. i. (Translation, T. & T. Clark.)

ing into definite and settled shape. Among the three hundred and eighteen bishops at the Council of Nicæa some had very small churches. In North Africa in the beginning of the fifth century there were nearly six hundred bishops, Catholic and Donatist. Of course most of these were simply pastors of village or town churches. They could not have been diocesan bishops.

The one thing common to all bishops, and that made them bishops, was the fact that they were the independent and uncontrolled heads of their churches. Each one was the pastor, or shepherd, or overseer of his flock, whether it was large or small. Officially all bishops were equal in rank; they were far from being equal in the power and responsibility of their positions. The village bishop had his one congregation and his few members; the city bishop had his many congregations, his thousands of members, and his many presbyters. It was impossible that this difference in wealth and power should not after a while lead to a change in conceptions. Either a single congregation with its pastor or bishop must come to be regarded as the normal church; or the bishop of a single congregation must cease to be regarded as a bishop. That the single congregation should come to be the normal church was contrary to all probability. The great cities give law to the country, not the country to the cities. It is what the cities do that fixes the custom; development follows the line of city precedent. The popular conception of a bishop was therefore derived from a city bishop. It hardly seemed proper that the bishop of a small congregation should be of equal weight and rank with the bishop of many congregations. Then, too, the city presbyter might be the head of a much larger congregation than his country brother; his duties were of the same general kind and more exacting and difficult, and yet he was only a presbyter and his country brother was a bishop. The whole thing was incongruous; there must be a new distribution, and like go to like. The country bishops

must take rank with the city presbyters, whom they most resembled, and the city bishops get exclusive possession of the name. The bishop must be no longer simply the pastor of an independent church: he must have, not a parish, as formerly, but a diocese, only the word diocese was not yet in use.¹

The process by which the name bishop came to be applied exclusively to city bishops is not obscurely revealed in history. In the third century we meet with the name *Chor-episcopus*, country bishop. It was not used, Gieseler tells us, everywhere. "In Africa, where the country bishops were particularly numerous, they were not at all distinguished from others, not even by a peculiar name."² And Hefele tells us that they seem to have been considered in ancient times as quite on a par with the other bishops, so far as their position in synods was concerned.³ They took their places in the first general council, at Nicæa (325); and in the third, at Ephesus (431), but not in the fourth, at Chalcedon (451). They received the same ordination as other bishops, and the only thing against them was that they were bishops in the country. They came to be slighted by the great city bishops on the one hand, and by the great city presbyters on the other. The synods began to legislate against them. The synod of Antioch (341) did not permit them to ordain a priest or deacon, although they may have received episcopal ordination, and if they should dare to do so, they were to be deprived of their dignity.⁴ Somewhat later, the synod of Laodicea forbade the appointment of bishops in the villages and in the

¹ *Parish* as an ecclesiastical division has remained substantially unchanged; but it is now a priest who has a parish; formerly it was a bishop. The 21st canon of the synod of Antioch (A. D. 341), according to the edition of Dionysius, says: "Let not a bishop go from one *parish* to another." The later edition of Isidore reads, "A bishop ought not to pass from one *diocese* to another." The change is significant.

² Church History, Vol. i. p. 235.

³ History of Councils, Vol. i. p. 17.

⁴ Hefele, Vol. ii. p. 69.

country. Those already appointed must be in subjection to the city bishop: like the priests, they must do nothing without his consent.¹ The synod of Sardica, a great western synod, did not permit a bishop to be appointed in a village or small town where one priest suffices, "in order that the episcopal dignity might not suffer." If, however, the town is so populous as to appear worthy of a bishop, it shall obtain one."² That is, wherever there is only one congregation there must be a priest; where there are several, a bishop. And so by the laws on the subject we may trace how a bishop in the old gave place to a bishop in the new sense. There was a change in two directions: in one case, upward; in the other, downward. The great bishops became greater; and the little bishops came to be no bishops at all.

With the passing out of the country bishop, the old conception of the bishop as the pastor of one church also passed out. Henceforth a bishop was the head of a diocese, the ruler of several, it may be of many churches. The first stage in the development was completed, and the organization of the church as a whole was made to conform to the organization of the great city churches. The bishops had come to be a separate and distinct class. Presbyters quietly accepted their position of subordination in rank as well as in duties. The bishops were no longer jealous of them; and they were no longer restless under the ever advancing powers of the bishops. The position of the deacons, too, was changed. In the beginning they had been the assistants of the pastors in single congregations. In the great churches they were still the pastor's especial aids. They were always in close relations to the bishops; they were his ministers, his advisers, and his helpers in the conduct of public worship as well as in the distribution of alms. In representations given of a church service of the third and fourth centuries the presbyters stand or sit silent. It is the bishops and the deacons who take pub-

¹ Hefele, Vol. ii., p. 321. ² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

lic part. Their nearness to the bishop brought it about that the deacons were often more influential than presbyters; and the archdeacon was in the direct line of succession to the bishop. He was next to the bishop in power and influence. But the development which fixed the presbyter's position as inferior to that of the bishop, restored him to his old position of superiority to the deacon. The three orders—first, second, and third—deacon, priest, bishop—were now recognized and clearly defined.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think of the three orders of the fourth century as exactly representing the three orders in all subsequent times. The law of change continued to operate, affecting all classes. As our business is with the bishops, we say nothing of what happened in the case of deacons and presbyters. But the bishop continued to grow; at first he was the head of associated congregations in one city. As the congregations were gathered around and near the city, they also came under his control. As other congregations were added to the great brotherhood, they were also added to the bishop's jurisdiction, until he had a whole section or province under him. This was inevitable when it came to be recognized that there must be a bishop, and that the country bishop, the pastor of one church, was not a bishop. But it happened that there were in some provinces several great cities in which from old times there were churches and bishops. How would these bishops be related to each other? Just as in cities one presbyter came to be the head or bishop over the other presbyters, so in provinces one bishop came to be the head of the other bishops. This chief bishop was naturally the bishop in the civil capital, the metropolis; and hence the metropolitan bishop got to be the head of his brethren. The great public gatherings of the church, the semi-annual synods, met in the capital, and he presided over them and had the chief direction in framing canons and executing discipline. The development did not end with the metro-

politan, but went on to the patriarch, and ultimately, in the West, to the pope, the head of the whole church, the bishop of all the bishops.

The law of the resultant of forces which, operating in relation to the church, first developed a bishop, continuing to operate, changed him from age to age. In the West he came to be a feudal lord and to have civil jurisdiction. He had his court for the dispensing of justice; he furnished his military contingent and sometimes commanded it in the field, and he was a member of assembly or parliament. As circumstances changed him from a presbyter to a bishop, so circumstances made him a secular as well as an ecclesiastical lord. Always with changing circumstances the bishop has changed.¹ In England he is still a civil lord, member of the upper house of Parliament. In America he has no civil functions; he is only the superintendent of the clergy of his diocese.

We have thus far considered only the way in which a presbyter came to be a bishop. Another and not less interesting question remains to be considered, viz., What were the bishop's peculiar functions? What was it that he could do that no one else could do? As bishop and presbyter were originally identical, the peculiar duties of a bishop must have begun when a bishop first began to be discriminated from a presbyter. We bear in mind that the pastor or bishop was created for a special purpose. He was to be the recognized, authoritative leader in the church. His appointment was to prevent confusion and to secure unity and efficiency of action. Whatever was essential to the successful performance of his office must be granted to him. Some things that were originally common to all the presbyters must be granted to him exclusively. If before the appointment of the pastor the presbyters had been in the habit of ordaining presbyters and

¹ The writer's studies in church history justify his saying this on his own authority, but the reader is invited to consult Hatch's chapters on the "Diocese" and the "Diocesan Bishop," in *Growth of Church Institutions*.

deacons, that custom must be changed. For if officers could be chosen and ordained by any one other than the pastor, it would be impossible for him to maintain his authority. Parties might be raised against him; the church might be divided; scandal might arise; and he would be helpless. Especially would it be dangerous to permit the presbyters of a church to ordain at will a pastor or bishop. Such a thing would make easily possible, if it did not invite, the election of opposition bishops in the great cities. Hence it was naturally brought about that ordinations, but especially the ordination of a bishop, was regarded as belonging alone to the bishops. Even when it was conceded that bishops alone might ordain bishops, the danger of schisms was not altogether removed. A schismatic party might procure ordination at the hands of a neighboring bishop, and thus get to itself a regular ecclesiastical standing. To avoid this, there arose a custom, afterwards taking the form of law, that no one should be ordained a bishop without the approval and consent of all the bishops of the province. So carefully did the church of the third and fourth centuries hedge about the office and privileges of a bishop.¹ Nevertheless, revolts sometimes occurred.²

What took place in reference to ordination, in some measure also took place in reference to baptism. We have seen that Ignatius taught that no one was to baptize or hold a love feast without the bishop. This rule was simply in the interest of order and propriety. It was intended to strengthen the bishop's authority and to give him a rightful influence in the church. No one contended that the right to baptize or to

¹ The fourth canon of the Council of Nicæa says: "It is especially proper for a bishop to be appointed by all the bishops of the province; but if such a thing should be difficult either on account of pressing necessity, or on account of the length of the journey (the votes of all having been taken and all having agreed by letter), three at least should come together and perform the ordination; but the confirmation of what is done belongs to the metropolitan of the province."

² The schisms of Felicissimus at Carthage, and of Hippolytus and Novatian at Rome in the third century, are cases in illustration of this fact.

authorize baptism belonged originally only to the bishop; the restriction was a matter of discipline. Tertullian, in his treatise on baptism, is a witness of this. He says: "The chief priest, that is the bishop, has the right of giving baptism; in the next place, presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority, on account of the honor of the church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Besides these," he continues, "even laymen have the right, for what is equally received can be equally given."¹ There was no official qualification necessary to administer the rite; but the fitness of things required that the bishop should be consulted. Any one may know of churches at the present day in which there are ordained ministers qualified to baptize; but no one of them would dare to baptize in that church without the consent of the pastor. The baptism would be valid, but the pastor's rights would be invaded, and the church dishonored. No church that would permit such a thing could maintain discipline or unity. In the light of modern instances we may interpret the old feeling.²

Baptism had been in the church from the first, and the right to baptize had been freely enjoyed by presbyters and deacons. It was, therefore, difficult to restrict it, and the bishop could not in all cases be conveniently consulted. But what in some cases must be done without the bishop could be afterwards submitted to him for ratification. He "confirmed" what had been done by the laying on of hands.³ It

¹ Chap. xvii.

² The writer of this has long been a member of the Baptist church at Upland, Pa. By the courtesy of his friend, the late Dr. J. M. Pendleton, he baptized four of his children in that church. If Dr. P. had not requested him to do so, he would not at all have thought of doing it. The right to baptize belonged to the pastor.

³ "That the laying on of the bishop's hands served to give the bishop a check on unauthorized or irregular baptisms, is proved by the fact that those who were baptized by heretics were required to receive the imposition of hands before they were recognized as members of the church. In the same way, returning penitents had hands laid on them."—Hefele, *History of Councils*, Vol. i. pp. 188–189.

was a public acknowledgment, similar to the giving of the right hand of fellowship in non-Episcopal churches at the present day. The bishop's connection with it, however, was not from the first; nor did it come from the apostles. Tertullian mentions it, and says that it was "derived from the old sacramental rite in which Jacob blessed his grandsons."¹ Originally it immediately followed the unction, which immediately followed the baptism, and might be given by the baptizer, whether bishop or not.² The present custom of the Eastern Church is for the priest to "confirm" the person baptized, whether infant or adult, immediately after baptism. The confirmation was not considered essential to the efficacy of baptism: the lack of it did not endanger the salvation of the soul; and even in the fifth century and in the West, in cases of necessity a priest might anoint and confirm as well as baptize.³ The unction, once symbolizing the baptism of the Holy Spirit, has passed out in non-Catholic churches. The confirmation in the West usually follows baptism at a long interval.

Presbyters were never denied the right to administer com-

¹ Tertullian on Baptism, chap. viii.

² *Ibid.*, chap. vii. : "After this, when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly anointed with the blessed oil, after the old discipline, wherein, on entering the priesthood, men were wont to be anointed with oil," etc. "In the next place," he says, "the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit by benediction."—chap. viii.

³ "If heretics in a mortal sickness wish to become Catholics, then in the absence of the bishop a priest may mark them with the chrism and benediction." That is, as Hefele explains, may give them confirmation. This is canon 1, of the synod of Orange, a western synod in 445.—Hef. iii. 160. The 77th canon of the synod of Elvira (A. D. 305) says that a man, baptized by a deacon, dying before confirmation, is saved by virtue of the faith which he professed on receiving baptism.—Hef. i. 170. "Of what may be called the modern, Protestant idea of confirmation, as the ratification by the baptized child, when he has attained an age capable of deliberate choice, of the promises made for him by his sponsors, there is not the slightest trace in Christian antiquity."—Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (Smith and Cheatham), *sub con.*

munion. In great churches, however, they did it when the bishop was present, only at his direction. Episcopal control in this is so fully acknowledged to be merely a matter of order, that nothing more need be said about it. As time went on, whatever restriction there was in the case was removed. And the restriction was removed in all cases except where it was useful in maintaining the bishop's authority.¹ After his position was assured, the bishop might freely permit his priests and deacons to baptize, and his priests to celebrate mass, or the Lord's Supper. Restriction in these matters was not necessary to his control of them. But there must be some things that they could not do. If he should surrender his claim to confirm and ordain, churches and priests might easily get on without him. As confirmation bound the people, so ordination bound the clergy to him. If priests were permitted to confirm and ordain, bishops would no longer have any special and peculiar functions. If there should be bishops at all, they would be of the Methodist, and not of the Episcopal order.

The fact that the development of diocesan episcopacy began so early, that it goes back so near to apostolic times, has been taken by some as an indication that it has something of divine authority. The answer to this is that, as it is a continuous development, if it has divine authority for one part of it, there is divine authority for all its parts. If we accept the development of the third century, so must we accept the development of the ninth, and the thirteenth, and the nineteenth. And if, by the operation of new forces, the development should, after a while, get to itself an entirely new character, it must still be accepted as of divine sanction and authority. In a word, we must agree that whatever is or may yet be in the

¹ The fact that there was no restriction at first as to baptism and the eucharist, then restriction, and then again no restriction, proves that the restriction was for a temporary purpose; no doubt, as stated above, to maintain the bishop's authority.

church, is of God. In fact there have always been two parties in the church, one holding that all developments are of divine right, the other that they are all of human right. Besides, there is in the Catholic Church an intelligent party which consciously holds that divine guidance is confined to the development of doctrine, and that matters of order and discipline may be determined by the wisdom and prudence of men. This last view more nearly conforms to the practice of the Catholic Church, which has always held that all doctrines must be defined by the unanimous vote of synod or council; while ecclesiastical rules may become laws by a majority vote. The laws may be changed; and need not be universally operative; the dogmas must be believed by all, and always.

We need not undertake to decide between these conflicting parties. It is certain that, whether a bishop (as we know him) is by divine or by human right, he is a development: he came to be a bishop from having been something else. I have endeavored to indicate the circumstances which made the transition in a measure necessary. When the great city churches were once taken as the church unit, what followed was a matter of course. But, if instead of taking the city church the town or village church had been taken as the unit, the development would have been very different. And the single congregation was the natural unit. The city church was the outcome of temporary and warping conditions. Peculiar circumstances determined its methods of activity and forced it into a complex and abnormal organization. It was just as if the temporary and provisional arrangements of churches in heathen lands, in our day, should be taken as the model of what is to come after them. Great numbers, many elders, and many meeting places never were necessary to constitute a church. The little congregations in villages and country places were churches, actually or potentially exer-

cising all the functions that ever could belong to any church.¹ They had their pastors, and their pastors were recognized as bishops among bishops. When the time came that there might be fixed places of meeting, the great city churches themselves were divided into congregations, which were churches in all respects, except that they were dependent on the city bishop. A great church spontaneously dividing into many congregations was a virtual protest against the permanence of what ought to have been only a temporary organization; and as far as possible a reversion to the simple specific church unit.

The development on the model of the great city church having once begun, there were many things to favor and stimulate it. When the church began to have property, it was held, not by individual city congregations, but by the whole Christian community. An undivided property favored an undivided church. Monarchy in the state also suggested ecclesiastical monarchy. Later the social organization of Europe, with its grades of nobility, modified the ecclesiastical organization. But everywhere, and all the time, the type was preserved: it was the city church; not the pastor and his congregation, but the bishop and his diocese. This conception of the church held undisputed possession of the world for a thousand years. It has been built into the framework of European civilization; it has moulded European institutions; it is almost an inseparable part of European life. Where nothing but an episcopal organization has been known, bishops seem to be a necessary order, and it scarcely enters into the thoughts of men that there can be a church without diocesan bishops. A change can only come in some violent upheaval, as in Germany and Scotland in the days of the Reformation; or by the slow and patient growth of a different formative conception. England furnishes an example of the wonderful

¹ Exceptional cases do not vitiate the inference which the mass of facts forces upon us, that in the greater part of the Christian world each community was complete in itself. Every town, and sometimes every village, had its bishop. Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions*, p. 18.

persistence of an ecclesiastical type. After the assaults of dissenters for two hundred years, the outworks of her diocesan episcopacy have not been shaken. The citadel has scarcely been conscious of attack.

The slow growth of dissent in England is one of the noteworthy things in ecclesiastical history. The explanation is that the ground was pre-occupied. To abolish diocesan episcopacy would be to effect a revolution in the social, political, and ecclesiastical life of the people. It would do away with the developments of centuries; it would involve a double process of annihilation and new creation. For the successful and rapid operation of a new formative conception of the church, there must be a new and unoccupied field. Such a field is found in America. Here none of those circumstances have existed which originally developed the diocese. The office of diocesan bishop, when it has existed, has been simply ecclesiastical. The bishop has had no organic place in government or in society; nor even in the church. The ordinary functions of a church—instruction, and baptism, and communion, and discipline, and charity—have largely gone on without him. He has, indeed, exerted no little influence, partly from his personal character, and partly from the traditional sentiment that attaches to the office; but otherwise he has not come into forceful contact with the people. His peculiar functions have been few, and they can be easily and sharply defined. As occasion requires, he visits churches and administers the rite of *confirmation*. This rite confers no spiritual grace; it is a post-apostolic development, derived, as Tertullian tells us, from the old law, that is from Judaism; and in the East it is to-day administered by a priest. Even in the West a priest might administer it; and all the rights of the bishop in regard to it were conferred by canon law. The only apparent reason for its being given exclusively to the bishop was that it was necessary to his authority in his diocese. What has been said of confirmation might equally be said of ordination,

the second ecclesiastical privilege of the bishop. It was a right given by canon law and was a part of the developed organization of the church. In the beginning there were no bishops as distinguished from elders, and there is no trace of proof in the New Testament that the apostles ordained any but elders.

The supposed divine or apostolic authority for diocesan bishops being out of the way, there is no imperative need for them in America. In this open, new, and free country we are rid, in large measure, of the obstructing influence of social, political, and ecclesiastical developments. In many things we have gone back to simple, fundamental principles. We have dissolved the long and supposed necessary connection of church and state, to the advantage of both; we have emphasized the spirituality of the church; and in many other things we have made new beginnings. As, at first, circumstances led to the adoption of the great, undivided city churches as the unit of development, so in this country they point to a return to the simple, natural unit, the single congregation. The American conception of a church is of a single congregation: it scarcely knows any other. This single congregation is a church complete in itself. It has no place for a diocesan bishop; for the simple reason that it has a bishop of its own, and all legitimate spiritual functions may be as validly and truly performed by the pastor of the humblest village church in America as by the grandest mitred bishop of the Old World.

Whatever valuable services the developed hierarchy may have performed in the past, it was certainly responsible for much of the tyranny and corruption of the church; and if the church should ever again become a menace to civil rights and privileges, it would be because of hierarchical assumptions. We in America have thus far had no generally accepted hierarchy. We have had many churches, but no church. Single Christian congregations fit into our political system just

as single families fit into the social order. As the families are free and independent of each other, so for the most part are the churches. The state, as such, knows no church; and the churches know no state. It is God who has given us this happy political and ecclesiastical order. To seek or to wish for another development is to be ignorant of his favor and blessing. In the pastors of our thousands of churches we have the American, which is likewise a true, "historical episcopate."

ARTICLE VII.

ISRAEL AND THE GOSPEL.

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IT is the most natural thing in the world that the interest taken in the Jews and their history knows no abatement. Their mission has been of such a unique kind that they constitute a *sui generis* factor and force in the development of history, offering an attractive problem, not only to the theologian and Bible student, but to the historian in general. If the teaching of the philosophy of history is correct, that a people is entitled to the rank of an historic nation in so far as they have contributed permanent elements to the culture and civilization of the world, then the Jews can claim a position in the front rank of the favored few. Beyond doubt or debate, the most potent factor in the ups and downs of the thought and activity of both individuals and nations is the religious. It is superior in influence to the ties of language, nationality, and even of kinship and blood. The mighty ideas and ideals which have contributed most to the development of Christian civilization, and to the present day yet continue in the world of faith and morals, in all the ramifications of individual and social life, to rule the hearts and minds of countless millions, are substantially rooted in Jewish soil, and have assumed their historic and present proportions in the Newer Covenant, supplementing and complementing the Older. The best civilization of this and preceding centuries is practically the further development of elements drawn from chiefly three ancient peoples—the Greeks, the Romans, and the Israelites. The first have contributed more than all others

to the intellectual and æsthetical departments of modern culture, and their permanent influence is felt in the methods and manners of thought, in the ideals of the arts, in the systems of philosophy, and kindred lines. The Romans have supplied later generations with the forms of government, with the legal systems controlling states and society, property and rights. In Israel, however, were first planted those all-powerful principles of religious faith and worship and life which, as developed later by Christianity, have become the master influences in the development of everything that really can be called good and an advance in the history of mankind. In other spheres of activity and thought Israel was greatly the inferior of both Greeks and Romans, as also of some other nations which have left little or no abiding impress on the destinies and fate of mankind. Not in the sciences or arts, not in architecture or sculpture, not even in literature purely as such, can Israel claim equality, much less superiority, over some other peoples. Political power and supremacy to any notable degree was never hers. Among the powerful nations of antiquity, both the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Persians in the East, as also the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans in the West,—who all aimed at the realization of the one great ideal of ancient statesmanship, namely, the establishment of a world's empire, Israel played only a minor rôle. It is not at all accidental that in the monuments and inscriptions of Egypt not even the name of the Hebrews occurs, and that in the vast mass of the cuneiform literature which has been unearthed in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which, according to the testimony of so able a specialist as Friedrich Delitzsch,¹ “exceeds in compass the whole of the Old Testament Scriptures,” and which promises to be practically inexhaustible, and which in variety represents literature in all its ramifications and kinds, Israel and Israel's doings are mentioned only incidentally when they come into

¹ Assyrian Grammar, p. 9.

contact with the kings of the East. Israel had no Apelles and no Phidias, no schools of philosophy or prominent representatives of statescraft. Yet, of all the nations of antiquity, this small and seemingly insignificant people have made the most lasting contribution to the make-up of the historic forces that have been guiding the destinies of mankind ever since. The literature and culture of even such nations as the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians are for the student of Christian civilization of little or no practical value, and may pass as interesting curiosities of history; but without Israel and the Old Testament the philosophy of history would be helpless.¹

Naturally the Christian feels even a deeper interest in the chosen people than any suggested by scientific history. Between the Old Testament and the New there is only a difference of degree, but none of kind. Christianity and its principles are the legitimate development and fruits of the germs in the Old Covenant dispensation. As St. Augustine says: "In Veteri Testamento Novum latet, in Novo Vetus patet."² Christ according to the flesh was an Israelite, and the Christian church is in possession of the spiritual inheritance which the chosen people, by a singular rejection of their historical antecedents, discarded. With the same great church father, the Christian says, "Amo omnes Judæos propter unum Judæum." It goes without saying, that the permanent interest which the Israel of to-day can claim must also rest upon his religious status, trend, and thought. An examination of the condition of the Peculiar People in these respects, and, on the basis of this, of their relation to the gospel, is a thankful task, and anything but a work of supererogation. In

¹ Confer, for further development of this line of thought, the Introduction to Stade's "Geschichte des Volkes Israel." He says: "Our modern thought and feeling, our deeds and actions, are by far influenced more by the world of thought and feeling in Israel than by that of Rome and Greece. Our entire modern culture is thoroughly saturated by ideals and motifs derived from Israel" (p. 3).

² Quest. in Exod. 73.

modern Christian missions, both as theory and as practice, no problem presents more unique perplexities than does gospel work among the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

Frederick the Great of Prussia, at a public banquet, asked his court preacher to give him in the fewest words a convincing argument for the truth of Christianity. Without any hesitancy came the reply in three words: "Majestät, die Juden!" The answer did not convince the friend of Voltaire and of Voltairism, but it did silence him; for the condition of Israel, and especially her vast dispersion to all the corners of the globe—a nation without a country—showed how clearly the Saviour's prophetic vision had foreseen the future. The statistics of the modern Jewish Diaspora are anything but dry data. The latest and best are undoubtedly those of the well-known statistician, Professor V. Juraschek, in his "Geographisch-statistischen Tabellen über alle Länder der Erde" for 1890, which is based on official reports, but has been in places slightly corrected by the "Annuaire des Archives Israelites" for the years 5646, 5647, 5651 (i. e., 1886, 1887, 1891). The following is a reproduction of these figures:—

A.—EUROPE.

Belgium.....	5,000	Bosnia.....	6,000
Bulgaria.....	24,000	Portugal.....	300
Denmark.....	4,000	Roumania.....	400,000
France.....	80,000	Russia.....	3,326,000
Germany.....	579,000	Sweden.....	3,800
Greece.....	6,000	Switzerland.....	8,800
Great Britain.....	60,000	Servia.....	4,400
Italy.....	45,800	Spain.....	6,900
Luxemburg.....	850	Turkey in Europe.....	94,600
Netherlands.....	90,100		
Austria without Hungary..	1,005,000	Total for Europe.....	6,301,550
Hungary.....	641,000		

B.—ASIA.

Afghanistan.....	14,000	Turkey in Asia.....	195,000
British India.....	26,000	(with about 50,000 in Palestine)	
Persia.....	19,000		
Russia in Asia.....	40,000	Total for Asia.....	294,000

C.—AFRICA.

Abyssinia.....	200,000	Tripoli.....	6,000
Egypt.....	8,000	Tunis.....	45,000
Algiers.....	48,500		
Morocco.....	200,000	Total for Africa.....	507,000

D.—AMERICA.

British America.....	2,500	United States.....	230,000
Central and South America.	50,000		
Dutch Possessions.....	2,700	Total for America.....	285,200

E.—AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

British Australia.....	13,500	New Zealand.....	2,500
		Total.....	16,000

This makes a grand total for the world of 7,404,250. Possibly later reports would slightly change these items in this or that instance. For example, the fact that the United States census for 1890 credits the Jews, both orthodox and Reformed, with a communicant membership of 130,496,¹ would indicate that there are more than 230,000 Jews in this country. But the grand total is no doubt as correct as can be made with present helps.²

That a dispersion among all the nations and climes of the earth, such as is indicated by these statistics, and the contact with so great a diversity of thought and life, should among the Jews in different parts of the globe produce a diversity of ideas and ideals, is not as surprising as the fact that, notwithstanding their having been strangers in strange lands

¹ Cf. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (Vol. i. of the *American Church History series*), p. 164.

² Other statistics differ, more or less, from these. Jurashek estimates the total Jewish population of the globe at 8,000,000 (in 1887). The *Annuaire* for the same year at 6,300,000; Flaminio Servi, in his instructive statistical volume entitled "Gli Israelite," estimated the number in 1869 as high as 9,594,940; Richard Andrée, the well-known German geographer, in 1881, at 6,139,662, and the *Bulletin of the Marseilles Geographical Society* in 1885 at 6,377,602. Strange to say, so good a rabbinical scholar as Pressel, in the second edition of Herzog's "Real-Encyclopædie," placed the estimate as high as twelve millions.

for nearly two thousand years, they still retain the consciousness of being one peculiar people with an historic mission and work. That total amalgamation and absorption has not resulted from their being a people without a country for so many centuries is one of the most remarkable phenomena of history. Yet here it is again the religious factor that has proved to be such a bond of close and lasting union, and has resisted the process of national disintegration. Whatever may be thought of the intrinsic value of Israel's claim of being still the chosen people of God, designed and destined to communicate to the world the highest development of religion in its metaphysical monotheism and its ethics, certain it is, that it is this conviction in all sections and branches of Israel, and in all the schools and types of thought represented, which has united them, and enabled them to resist historic forces which, in the case of other nations, would have inevitably led to national extinction. The most potent factor in the spiritual and religious make-up of the Jews is the conviction of being the congregation of the Lord. This, and not the feeling of nationality, is the leading trait of their character. And this is the case, not only among the orthodox sections, who still adhere to the hopes of a Messiah and of an earthly millennium under his rule with headquarters in Jerusalem, but also among the most radical of moderns, who have completely broken with the past, but claim to find in the idealized monotheistic teachings of Judaism the only religious system that can satisfy the highest demands of the heart and mind, even if these teachings are little or nothing more than the vagaries of modern materialistic and naturalistic science. Yet the existence of this consciousness, and the conviction of modern Judaism of representing a higher type of religious and ethical thought than that of other systems, notably Christianity, is one of the most important factors with which Christian workers must operate in their dealings with the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The Jews do not regard Christianity as a

higher development of religion than their own, nor do they see in the New Covenant principles a development from the germs in the Old ; but rather do they claim that Christianity is an erratic outgrowth of Jewish religious thought, and at most recognize in the New Testament writings a collection of writings essentially of the same character and kind as those found in the Mishna and other post-biblical Jewish literature.¹ That a standpoint like this must materially affect the attitude of Israel, over against the claims of the gospel, goes without saying. That it makes the evangelization of the Jews one of the most difficult tasks in the whole field of Christian mission enterprise requires no demonstration.

Yet neither this all-powerful force, nor the fact that, as a Semitic and an Oriental people, Israel belongs to a family of nations one of the leading characteristics of which is an intense conservatism that recognizes no higher law than the *semper idem*, has made the chosen people absolutely armor-proof to influences from without, even in the sphere of religious thought and life. There are examples in history of other Semitic peoples having radically changed, through foreign influences, their religious beliefs and culture. It is practically settled among scholars that the civilization and religion that find their expression in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys are not Assyrian or Babylonian in origin, but largely taken from an older Turanian or Accadian people. Again, early in the Christian era the Semitic Ethiopians so fully gave themselves up to the influences of Greek Christianity and Greek Christian culture, that the effects are strongly noted in even the language of the people. The

¹ Significant remarks on this phase of the problem can be found in the report of that singular conference between Christians and Jews held in Chicago, November 24 and 25, 1890, of which an account appeared entitled "Jew and Gentile: A Report of a conference of Israelites and Christians, regarding their Mutual Relations and Welfare" (Cincinnati. 1890). Cf. also the (unsigned) article on "The Mission of the Jews" in Harper's Monthly, January, 1894.

Jewish mind, too, has from the beginning been anything but hermetically sealed to influences of this character. On the contrary, there existed from the very outset of their national existence a strong faction that was willing to compromise with other nations in this regard, and practised a pronounced syncretism. Idolatry was the besetting sin in the Old Covenant, and in antagonizing it the prophets found their hardest task. Even after the exile, when Israel ought to have become wise by experience, and when, to use an expression of the Jewish scholar Emmanuel Deutsch, in his "Literary Remains," they returned "a pilgrim band," this propensity was abroad in the land. When Greek culture and literature followed in the wake of Alexander the Great, and revolutionized the thought of the East, strong factions of the Israelites too yielded to this power, and "Hellenism" found able and many representatives among them also. The tendencies of thought and life that became embodied in the Sadducee sect, and found their expression in such literary lights as Philo, of Alexandria, show best to what a degree this new departure had affected the thought and mind of Israel. The various trends and tendencies and schools that prevailed in the religious life of Israel in the New Testament era were by no means the normal development of premises found in their sacred records or in their history, but, many of them, were exotic, and adopted as a consequence of contact with civilizations that had developed on a soil other than that from which Israel had sprung.

These lessons from history will aid materially in understanding the Israelites of our own day and date, particularly in their relations to the gospel. In discussing the trend and tendency of the religious thought in modern Judaism, a sharp distinction must be made between the Jews of the East and those of the West. The latter have, in this century of emancipation, for the first time in history been placed on an equal footing with their Aryan neighbors in the great struggle for

existence. Legal and social restrictions that confined the activity of the Jews to certain sharply defined spheres have been entirely removed in Western Europe, the last bars falling during the revolution of 1848. Since that, avenues and callings and professions have been opened to them which formerly were not, although even to the present day prejudice and custom have erected invisible but firm walls where these no longer exist in the eyes of the law. The result of the opening of these opportunities has been that the thought and life of the Western Jew have compromised with the thought and life as exemplified in modern culture and civilization. It was at once recognized, that the religious sentiments and ethical ideas traditionally developed from the historic foundations of post-biblical Judaism, could not be brought into harmony with the basal principles of a civilization that had grown out of diametrically different national and religious antecedents. If the Israelites were with any prospects of success to enter upon a competition in modern civilization, it would be possible only on the condition that they sacrifice some of the landmarks of their faith and system of beliefs, and in that way adapt themselves to the surroundings of which they were now permitted to constitute an integral part. It was this conviction that actuated the teachings of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), who correctly and properly is regarded as the father of modern reformed Jewish thought. Unfortunately for the Jews, they, for reasons that from an historical and psychological standpoint can easily be understood, did not recognize the fact that the most powerful and intrinsically the best and noblest factor in modern civilizations were the principles of Christianity. Modern civilization in so far as it is really a power for the betterment of the human race, is in all respects, and throughout, Christian in character. This is the salt of the culture of our generation, and, whatever disintegrating factors may be at work, they are, one and all, of an antichristian, or at best unchristian, origin. This funda-

mental truth modern Judaism would not, and possibly could not, recognize. As a result, they made a compromise,—such as they have made more than once before in history, e. g. in the era of Alexandrian philosophy,—namely, gave up the best elements in their traditional faith, their worship of Jehovah as he is revealed in the Old Testament, and accepted the teachings of a Christless modern system of thought, thus receiving less than they gave up. As a consequence, the modern Judaism of the West, as a whole, is, at best, rationalizing, and often thoroughly rationalistic, and radically neological of the best elements in modern society and civilization; and between the various sections of Western Judaism there is, in this regard, a difference of degree, but scarcely of kind: while urging indeed their leading tenet of the absolute unity of God as the basis of every true religion, this tenet has really only a philosophical but not an ethical or spiritual significance in the complex of their teachings. As a vital or spiritual force, this great truth has virtually lost its power. In this regard modern Judaism has, if anything, emphasized the undercurrent idea characteristic of all the post-biblical teachings of the peculiar people, namely, centring their system in instruction and tenets, thus developing a formalism and stereotyped forms of dogmas that stand in little connection with the development and regeneration of heart and mind. It is not accidental that a traditional name for the synagogue is *Beth-ha-Midrash*, “teaching house.” In the nature of the case, modern Jewish thought can be nothing but superficial, and cannot possess the intrinsic power of convincing and converting. The Jews, indeed, sometimes claim that they voluntarily abstain from making propaganda for their religious system; but, in reality, the absence of positive elements in their present views is the reason why Judaism has ceased to be a missionary religion. It was not such in former generations, not even in the New Testament era, when proselytes were many and eagerly sought. Modern Judaism as represented in the West, suffers as a re-

religious system from innate weakness, and therefore has been compelled to give up one of its historic prerogatives, that of attracting to it great and truth-seeking minds. The claim frequently urged, that the teachings of the Judaism of the day, which finds a kindred system in vapid Unitarianism and Universalism, represent the highest possible type of religion, in the acceptance of which modern religious thought must find its ideal and only satisfactory conclusion, is a singular illustration of empty-minded self-sufficiency and self-deception.

It is only natural that the ideals of life developed from principles substantially little, if anything, more than the current non-Christian philosophical thought of the age, cannot be any of the highest type. Without any doubt, the leading trend and ambition of modern Jewish life is the acquisition of power and influence in all the departments of human activity, and to do so without an altogether too scrupulous concern for the moral side of the struggle. A prominent statesman of Europe is credited with the statement, that the nations of Europe dare not go to war with each other without first having asked the permission of the Rothschilds. So thoroughly do Jewish influences control the finances of the world. This statement may have been an exaggeration; but, if so, it was an exaggerated truth. It is undeniable that the Jews of today are working might and main to secure control of those agencies which exercise the greatest power in moulding, and forming, and controlling modern life and thought. Finances, literature, the press, education, the professions, etc.—to obtain these is the object of their ambition. They will not engage in pursuits that generate new values, such as agriculture, but only in those that profit by the new values obtained by others, and in a way that bring such profits rapidly. A Jewish working-man or artisan of any description is a *rara avis*. On the other hand, they crowd the professions and business pursuits in such a manner that they have thereby caused to arise, even

in the best of circles, an anti-Semitic agitation looking to the curtailment of Jewish influence and power in the walks of modern life.

To illustrate the point in view, the official statistics in only one of these walks need to be taken. In Germany the Jews constitute a little less than one per cent of the inhabitants. Yet among the 1,326 non-theological teachers at the twenty-two universities, several years ago, 96 were Jews or of Jewish descent, i. e., about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of the 529 privat-docenten, 84 are Jewish, i. e., about $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, showing that in all probability the percentage of Jewish professors will be even greater in the future than it has been, and is at present. At Berlin and Breslau this element is strongly represented. Of 42 medical professors in Berlin, 13 are Jews; of 15 law professors, 3 are Jews; of 88 members of the philosophical faculty, 13 are Jews. Among the privat-docenten the percentage is again higher, namely 45 out of 124. At Breslau, of 79 professors, 15 are Jews; and of 27 privat-docenten, 12 are of this people. The same condition of affairs prevails in the case of other grades of schools also. Of the 1,400,000 inhabitants of Berlin, as reported by a recent census, 67,000 were Jews. According to this proportion, of the 23,481 pupils in the gymnasia, technical and other high schools of the German metropolis, 22,357 should have been non-Jewish, and 1,124 Jews. In reality, the figures were 18,666 and 4,815. The Jewish element is thus represented four or five times as strongly as it is fairly entitled to be. Among the university students preparing themselves for the professions of law, medicine, and kindred branches, about the same proportion, or rather disproportion, obtains. And yet the Jewish papers are constantly urging their coreligionists to force their way into these professions as much as possible. In Austria matters stand, if anything, even worse. There the Jews constitute less than five per cent of the population. Yet of the 5,721 students reported at the University of Vienna in the

winter semester of 1885-86 there were 2,085 Jews, a percentage seven times as great as the relative Jewish population would lead us to expect. In the same term the ten gymnasia of Vienna had an attendance of 2,247 Christian pupils, but of 1,174 Jewish. In some of the high schools of the Austrian capital the Jewish pupils outnumber the Christian. In the 24 so-called middle schools, i. e. those preparing pupils for entrance at the universities, of 7,708 in attendance, 4,888 were Catholics, 474 were Protestants, and 2,262 Jews.¹ In other callings of influence and power the same status prevails. Berlin has nearly 200 lawyers. Of the 660 lawyers in Vienna, 350, or more than fifty per cent, are Jewish. Of the 2,140 lawyers in the province of Lower Austria, 1,024, or 47 per cent, are Jews; and of the 370 persons in that province who registered as "literary men," only 45 were not Jews. In journalism especially, the Jews have been crowding into the forefront, and have almost monopolized this all-powerful agent of the modern world. In Berlin about all the prominent papers, except the Protestant *Kreuzzeitung* and the Roman Catholic *Germania*, are in the hands of the Jews, and the Berlin press is very outspoken in its anti-Christian tendencies. When, some time after the abrogation of the law of compulsory baptism, it had been announced by the courts that there were ten thousand unbaptized children in the German capital, a leading paper of this kind cried out: "Hurrah for the first ten thousand heathen in Berlin!" Berlin is the hotbed of radical socialism, and has become such largely through the influence of the Jewish and Jew-favoring public press. Is it surprising that Court-preacher Stöcker and his collaborators, in the magnificent work done by the Berlin City Mission Society, and in his efforts to inaugurate a Christian social movement,

¹ The determination to crowd into the influential stations of life is not confined to the Jews *masculini generis*. Only a few months ago the first gymnasium, or full college, for women in Germany was opened in Carlsruhe. Yet of the twenty-one ladies in attendance, no less than fourteen are Jewesses.

should have found it necessary to begin an anti-Semitic crusade? While many who are engaged in the struggle against the increasing Jewish influence in the life of our day and generation do so from low motives, and employ means that are more than questionable, being even positively anti-Christian in their agitation, it is a fact beyond dispute that the anti-Semitic movement, undertaken from the Christian point of view, which marks Stöcker's work, is not only a legitimate social (it never was in any shape, manner, or form a religious) problem, but a necessary one in the interest of Christian ideas and civilization. As early as 1881 a monster petition was presented to Bismarck, signed by 267,000 persons from all parts of the German empire, asking for the enactment of legal measures against the growing power of modern Judaism. Statistics of the same kind as those here furnished, could easily be given from other departments also.¹

With tendencies like these overshadowing all others, with the ambition for material power in all ranks of human activity as the *ne plus ultra* of aim and goal, it is not surprising that the Judaism of the West has not produced minds and lives of the highest type. While in many departments of thought they have shown a fair mediocrity, they have not furnished the leaders in any of the arts or sciences, in literature or letters, in research or in scholarship. Since Spinoza no Jewish name, not even if we credit them with Heine, can be mentioned in the world of thought who can be regarded as a pathfinder or an actual leader of men. Real progress has not grown on Jewish soil. This is singularly noticeable in that department in which Jewish scholarship ought to outshine all others, namely, in Old Testament criticism, which has almost monopolized the biblical world of this generation. Yet how rarely is a Jewish name even mentioned among the scholars in this department, and nobody dreams of looking for a leader

¹ Cf. an article by the writer in the *Andover Review* for April, 1889, pp. 395-404.

in this work among them. The ideal aims implied and presupposed in really valuable scholarly research, the discovery of truth solely for truth's sake, can find but little support in the Jewish mental and intellectual world of our day. The facts in this particular speak volumes.

This attitude of modern Judaism in reference to modern culture has antiquated the old historical division, current especially since the Middle Ages, into Sephardim, or Spanish Jews; Ashkenazim, or German Jews; and Mograbim, or North African Jews. These names are, however, yet retained. Sephardic congregations, numbering in all some three hundred thousand souls, are found in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Palestine, North Africa, and to a less extent in France, Holland, Germany, and England. The Ashkenazim number more than six millions, and are found chiefly in Germany, Austria, Russia, and Poland, but are found also in the Orient, France, Italy, Holland, Scandinavia, England, and North America. The Mograbim number about one hundred and sixty thousand souls, and are found in North Africa and Palestine. The modern division into liberal and conservative Jews naturally does not run parallel with these old divisions just as little as the divisions between liberals and conservatives in the Protestant churches run parallel with the historic division into denominational camps. Nor have the modernized Jews all to the same degree or extent assimilated elements from the world of thought of non-Jewish nations. This section is divided into Orthodox and Reformed Jews. According to Lic. Dr. Gustav Dalman, of Leipzig, the editor of the eleventh edition of Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament (upon whose shoulders has fallen most worthily the mantle of the veteran prince of Old Testament commentators both in regard to post-biblical Jewish literature and in regard to the questions and problems of gospel work in Israel), in the *Nathanael*, the bimonthly Jewish mission edited by Professor Strack, of Berlin, 1891, p. 5, the orthodox Jews adhere

to the rabbinic tenets, but in a purified and modernized form, freed from the objectionable features as adhered to by the old orthodox Jews in the form in which it is codified, particularly in the famous legal code compiled by Joseph Caro (died 1575), called "Shulchan Aruch," edited critically recently by Dr. Johannes A. F. E. L. V. von Pavly. The orthodox among the Western Jews also retain the Hebrew in their liturgical services, but ordinarily use the language of the country in their sermons. They still, to a greater or less extent, hope for the fulfilment of prophetic prediction in the shape of a carnal Messianic kingdom, with headquarters at Jerusalem, and extending to the corners of the earth. It is chiefly among this class that the nationalistic movement, which has become quite prominent in certain Jewish circles of late, looking to a re-establishment of the people as a nation in the land of their fathers, has found the warmest advocates.¹ The Reformed Jews have practically broken with the laws of Moses, and especially with the Talmud and the entire post-biblical phases of Judaism; they employ the language of the country in their services, and consider themselves thoroughly modernized citizens. As a rule they have given up their faith in supernatural revelation, and are thoroughly saturated with the idea of Israel's ability, by a natural development of its native abilities, to produce the highest type of religious and moral truths. "Not a few," says Dalman, "have lost all faith in religion and are exponents of the purest materialism, and are characterized by religious indifferentism and an hostility to all positive Christian ideas and civilization." Just what the numerical proportions of these two branches are in Europe it would be hard to say. The latter is, without any doubt, rapidly extending its

¹ Cf. *Saat auf Hoffnung*, the able Jewish mission quarterly edited for twenty-five years by Delitzsch, 1892, p. 136 *seq.*, for the details of this agitation. Cf. also the *Jewish Herald*, February, 1892. Full data on the recently established Jewish colonies in Palestine are found in the *Zeitschrift of the German Palestine Society*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 193-202, and Nathanael, 1893, pp. 129-142.

conquests among the Jews, one of the results of which was the formation, by the less radical, of an organization, with headquarters at Frankfort-on-the-Main, for the purpose of maintaining the more conservative synagogues. For practical purposes the Radicals, or Reformed Jews, are the only ones that come into consideration in discussing the bearing of the modern Jewish elements in the peoples of Western Europe. Having broken completely with the past, and feeling himself an integral part of the people in the midst of whom he lives, the Reformed Jew is really the only active agent of his people in the thought and life of the times. The other more conservative elements live largely in and for the future; he lives intensely in the present, and seeks to make his influence felt in every possible way. Modesty is not his forte. In discussing the Jewish problems of the day, for practical purposes he alone must be taken into consideration.

What prospects has the Christian gospel worker in tilling spiritual soil like this? Experience has shown that he has little in dealing with the advanced Reformed Jew. The occasional convert from these quarters is only too often prompted by impure motives, notably the gain of social, political, or other preferment. The example of the gifted but godless poet Heinrich Heine is a sad commentary on this sad fact. Yet among the most conservative elements, also, of Western Judaism, there have been many Nathanael and Nicodemus souls who have been won for the gospel truth. Dalman,¹ a very conservative scholar, thinks that since the beginning of the present century nearly one hundred and thirty thousand Jews have been baptized, although he is convinced that there has been a good deal of chaff in this wheat. Pastor J. F. A. de le Roi, a leading authority, and the author of the standard work on this subject, entitled "Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden,"² estimates the number during the period at

¹ Cf. Nathanael, 1891, p. 126 *seq.*

² In three volumes, 1890-92.

more than one hundred thousand. Kalkar, the famous Danish convert, who presided at the Copenhagen convention of the Evangelical Alliance, in his work on the subject, entitled "Israel og Kirken. Historisk Overblik over deres gjensidige forhold indtil de nyeste tider," 1881, puts the number as high as two hundred thousand, but it was at once pointed out that this estimate was too high. Especially was this done by the German translator of this work, Pastor A. Michelsen. It is true that in most Jewish circles it is regarded as an axiom that a Jewish convert to Christianity is, *eo ipso*, a hypocrite, and can have been influenced only by hopes of profit or preferment. Facts show this claim to be the product of the blindest prejudice. Not a few of the brightest minds in the Christian world of scholarship and work were children of Abraham according to the flesh. We need recall only such cases as that of Neander, the father of modern church history; of Philippi, the leading conservative Lutheran dogmatist of this generation; of Caspari, the brightest among modern scholars in theological Norway; of Edersheim, the Hershells, and Saphir in England; of the Pick family in Austria. De le Roi, in the second volume of his work, already mentioned (p. 181 *seq.*), has given a long list of names of prominent converts among the theologians, scholars, jurists, physicians, writers, artists, etc., in Germany and other countries of the Continent; and in the third volume gives those of England. Facts like these testify aloud, that among the lost sheep of the house of Israel, also, the gospel of Jesus Christ is still a power unto salvation.

In recent years, however, the attention of mission workers in this field has been turned, more and more, to the Eastern Jew. Here we find a man of an altogether different type from his Western coreligionist. The Jew of the Orient is a traditionalist to the core. The Talmud is the sum and substance of all wisdom, human and divine. Education from the *Cheder*, or elementary school, up to the rabbinical semi-

naries has but the one aim of determining the details of duties and prohibitions according to rabbinical law and statute. The Eastern Israelite not only sees in the advanced ideas of his Western coreligionist an heretical departure from the historical standards of his faith, but his mind and heart are hermetically sealed to influences from non-Jewish sources. He has not to any perceptible degree been affected by the historical developments of the last dozen and more centuries. He is in every respect the modern representative of the Pharisaism of the New Testament era. These do not, indeed, in all particulars represent one solid phalanx of adherents of petrified religious formalism, but their common substratum of faith in all the sections—in the Chasidim, or pious party, the adherents of the Jewish Pope of Sodagara; in the Karaites, or Protestant Jews, who refuse to accept the Talmudic superstructure of the Old Testament—is an intense religious conservatism. Dalman¹ states that formerly the Old Orthodox Jews of the East were divided into two groups; the Perushim, or Milhnagedim, and the Chasidim. The former are the Talmudists of the most rigid kind; the latter lay chief stress on the later forms of traditional teachings as contained in the Kabbala, or the mysticism and theosophy of Judaism. This does not mean that the one party antagonizes the tenets of the other, but only that they emphasize different phases of the one common teaching and custom and ceremonies. They represent different phases of the one type of religious thought. In conformity with this traditionalism, they have also retained the sacred language of the Old Testament, using the so-called "Jargon," i. e. a composite of Middle High German with other, chiefly Slavonic, elements, in conversation and intercourse and to a certain degree in their literature, but employing for the latter purposes chiefly a fairly classical Hebrew. Indeed it is only through the medium of the sacred tongue that they are open at all to outside influences of new

¹ Nathanael, 1891, p. 5 *seq.*

thought. The most successful agent in the regeneration of thought that is going on at present in certain circles of Eastern Judaism has been the Hebrew translation of the New Testament, prepared by Professor Delitzsch, of which fully seventy thousand have been used to a good purpose in Southeastern Russia and other Jewish centres. Indeed as a literary language Hebrew holds no insignificant place in Southeastern Europe. The new Jewish-Christian movement in Bessarabia, led by Rabinowitz, issues its official documents in Hebrew. In the same language appear periodicals and newspapers of all descriptions, some of them, like the *Hammelitz* of St. Petersburg, enjoying an international reputation. Goethe's "Faust," Milton's "Paradise Lost," and scores of other works of prominence in general and in Christian literature have been rendered into Hebrew, even such works as Sue's "Secrets of Paris," and some of Ebers' novels. In fact, the use of this tongue as the only means of reaching the Eastern Jew is so well recognized, that recently a regular movement has been inaugurated, by means of Hebrew literature, to open his mind to Western and modern thought.¹

But for the gospel cause these Eastern Jews still present the most encouraging field. For them, at any rate, religion is yet a positive factor and force: it is the main constituent element in the intellectual and spiritual make-up. They still fear Jehovah, and hope longingly for the redemption of his promises and for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. If it can be shown them that these promises *have* already been redeemed, and that the Messiah *has* come, they are won for the gospel truth. That this truth is beginning to dawn upon at least some sections of this benighted people is apparent from the Christward movements which have arisen spontaneously in their midst, and which are all based upon the central truth that Jesus of Nazareth is really the Messiah promised to their fathers, and that the rejection of him by the Jews is

¹ Cf. article in *Andover Review*, Vol. x. p. 587 *seq.*

the capital mistake of their history. In the whole world of modern religious activity there is probably none that in uniqueness and interest surpasses these agitations among the Eastern Israelites. They are the most remarkable phenomenon in this the greatest missionary century since the apostolic era.¹

The oldest among these is that which is headed by the pious lawyer, Joseph Rabinowitz, of Kishneff, in Bessarabia, Southern Russia, whose participation in the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago drew special attention to this work. It was in the spring of 1884 that the enthusiastic friend of Abraham's children, the lamented Professor Delitzsch, surprised the religious world with the publication of a small pamphlet in Hebrew and German, entitled "Documente der national-judischen Christlichen Bewegung in Süd-russland." It brought the first intelligence of a band of Israelites who had accepted the New Testament revelation as the completion and fulfilment of the Old, and of Jesus Christ as the Messiah promised and predicted by the seers of old. The movement aimed, and aims, at the organization of

¹ The reports published by Faltin, who has been Jewish missionary in Kishneff for nearly thirty years, and by other workers among the Eastern Jews, concerning the depth of religious sentiment and feeling there prevailing, belong to the most interesting pages in modern mission annals. Pastor Faber, for instance, in *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1887, p. 175 *seq.*, speaks as follows:—

"To the present day yet, the Jews of the East make their penance for sins a work of terrible suffering, and no easier than that demanded by the Law. With much lamentation and many tears, self-inflicted torture and prayers for pardon, they seek peace for their sins. No people under the sun weep so much over their sins as the Jews do. On the last great day of Atonement I visited several of the synagogues of Kishneff. All were crowded to the doors; thousands stood there in their burial garments, weeping and lamenting; and I still hear resounding in my ears their *Selach-na* (forgive me, O forgive)! The avidity with which the Hebrew New Testaments are taken and read is a significant sign. Reports of colporteurs in this regard sometimes sound almost like romances. The indications abound that deep below the stolid surface of time-fixed and stereotyped formalism, the Jewish mind of the East is beginning to awaken to the needs of a higher and more spiritual type of religion, and is beginning to find what it seeks in the evangelical truth of the new covenant."

a national Jewish church, in which, with a full acceptance of the doctrines of Christianity, the Jews can nevertheless retain their national peculiarities, such as circumcision, the observance of the seventh day, and the like. The new Jewish Christians aim to be both Jews and Christians, the former in national traits, the latter in religious convictions. They do therefore not propose to unite themselves with any of the existing church bodies, but to organize a Christian church among the Israelites. Rabinowitz himself was baptized in Berlin by Professor Mead, of Andover, Mass., and is on all fundamental points a pronounced evangelical Christian, marked by a strong piety. These convictions of the truth of Christianity he attained solely by the study of the New Testament, while in no way or manner influenced by the activity of Christian gospel workers. The conviction flashed upon him as he sat on the Mount of Olives, overlooking Jerusalem, with the New Testament, which he had taken with him as a guide-book to the Holy Land, open before him.¹ To characterize the movement, it will suffice to quote from the theses which Rabinowitz issued when he first began to proclaim the gospel. Among them are the following:—

Thesis 8: "In order to attain such a regeneration [of Israel], we need a helper, a physician, whose person and medicines have been found reliable."

Thesis 9: "In order to find such a person, we must look among the descendants of Jacob for a man who loves Israel, and who has given his life for the sanctification of God's holy name, and for the sanctification of God's holy law and the prophets; a man who is known to all the inhabitants of the earth, on account of the purity of his soul, and his love for his people; a man who lived at a time when Israel had already taken upon itself the traditional law, and had

¹ This he has frequently, in his sermons and elsewhere, stated. Cf. now also *Missionary Review of the World*, January, 1894, where are also found pictures of the Jewish reformer, and of his church in Kishneff.

already been scattered among the different nations of the earth; a man, who, on the one hand, understood the proud hearts of his Jewish brethren, their pride at being the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were blessed of the eternal God, and who understood their pride at having received from Mt. Sinai the law, but, who, on the other hand also, could see through their great stubbornness and their propensity, in days of prosperity, to throw aside the living God, and choose for themselves false gods, namely, the love of money, and the control of their brethren through science and mammon."

Thesis 10: "The man who unites in himself all these characteristics we have, after a thorough examination of all the books of history of our people, the children of Israel, found in the one Jesus of Nazareth, who was slain at Jerusalem before the destruction of the last temple."

"Jesus, our brother," became the watchword and war cry of the new congregation, which in its "Articles of Faith of the National Jewish-Christian Jewish Congregation of the New Testament" and elsewhere has clearly shown that it accepts the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. Thesis 9 of this latter document closes with these words:—

"He [i. e., Christ] it is who rules over the house of Jacob eternally, and his kingdom has no end. He has suffered, and has been crucified, and has been buried for our salvation; he has risen again from the dead, and lives, and, behold, he sits at the right hand of our Father in heaven."

The literature of this movement is quite large, and is published mostly in German.¹

Two other movements of the same kind have been started elsewhere in Oriental Jewish circles, both of them independently of each other and also independently of the Kishneff

¹ It is issued mostly by the Institutum Judaicum, of Leipzig. A sermon by Rabinowitz, translated by the present writer, appeared in the *Treasury of Religious Thought*, New York, February, 1894.

movement. One was reported from Tomsk, Siberia, inaugurated by a Jewish exile merchant, Jacob Zebi Scheinmann, of which Delitzsch gave an account in his journal *Saat auf Hoffnung*, April, 1887. Unfortunately this reformer has not remained true to his mission. At any rate German religious papers recently were compelled to warn their readers against Scheinmann, who was collecting monies without authority, on the basis of his reputation gained by Delitzsch's report.

A third movement of this kind is that of the venerable Rabbi Lichtenstein, in Tapio-Szele, Hungary. While at first his publications did not show that decided adherence to Christianity so marked in the words and works of Rabinowitz, Lichtenstein has in recent months come out boldly for Christ and his cause. He has, however, not yet consented to be baptized. His latest utterances on Christianity are found in *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1893, pp. 229-233. The subject is "Christ's Atoning Blood."

What the outcome of these movements will be, only a prophet and a prophet's son can foretell. Statistical reports are either not to be had or are not altogether reliable. Their chief interest for the present lies in their character, in the quality rather than the quantity of the agitation. It really seems that they indicate the first rays of the rising of the Sun of righteousness on Oriental Judaism also.

Mission enterprise in this department feels correspondingly encouraged. According to the latest and best reports, those furnished by Dalman,¹ there are 55 societies engaged in the mission work among the Jews, having in their employ 399 missionaries, at 127 stations, and an income of 1,935,325 marks during the year 1891. England leads all the rest in this work, although many men in the employ of the English

¹ Cf. Nathanael, 1892, p. 80 *seq.* The literature on the Jewish question in all its phases is given by the same excellent authority in the same journal and year, pp. 104-123. A special article on Christian journals for Jewish work, also by Dalman, is found in Nathanael, 1893, pp. 143-156.

societies are Germans. The British Isles have 16 such societies, engaging 334 men, at 84 stations, with an income of 1,602,100 marks. The other societies are found in Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, France, Scandinavia, Russia, America, Palestine, and Australia. The greatest interest in the theory and problems of Jewish mission work is shown in Germany, especially in Leipzig, where the seminary for Jewish mission workers is found, established by Delitzsch, and revived by his able young assistant, Pastor Faber,¹ formerly a Jewish missionary in Southeastern Russia. Professor Strack's work in Berlin among the students has also had excellent fruit. At no fewer than nine German and Scandinavian Universities, there are *Instituta Judaica*, organizations among the students established for the purpose of arousing an interest in this work and of studying post-biblical Jewish literature. Both at Leipzig and Berlin these *Instituta*, which are a revival of a movement of this kind established a century ago at Halle during the pietistic era by Callenberg, have publication interests, and have issued quite a lot of good literature in this line, both for the theoretical and practical study of the intricacies of the problem. And of these there are many.

Whether the apostolic promise *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται* (Rom. xi. 26) refers to Israel according to the flesh, continues to be a matter of dispute among exegetes, but certain it is that the gospel in Jesus Christ is a power unto salvation also among the Israelites. There never has been a period since the apostolic era when in a large section of Judaism the fullness of time seems so clearly to have come for the Jews as it has done at the present time. Here too the grain now seems to be ripe for the harvest.²

¹ The course of study in this Seminary is found in Nathanael, 1891, p. 125.

² The richest storehouses for the discussions, statistics, etc., of the Jewish question in all its ramifications and phases are the two great journals, *Saat auf Hoffnung*, now in its thirty-first volume, and *Nathanael*, now in its tenth volume.

ARTICLE VIII.

RECOLLECTIONS OF NOAH PORTER.

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, D. D., D. C. L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THE most marked trait of Noah Porter was unconsciousness of self when dealing with persons, and perfect self-consciousness in his treatment of a subject. His freedom from selfishness enabled him to give himself wholly to the interests of those who sought his presence; while by voluntary concentration of thought on whatever was in hand he could wield all his intellectual force for its elucidation. The one characteristic gave him control over men by his sympathy with their interests; the other, over a subject by his grasp of its fundamental principles.

“The Perfect Christian Gentleman” is the *sobriquet* which unconsciously arises at the mention of his name. The well-rounded life consists in positive work for good, and negative energy toward evil. To mingle extensively with the world and yet give no offence in anything, requires a more happy union of qualities than that force of character which pursues unrelentingly a noble idea, but with an impetuosity which rudely thrusts aside all who stand in the way. Luther fell by a blow the enemy who opposes: Melancthon raises the fallen, and through kindness reclaims from error and makes him his friend forever. If the Roman Emperor, when dying, considered the fact that he had never caused a tear greater ground of rejoicing than all his splendid achievements in arms or statesmanship, how happy must the spirit of Noah Porter be if conscious of the memories he has left with all who ever felt his winsome presence!

It would be a great mistake to conclude that his character was not strong or positive because he gave no offence. There are two sorts of forces which rule the world. As attraction and repulsion act on matter, even so moral influences sway character. The one unites; the other disintegrates. Harsh measures and fierce spirits may sometimes be necessary in dealing with evil, but blessed is he who is possessed of such a temper that he can do his Master's work, and make even bad men feel happy while their mistakes are corrected. For most men neutralize much of their good work by a severity which cares little for the method pursued, or the pain given to others, provided their own purpose be effected. But it was the special excellence of President Porter, that his goodness equalled his wisdom, and that his kindness of heart led him to feel that a great part of any desirable result consists in the happiness of the actors while engaged in achieving it. He illustrated this pre-eminently in his own conduct. If he was not always sunny in temper, he was a first-rate actor. When vexations came upon him, he was strong enough to bear them without the help or knowledge of others. The writer has never seen him morose, nor known any one that ever saw him manifest any anger. Yet this was not for lack of vigor, spirit, or deep sense of indignation for wrong. It requires indeed less force of character to get angry and make a fool of one's self than to do almost anything else. Ebullitions of temper are the heat lightning which in summer flashes from a cloud, but brings no rain.

He was many sided; worked in many fields, and in the full light of publicity. There was no reason to conceal his motives; and so he was a living epistle, known and read of all men. In brief outline we may note his chief phases of activity:—

1. He was an Instructor of Youth and a Preacher of the Gospel;
2. Professor and President of a University;

3. The Author of a Philosophical System;
4. An Essayist and Litterateur.

1. The idea, conspicuous through all the ages of the Christian church, that the teacher of knowledge should be a preacher of righteousness, was strongly exemplified in his career. It is to be hoped that this union, held with so much tenacity by the New England churches while they were laying the foundations for a splendid national character, will never be annulled by the tendency to division of labor which of late has become so marked. The divorce between the callings of Preacher and Teacher can help neither, and indicates supposed incompatibility. Noah Porter illustrated the idea of combination most happily, like so many of our greatest educators. After a novitiate as Tutor, during which time he studied theology, he entered the Pastorate; which he cannot be said to have ever given up. For, during all subsequent life, he preached constantly; and everywhere to audiences sympathetic with his earnest but calm presentation of the truth. He preached what he himself experienced, and gained admission to the heart and conscience by presenting the gospel as something adapted to mould the whole man anew. The truths of external nature, the laws of the mind, and the sensibilities of the soul, were shown to be parts of a scheme in which the Divine by condescension enters the sphere of human consciousness. God comes down to us, that we may be raised through right thinking and right living to unite with him; and thus heaven and earth be brought together as component parts of one life eternal. This life was so completely felt and thought by the preacher, that he spoke of its doctrines as realities with which he was familiar, as truths which must find access to all receptive hearts. He believed these so implicitly that he expected them to be appropriated by all fair-minded hearers. "He believed, and therefore he spoke." The sanctity and candor of the preacher were a voucher for the reali-

ties of his message; while the sweetness of his temper showed the effect of their transforming power.

2. It is difficult, even in thought, to separate the preacher from the teacher, because they both have identically the same purpose, that is, to make men capable of doing more good work through the increase of knowledge. These offices were so blended in our instructor that he seemed like a radiating body, giving out both light and life. But if we analyze his work according to the ordinary conceptions, it will be proper also to say that Noah Porter was a Professor of Philosophy; and that he spent his life in teaching young men to think correctly, that they might act rightly. While he is still the preacher, yet in the class-room his attitude must be different from that required by the pulpit. It is there to convince men of the truth, and thereby make them better, but exclusively through the reason. The affections are indeed warmed by the truth as a resultant, but the direct incidence of the light is to awaken intellectual energy. He taught *ex cathedra*, as all successful instructors do, by his presence, the sympathy of his look, the tone of his voice, as well as by the meaning of the words he uttered. The whole man was at work on us, and the force of his character, moral and intellectual, was the hiding of his power. His pupils at the time might not be startled at the novelty of his ideas, or the elegance of his diction. Most likely they were not thinking about him or his manner at all. He certainly never appeared to think of himself. The message he had to deliver absorbed his thoughts. There was energy exerted by him on his pupils, just as attraction by the sun upon the earth. The flower opens its petals to the rays. The youthful nature expanded under the master's touch, which, though powerful, was so gentle that it was discovered only by the effect it silently wrought. Like the dew and rain which fall everywhere to refresh all things alike, but glide off from natures with no capacity for their appropriation; so his teaching fell upon his hearers and tested their

capacity for growth. As far as intention could make it, his instruction was impersonal. The truth spoke for itself, and was sufficient of itself. With some instructors there is always such a consciousness of self apparent, that the man himself is exhibited, not the subject. But he was an apostle with a message, and this so completely filled his soul that there was no thought for anything but its deliverance. He desired the welfare of his pupils to such degree, and was so fully assured that his message would effect this result, that he seemed never to waste a thought as to whether he was popular or not. To have courted popularity was impossible for such a nature as his; yet he received, without asking, what the self-seeking can never secure. Doubtless he desired to be loved, since such a great nature as his must receive as well as give forth much of that feeling which expresses the essential attribute of God. But this came to him by the equalization of forces. His pupils were so happy in his presence, so carried away by the truths he gave them to digest, that they were conscious neither of him as the instructor, nor of themselves as learners. But when time for reflection intervened, they realized that a prophet had been among them.

There was no occasion for him to reprove in the class-room. The instructor was so artless, so confiding, so full of sweetness and light, that no student, however boyish and surcharged with mischief, could think of giving any annoyance. For all instinctively felt that he lived for their welfare; that no thought of himself was entertained; and, therefore, no roguish freak could be looked upon as a personal indignity. There was no constraint between teacher and pupil. The professional chair was not held as a vantage-ground, save to do good to the learner. Hence there was the most perfect freedom in the class-room, in the home of the teacher, which was open as the day to all who wished to enter, and in all public intercourse. He was the minister for the service of every one: both friend and instructor so blended that the two relations could not be

distinguished. It was the writer's privilege to sit with him, listening to lectures on logic and philosophy, at Berlin in 1853-54. He mingled among the brilliant throng of professors and students, adapting himself alike to every age and stage of culture. He was both admired and loved in that assemblage, which composed the most intellectual as well as elegant coterie of literati at that time in the world. His kindness to young men in the University, and their fondness for him, was as marked as when he lectured to his own students at Yale; while his fame as a thinker insured for him the most deferential treatment from those professors at Berlin whom he honored by sitting at their feet as a learner. It is hard to say, in referring to him as a professor, which feeling predominated—whether love for the friend, respect for the noble simplicity of his character, or admiration for his ability and culture; for these were united in such a happy combination, that his pupils must ever feel a new inspiration for all that is true and good when they think of him as their teacher.

His government of young men, whether as professor in his own lecture-room or president of the whole university, was by the law of kindness. His nature was wholly averse to harsh methods, and he employed no punishment as discipline while professor. His manner was so genial, his desire for the well-being of his pupils so hearty, his mastery of the subjects taught so thorough, that there really was no call for animadversion, save in rare instances. Even in these cases he thought it better not to notice offences than to interrupt the progress of his work with those who wished to learn; for the turmoil occasioned in the current of university life is poorly compensated by the punishment of an offender. The great body of students desire to do their duty; they know the authors of all mischief done, and if they cannot correct the evils by the *esprit de corps* of a healthy college sentiment, the infliction of punishment will surely not be successful.

It is true, that among a large body of strong characters

such as college students are, and at a period when their passions are hot and the sense of mischief at its highest, offences must come, and therefore the power of an instructor must be felt occasionally, to be duly respected by the unruly. While president, Mr. Porter did not shrink from the infliction of punishment when his colleagues deemed it necessary. There will always be some professor in any faculty who is not able to stand alone, and for the protection of such the students must be taught that there is reserve power somewhere which can be applied. For his own protection, President Porter had never found it necessary to punish. In fact his aims and methods rendered punitive discipline well-nigh useless. This temper he always retained, and though for the sake of others he did not refuse to punish, yet the discipline of the whole university was strongly marked by his well-known inclination. The prosperity of Yale under his kindly *régime* is well known. In pecuniary growth, increase in the number of faculty and students, the erection of elegant buildings,—in a word, in the wide expansion of every material as well as intellectual resource,—his administration was worthy to come between the magnificent presidency of Woolsey, and the university era so happily ushered in by him whom we all delight to honor.

3. To be the founder of a school or system of philosophy is the privilege of but few in the history of the world; but to do this signifies rather the enunciation of something startling than the exposition of the accredited and consequently normal facts in the phenomena of mind. It is hard to be original in the discovery of principles since Plato showed what is in the intellectual man. It is like winnowing chaff to be a critic of what other men have thought since Aristotle tried the chief thinkers of Greece in his merciless alembic; for he possessed a knowledge which was encyclopædic, and an insight which could discern the truth and eliminate the error through all the mazes of sophistry. If one subtract from

even such writers as Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, and Hegel, the thoughts which can be found in Plato, the residuum of their systems, if not a *caput mortuum*, still would not have enough of life left to stand alone. Nor is this strange. For the phenomena of mind as they have been observed by introspection are as accessible in the clear sky of the Academy as in the mists of Holland and Prussia. The mind in dealing with itself has both the material on which to act, and the most perfect instrument for observation, always at hand. So, in philosophy proper, new schools are, in accuracy of speech, only modifications of ideas well known to the Greek sages; and most commonly a one-sided view of mental phenomena, which claims originality by giving undue prominence to a part of man's spiritual nature. In the sciences of material nature, or kinetic energy, the case is entirely different. Here experiment constantly opens new fields, since nature may be both cajoled and tortured into revealing her secrets; and each new discovery opens fresh lines of investigation. With the phenomena of mind it is not so. Here:

"Sunt certi denique fines
Quos ultra nequit pergere homo."

Corroborating testimony to prove this statement may be found in the history of Formal Logic and Pure Geometry. While their applications may be unlimited, the fundamental principles will remain, if we are to judge the future by the past, very much as Aristotle and Euclid formulated them.

Though he wrote a treatise on Metaphysics the most comprehensive and accurate that has been produced in this century, and for purposes of general study the most satisfactory that has ever been written, it would not be just to call President Porter the founder of a school of philosophy. He did not claim originality for his leading principles. He did not attempt to startle the world by paradox. He cast no discredit on his predecessors. He made himself thoroughly master of everything of value in the speculations of the leading

thinkers from Socrates to Schelling. Their doctrines he did not merely take and rearrange in an arbitrary scheme; but he made them his own by assimilation. And from this storehouse of materials he elaborated a System of Philosophy which was as truly original as any one can be that, while holding to independent investigation as its *raison d'être*, must be critical, else fail in its leading purpose as a guide to the study of philosophy. But he did not borrow from others, and then by clothing their thoughts in a new dress challenge them for his own discoveries. His object was to enumerate and describe the facts of mental consciousness so comprehensively and fairly that no tract belonging to his proper sphere might be neglected. And here, just as in his oral instruction, there is not the least trace of egotism. He is as impersonal in his treatment of his subject as if he thought all men could, like himself, forget the interpreter in giving heed to the oracle. His object was to state in the simplest and clearest language the universal principles of philosophy,—principles which must be known, in order to answer the riddle which the sphinx propounds as she stands confronting each thinker who will know his destiny. The subject was clear to his own mind by long and patient elaboration. He had proved that he knew it by the test which Aristotle¹ gives of knowledge, “the ability to communicate it through teaching.” Gifted with rare clearness of diction, he aimed to write a book that could be understood. The reproach to metaphysics is that it is a subject which none understand, and which grows darker by illustration. Doubtless this reproach is often deserved from the manner in which the subject is handled. Some deceive themselves in thinking they know what they do not. Others, perhaps, do know, but have no faculty of enunciation. Still others, unconscious, we may charitably hope, of their poverty of knowledge, desire to be esteemed wise, and therefore proceed on the theory: *Omne ignotum pro mirifico est*; and so, like

¹ *Metaph. i. 1, § 9.* ὅπως τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εἰδέντος τὸ δύνασθαι διδάσκειν ἐστίν.

the cuttlefish, leave behind them only troubled waters—of thought. But if philosophy is a science at all, it can be known. And if it can be comprehended, it can be taught. So, also, if this is not the case, this fact can be known. President Porter, like Plato, Descartes, Pascal, Bishop, Butler, and Kant, can always be understood. One who really knows himself and his subject can make others of fair intelligence see what he does. In this indispensable requisite to philosophy, the treatise on the Human Mind by President Porter is an epoch-making book. It is more complete in its scope, more clear in its enunciation, more fair in its critical estimate of what others have done, than any other system ever published. Many thinkers have been more thorough in their treatment of special topics in philosophy, and laid juster claims, perhaps, to originality. But no one else has at the same time surveyed the whole ground so carefully, and given such a complete *coup d'œil* of the plotting. His clew to the labyrinth, if firmly grasped, can be relied on to lead to the light of truth. No book can be found more unpretentious, and at the same time more suggestive on the philosophy of the human mind. It is doubtless the author's most enduring monument, save the influence which he exerted by personal intercourse. This, though unseen, has been felt; and will be perpetuated through all time by receptive souls who will continue to work in the same paths that the master led them.

4. Any notice of Noah Porter would be incomplete which did not include his work as a Litterateur and Essayist. The amount and versatility of his literary activity, exclusive of the books he wrote, was prodigious. He was constantly engaged, during his whole mature life, either as a preacher or teacher, and much of the time both, and for fifteen years as an executive in the harassing demands of a large university; still he somehow found time to write for the press continually. The number of articles in the daily papers, in the monthlies and quarterlies, in separate pamphlets, was marvellous. He wrote

with great ease and rapidity. The style of his pen was always like that of his speech, simple and clear; and the first draught required little revision. Its pervading tone sparkling, crisp, and permeated with the genial good nature of the man. The power to discern the salient points of a subject, to seize that which is fleeting and fix it for observation before it disappears and is lost, to hit the point at which the public thought on any subject is aiming, is the province of the essayist. In this faculty of mind, President Porter showed consummate ability. There was a combination of earnestness with humor which enabled him to treat the driest and most hackneyed subject with such a degree of freshness as to compel attention. His humor was of that easy sort which came from its source without noise, and touched the reader before he suspected what was coming. It was like that of Addison, when he described his vision of society ladies rendering their account to Rhadamanthus; or Irving, comparing the pestilent shrew when in her company manners, to the brook which had left its brawling in the rocky ravine, and become demure and placid in the level meadow. We wonder, as we shake with convulsive laughter, how the writer could look so serious, so dignified, while his pen was tracing the pungent sallies. His marked aversion was pretentious knowledge; the being wise above that which is written in religion; covert infidelity masquerading under the guise of free inquiry; the doctrinaires in education, whose claim to be heard rests on the assumption that, as their theories seem to work beautifully before they are tried, they must prove faultless in application. Men who hold that all systems under which the world has worked and prospered hitherto, must be rejected because they were not free from all defects, received no quarter from his caustic ridicule. In holding up such sciolists to merited derision, he was in his proper element. For we owe a large debt to the carefully elaborated systems of education, which have shown their adaptation to the wants of humanity by enabling the

world to reach its present stage of culture so that it is fitted for farther progress. His abounding good nature, his love for the truth, his hatred of shams, his ill-concealed contempt for the confidence of ignorance, as he holds up his victims for our mirth, reminds one of the caricature which represented Mr. Lincoln, having his face all beaming with the most benevolent smiles, holding up a diminutive general transfixed by a table fork, to give piquancy to "the little story" intended for our delectation. The victims of President Porter's satire must have felt themselves happy in giving occasion for so delicious basting, much in the same way that the eels are said to have felt pleasure because they were skinned by good Izaak Walton.

There should be a collection made, from all President Porter's writings, of extracts, longer or shorter, which form unities fulfilling the conception of essays, such as those of Montaigne and the *Spectator*. This would add to the delight and instruction of the world, as well as to the assured fame of the author.

We cannot think of Noah Porter as dead, or his activities impaired by his removal from us. He is still, as heretofore, engaged about his Father's business; with an ever-increasing capacity for service, and a boundless field for its exercise. We love him more than language can express; with an affection which can be adequately shown only by imitating, as we have strength and opportunity, the marked features of his beautiful life.

ARTICLE IX.

CRITICAL NOTES.

THE TIME OF THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

THE life of Jesus Christ on earth was but short, yet so important that it has become the central point of the history of all ages. His death and resurrection were the most important events in his history. The time in which they occurred was very short,—not quite one week. Yet that short period has occupied the attention of the best expositors in Christendom for centuries, and they have entirely failed to harmonize the history as related by the four Evangelists. Tholuck, in his Commentary on John, says: “The larger portion of the modern critics have been led by an examination of this subject to the ultimate result, that there must be a mistake on one or the other side, either on the part of John or on that of the first three Evangelists” (p. 303).

This is a very serious charge against the inspiration and authority of the Evangelists. If they made mistakes at such an important period regarding so short a time, how can we trust their larger history and doctrinal teaching? Are the critics, expositors, and harmonists infallible? May they not be mistaken? Have they fully considered all the facts related by the Evangelists? Have they not substituted their own opinions, or those of the ancients, instead of the facts stated by the Evangelists? I believe, that when all the facts are duly considered and properly represented, it will be found that the four Evangelists are in perfect accord. I have searched widely and diligently, for many years, the works of the learned on this matter, but have not succeeded in finding one who has taken into account all the facts, and properly used them. I will state the facts, and then proceed to harmonize them.

1. That the last supper which Jesus ate with his disciples was not the paschal supper proper. He did not eat of the paschal lamb.
2. That he was crucified on a preparation day before a Sabbath. But that Sabbath was a ceremonial, or Passover, Sabbath, and not the seventh-day Sabbath. That he lay in the grave over two Sabbaths, the paschal and weekly.
3. That he predicted he would be in the grave three days and three nights, which must mean, by fair reckoning, seventy-two hours.
4. That he was buried before sunset on the same evening of the crucifixion, the light yet remaining in the firmament belonging to the Sabbath which was about to begin as they finished burying him.
5. That the two women Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to the

grave at very nearly the same time of day at which Jesus was buried, before sunset in the first watch, which began at six in the evening. But Jesus had risen, the earthquake had passed, and the guard who had been set to watch the grave had left for the city, before the women arrived.

6. Cleopas, on his way to Emmaus on the first day of the week, spoke of the third day as already past.

If these facts can be substantiated, then will appear clearly the harmony of the four Evangelists.

1. The last supper which Jesus ate with his disciples was not properly and fully a paschal supper; there was no lamb on the table at that supper.

It is very evident that Jesus intended to eat the Passover with his disciples, and that he ordered them to make preparations to that effect (Matt. xxvi. 17-30; Mark xiv. 12-25).

Some are very positive that the last supper eaten by Christ and his apostles was the real paschal supper. Jesus and his disciples met in the upper room, and did eat a supper. But I see no sign of a lamb, the chief thing in the paschal supper. There seems to have been only bread and wine at their supper; no allusion whatever to any kind of meat. Why? Because it was not there. I think we are not to take Matt. xxvi. 19, "and they made ready the Passover," in the fullest sense; for Deut. xii. 26 and xvi. 2 say particularly that the paschal lamb was to be sacrificed "in the place which the Lord shall choose to place his name there." The disciples therefore could not kill the lamb: all they could do was to get ready the unleavened bread and the fruit of the vine that first day of unleavened bread. Luke xxii. 15 says: "And he said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." Though this is taken by some as a proof that he did actually eat it, the reverse seems to me the fact. If he did eat it, what could he mean by saying that he strongly desired what he was then enjoying? We do not find elsewhere in his whole history that he depended so much upon a physical enjoyment or religious ceremony.

But if the paschal supper was yet future, we can see the reason of the expression in his desire to benefit others. He had desired to live over the time of the Passover so as to benefit the millions then present at Jerusalem by his miracles and preaching. He had desired that the high priest and Jewish leaders, as well as Judas, might be filled with love to God while commemorating his wonderful kindness to them as a nation. Instead of that, he found them conspiring to kill him whom God had sent to deliver men from their sins. He was disappointed, for they had worked their plans so skilfully that they might kill him before the time to eat the Passover with his disciples, or to preach to and heal the multitudes at the feast. The fact that Jesus and his disciples went out at night after their supper proves that it was not the paschal supper, for no one was allowed to leave his house till morning (Ex. xii. 22). Expositors generally allow and maintain that the supper of which John speaks in chap. xiii. 1-30 is the same as that described in Matt. xxvi. 20-25; Mark xiv. 17-21; Luke xxii. 14-18. Robinson in his Harmony puts them together, calling

both, "evening introducing the sixth day of the week." Neander and Elliott describe them as one. I think they are right. It is difficult, if not impossible, to prove they are different.

But John says expressly, that the supper of which he speaks was before, or earlier in time than, the Passover (xiii. 1). Consistent with this, in chap. xviii. 28 he says, that at the trial of Jesus the Jews had not eaten the Passover. Moreover, he informs us that after that supper Jesus washed the feet of his disciples, which he would not have done after eating the paschal lamb, for that supper was always the commencement of a Sabbath (Ex. xii. 14-17; Lev. xxiii. 5-8; Num. xxviii. 16). Again: the Passover was to be eaten in or near the sanctuary, not in a private room (Deut. xvi. 5-7). There is no hint anywhere in the Evangelists that Jesus did eat the Passover too early, or the Jews too late, that year, which would most likely have been noticed by some one, had such been the case, as many argue. But since the supper mentioned by the Evangelists was evidently not the paschal supper, there was no clashing. There is perfect harmony between the Evangelists on this point. John says, the disciples thought that Jesus commanded Judas to buy what was wanted for the feast, yet future, when he said, "That thou doest do quickly."

But it may be asked, Why did not the first three Evangelists distinguish the last supper from the Passover, as John does? The ceremonial law commanded several preparations before eating the lamb; cleaning the house, casting out all leavened bread, preparing unleavened bread. "In the first month, in the fourteenth day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even" (Ex. xii. 18). Many expositors maintain that the Jews in the time of Christ called the whole week the Passover, whereas the eating of the paschal lamb was properly the Passover. The three Evangelists therefore may not have deemed it necessary to mark the distinction. Thus not only are the four Evangelists in harmony, but also Christ and Moses, whose commands he did not violate.

Christ, our Passover, then, was slain on the same day as the Jews slew their lamb of the Passover. He was slain earlier in the day, thus rendering the death of paschal lambs forever unnecessary. The Lord's Supper was ordained before the time of the Passover, not as an addition to it, as is generally supposed. The Greek Church maintains that Christ was slain on the same day as the paschal lamb. In this they seem to be right. It is evident that casting out the leaven and preparing the unleavened bread must have been done the day before that on which the lamb was slain. Therefore they began to eat unleavened bread, of necessity, with the beginning of that day, and not with the beginning of the day on which the paschal lamb was eaten. Otherwise there was no time for them to sanctify themselves after cleaning the house. Jesus and his disciples could not have any other bread than unleavened for their last supper, though it was not the paschal supper.

2. Christ was crucified on a preparation day before a Sabbath, but that Sabbath was not the seventh day. For he lay in the grave over two Sabbaths, the paschal and weekly. I think that Tholuck is mistaken in the fol-

lowing statement: "All the four accounts concur in the statement that the Redeemer was crucified on Friday." Though many learned men think the same, I cannot find that one of the Evangelists mentions what day of the week he was crucified. Some of them say it was a preparation day to be followed by a Sabbath. But was it the weekly or a ceremonial Sabbath ordered in connection with the Passover? (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7; Num. xxviii. 18.)

I think Calvin is right. "For John says plainly, that the day when he was crucified was held by the Jews for the preparation; not for the weekly Sabbath, but for the Passover." "Further, they went not into the judgment hall, lest they should defile themselves, because the next day they were to eat the Passover. I know that many men do seek for shifts, but they are such as avail them not. For this cannot be shifted over by any cavil. They kept not their feast on that day in which they crucified Christ (for it would not have been lawful for them on that day to execute any man); therefore they held the preparation, so that, after the burial of Christ, they might eat the Passover."¹

The twenty-four hours at the beginning of which the paschal lamb was eaten, were by the law of Moses a Sabbath, on whatever day of the week it might happen. If this be kept in mind, it will become easy to harmonize every statement made by the Evangelists in this short, misunderstood, and sadly misinterpreted history. If denied, confusion will continue as heretofore.

Rev. J. R. Aldrich, who has written a large book to prove that Christ was crucified and buried on Thursday, shows from Jewish authorities that the ceremonial Sabbath was more sacred than the weekly Sabbath.² He uses some strong arguments against the Friday theory, but fails entirely to prove that Christ was crucified on Thursday, which is his theory.

3. Christ predicted he would lie in the grave three days and three nights, which by fair and full count means seventy-two hours.

The supposition that Christ was crucified on Thursday or Friday is evidently wrong, for he said distinctly that he would remain in the bowels of the earth three days and three nights (Matt. xii. 40); that he would rise on the third day (Matt. xvi. 21) at the end (*μετά*) of three days (Mark viii. 31). His enemies understood him literally; for, they said unto Pilate, that he said he would rise at the end of the third day, and they wanted the grave guarded until the third day was over (Matt. xxviii. 63, 64). Had he risen sooner, they might have accused him of having deceived them or pleaded that he was not dead. Paul also said that Christ rose the third day (1 Cor. xv. 4). Therefore I must insist that he was in the grave three whole days and three whole nights, or that he misled his hearers. A theory must account for all the facts before it can be accepted. The theory that Christ was buried on Thursday or Friday, and that he rose Sunday morning, fails at every point, as it does not give us three days and three nights.

4. Christ was buried before dark on the same evening before the crucifixion; the light yet remaining in the firmament reaching unto, or shining

¹ Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Notes on Matt. xxvi. 17.

² Mishna Pesachim, iii. 6; vi. 1; Jesus Pesachim fol. 33, 1.

upon, the Sabbath that was about beginning as they finished burying him. As all expositors, critics, and harmonists agree on this fact, it is not necessary to try to prove it, only call attention to the words used by Luke to relate it: *καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε*. And the Sabbath (singular) drew nigh, or it was about to dawn into the Sabbath. It is supposed that the sun did not set till 6.15, therefore there were fifteen minutes of sunlight, besides the sun's reflection, remaining for that Sabbath.

5. Mary Magdalene and another Mary came to the grave about the same time of day as that in which Jesus was buried, while the light of the previous Sabbath yet shone on the succeeding workday; but they found, even then, only an empty grave. Jesus had already risen from it. The account given by Matt. xviii 1 of the visit of the two Marys to the grave enables us to get very near the time of the resurrection. It is the only time well defined in the whole history. Matthew says that they came in the *ὀψέ*. This term is everywhere else in the New Testament translated first watch, from six in the evening till nine at night. The two Marys were at the grave *ὀψέ δὲ σαββάτων* (plural), the first watch after the Sabbaths. Therefore they must have been there between six and nine o'clock on Saturday night, according to our reckoning, or, as Sunday was beginning, according to Jewish reckoning. But the grave was empty when they came. The earthquake had passed, and the soldiers had gone to the city.

Some have tried to prove by *ἐπιφωσκόνση* that the resurrection took place at daybreak. But we have seen already that Luke xxiii. 54 has the same word in another form to denote the time when Christ was buried. These are the only two places where the verb is used in the New Testament. Why not therefore give them the same meaning? If Luke says that Christ was buried at the end of a workday, as the Sabbath was commencing, or while the sun was yet shining in the firmament before setting, Luke says the light belonged to the Sabbath then beginning. Why not, then, allow Matthew to say that he arose at the end of the Sabbaths (plural), while the light still shone, at the beginning or first watch of a workday? By using *ὀψέ* and *ἐπιφωσκόνση*, Matthew enables us to be more certain of the time of the resurrection, that it took place in the evening, than we are from Luke's account that he was buried in the evening.

It seems evident that he arose about the same time of day that he was buried, before sunset, or at least before it had become quite dark before night, and not before dawn in the morning. The two Marys came to the grave as soon as the Sabbath was over, taking advantage of the light that yet shone or remained from the previous day; but Jesus had left before they came. Luke and Matthew probably chose the verb *ἐπιφώσκω*, to shine, or dawn, because the sun had not set at six o'clock in the evening; or, if it had set, its reflection still remained, and that shining belonged to the twenty-four hours then commencing, whether Sabbath or workday. It had not gone quite dark, according to Luke, when Christ was buried. Neither had the light of the previous day quite vanished, according to Matthew, when the two Marys came

first to the grave. Thus we have the time of the resurrection very nearly fixed. It is indeed more certain than the time of the burial. It was about the beginning of the first watch in the evening, and before or about sunset, while it was yet light. I think every scholar must agree with this, and then we have a real starting-point. It is no wonder that the other women who came to the grave *πρωι* in the fourth watch did not find Christ in the grave, for he had risen from six to twelve hours before they came. Though no man or woman saw him rise, yet, inasmuch as he had risen before the two Marys came to the grave, a little after six o'clock, Saturday evening, it is highly probable that he arose the same time on Saturday as he had been buried some evening before.

Reckoning back, therefore, three days and three nights, we find for certain that he was crucified and buried on Wednesday, and not Thursday or Friday. The assertion that the Jews often used a part of a day and night to denote the whole utterly fails of proof when examined. There is no instance in Scripture, when rightly interpreted, bearing out this assertion. But were it true, it would prove nothing in this case, seeing that Christ rose at the same time of day at which he was buried, in the end of the Sabbaths, in the evening, and not in the morning of the first day of the week, as the Friday theory requires. Christ himself did not reckon part of a day as a whole, for he said that there were twelve hours in every day, and in the parable of the vineyard he showed that the Jews of his time did not reckon an hour as equal to a day (John xi. 9 and Matt. xx. 12). He would surely, therefore, not have said that he would remain in the grave three days and three nights, when he meant to be there only half that time.

6. Cleopas, when on his way to Emmaus, on the first day of the week, speaks of the third day as already past. Cleopas did not say, as generally translated, "It is now the third day"; but, "To-day brings (*ἀγει*) the third day." He used an active verb, not a neuter. Elsewhere in the New Testament *ἀγω* refers to another than the person or thing then present or acting (Acts xxii. 5). Paul says he went to Damascus to bring (*ἀξω*) bound to Jerusalem the disciples of Jesus. Luke xix. 27 says: "But those mine enemies, which would not that I should rule over them, bring (*ἀγάγετε*) hither." Though the verb is found seventy-one times in the New Testament, it is not translated *is* anywhere but in Luke xxiv. 21, a strong presumptive proof that it is not rightly translated here. The day on which Cleopas spoke was the fourth, but it brought with it the third day as already past. The third day of which he spake was a different day from that on which he was speaking.

If the above reasoning is right, then Christ was buried, about six o'clock, on Wednesday, while the sun was yet shining (*ἐπέφωσκε*), Luke xxiii. 54), that day being a preparation day for the Passover Sabbath (John xviii. 28), which commenced when the Jews ate the paschal lamb (Lev. xxiii. 5, 6). The next day after the Passover Sabbath, Friday, was preparation day for the weekly Sabbath. On that day the women could buy the spices and ointment. Thus are harmonized Mark xvi. 1, which says that, when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, brought

sweet spices (after the Passover was past), and Luke xxiii. 56, which says that the women returned from the grave, and prepared spices and ointment, and rested the Sabbath day (the weekly Sabbath), according to the commandment. The two Evangelists, one speaking of the first Sabbath (Passover), the other the second (weekly), leave Friday free for the women to prepare, whereas the Friday theory gives them no time, except the Sabbath, and involves the two Evangelists in hopeless contradiction.

Again, on the second preparation day, Friday, near the end, *μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν* (Matt. xxvii. 62), the chief priests and Pharisees had time to go to Pilate to ask him to have the grave guarded, which was done by soldiers all day, on the seventh day (Sabbath), till they were relieved by the angel.

It is incredible that those men who had always found fault with Christ for even healing and doing good on the Sabbath day, would go on that day to Pilate on such a business as asking for a guard. But the Friday theory gives them no other time but the Sabbath, since they could not know where he was buried before the Sabbath began. But if buried on Wednesday, then they had Friday free for their plans. This also harmonizes John xviii. 28, who says that the Jews had not eaten the Passover, with the other Evangelists, who do not say that Jesus did eat the Passover, but that he had ordered preparations to be made for it, and expressed deep regret that he was not allowed to eat it; that he did eat a supper, which John says expressly was before the Passover, and which appears from the other Evangelists to have consisted of only bread and wine. Then comes the visit of the women to the grave.

If they all came for the first time in the morning, Matt. xxviii. 5-10 contradicts Mark xvi. 1-8. In Matthew the two women do not enter the sepulchre. In Mark the three women do. But if we allow that Matthew states what took place in the first watch, before it was fairly dark, and Mark what took place in the fourth watch, about daylight, then there is no conflict. Luke's account (xxiv. 1-12), like Mark's, seems to refer to the morning visit; as does also John xx. 1-18. It seems that Mary Magdalene came to the grave, the second time, in the fourth watch, saw the stone rolled from the grave as before, then went and told the disciples that Jesus had been taken from the grave. Peter and John, though not believing her, were stirred to visit the grave.

Why did she come the second time? Did she doubt the word of the angel, or doubt her own senses, whether she had really seen an angel? Or was she bewildered by the doubt, unbelief, and mockery of the others, so that she became uncertain in her own mind whether he had really risen or been stolen?

Utica, N. Y.

R. G. JONES.

II.

ANOTHER RENDERING OF ROMANS IX. 3.

THE rendering of this passage in the Authorized and Revised Versions is adopted by nearly all the commentators, including Stuart, Hodge, Calvin, and Barnes. They assume that the original is capable of but one construction, but the objections to the common interpretation are so great, that, after careful examination, I am convinced it cannot be the true one.

1. The verb is in the indicative, not the optative, mood, and imperative necessity alone can justify the giving the sense of the optative to the indicative. The classics are appealed to as authority for this anomaly. Whether the examples cited require such a rendering can be decided only by the connection. The sense of the passage must determine it. But even if such an occasional construction in the classics, and that too in poetry, were allowed, it would not follow that in a plain prose sentence in the New Testament we must give to the indicative the sense of the optative.

Two other passages in the New Testament are quoted in proof that the indicative is used for the optative. Thus (Acts xxv. 22), "I also could wish to hear the man myself." Agrippa had doubtless heard much of Jesus, as well as of Paul, and now, being informed by Festus that the apostle had been accused by the Jews, the king says, "I wished, or was wishing, [*ἐβούλευμην*] to hear him myself." As if he had said, "Is this the Paul of whom I have heard so much? It has been my desire to hear him, and I am glad of this opportunity." Again, in Gal. iv. 20, according to the Revised Version, "I could wish [*ἤθελον*, imper. indic.] to be present." The common version renders it by the *present*: "I desire." But why should not the imperfect indicative here have the usual sense? Paul says: "I desired [that is, from the time that I heard of your defection from the gospel] to be present with you."

2. The next objection to the usual exegesis is that it makes Paul willing to be excluded from all hope of salvation, involving not only endless suffering, but also positive enmity toward Christ forever. We can conceive that Paul might be willing to endure all temporal evils for the sake of his brethren, even to the sacrifice of his life. This, Mr. Barnes says, is all that is meant, repudiating the idea that the apostle is willing to be lost forever. But this cannot be the meaning, for the most intense physical sufferings might be endured without separation from Christ.

Calvin says: "The additional sentence proves him to be speaking, not of temporal, but eternal death. Does not separation from Christ mean being excluded from all hope of salvation?" Haldane remarks: "The law requires us to love our neighbor *as* ourselves, not *more* than ourselves, which would be the case, if to promote his temporal or spiritual benefit, we desired to be eternally miserable. Moreover, not only eternal misery, but desperate and final enmity against God, is comprised in Paul's wish, as it is generally understood."

So repugnant is this, that those who favor the usual interpretation contend that it does not involve the inference alleged. But I see not how such an inference can be avoided; for if separation as a curse from Christ does not mean, as Calvin says it must, exclusion from salvation, what does it mean? If, as is admitted, it does not mean temporal, physical suffering, and if it cannot mean that Paul was willing to be banished from Christ as one accused, what idea can be attached to the language? The reply is, that Paul does not say he is actually willing thus to be cut off from Christ, but only that he would be willing, were it proper, and if by making this sacrifice he could save his

brethren ; that it is merely a case supposed or stated, to illustrate or express his intense love for them. But such a case is certainly not even to be *supposed*, as the sacrifice involves not only eternal suffering, but eternal sin.

This exposition being rejected, we must seek another. Such a one, and one perfectly natural, is at hand. Remove the comma after *μου*, "my," at the end of verse 2, connect "my brethren's sake" by the preposition *ὕπερ* with "heart," and enclose the intermediate words in a parenthesis, and the whole will read thus: "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sorrow and increasing pain in my heart (for I myself did wish to be separated from Christ) for my brethren."

This construction was proposed and advocated by the late Dr. S. H. Cox, and Dr. Robert Haldane of Scotland. The latter, instead of *wish*, renders the Greek verb *boast*—"For I myself boasted, or made it my *boast*, to be separated from Christ," and says there is for this the "most unquestionable authority," especially in the sixth book of the Iliad.

There is another point confirmatory of this view. It is in the-use of the demonstrative pronoun. Thus *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ*—"I myself"—not reflexive, as both the English versions make it, but an intensive form of the grammatical subject. The meaning is: Even *I myself* used to desire to be separate from Christ. This intensive form just meets the case as he thought of his own people, and assigns his previous enmity to Christ as a reason for his present sorrow on behalf of his brethren. As if he had said: "I was, like you, mistaken in regard to the person and character of Christ: I hated him as you now do. I proudly rejected him, and wished to have no part with him; yea, made my boast of being separated from him. But having been brought to believe that he is the true Messiah, and to trust in him alone for justification, I pity you in your blind unbelief, and earnestly long and pray for your salvation."

This interpretation makes no change in the text, but simply encloses some words in a parenthesis. It allows the usual sense to the indicative mood, avoids the imputation to Paul of an improper desire, and, what is important, connects the preposition *ὕπερ*, "for," with the clause where it naturally belongs. Otherwise, by the common construction, Paul says: "I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart," without intimating for whom or for what. "It is evident," says Haldane, "that the words *for my brethren* form the conclusion of the above expression, '*I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart.*'"

The use of the parenthesis can form no objection to the view here presented, for Paul is wont to include important truths in parentheses, sometimes long and involved; and even one parenthesis within another, as any careful reader of his epistles has doubtless observed. But this in the passage under consideration is perfectly simple and obvious.¹

Orange, N. Y.

SAMUEL HUTCHINGS.

¹ The above rendering was submitted to the late Dr. H. Crosby, who replied that he agreed with me, and that he had given the same in his Commentary on the New Testament.

III.

THE PRIORITY OF NATURAL LAW.¹

DURING the last few centuries, and especially in our own time, pulpit orators and apologists have been pointing to the achievements of Christianity as among the most convincing evidences of its divine origin. Hospitals and schools, charitable organizations for the care of the homeless and friendless, have in turn served as examples for illustrating their theme, with the amenities of war and the growth of international good feeling. What will the church do, if a certain school of modern thought succeeds in imposing upon the coming age the theory, that, instead of taking their rise from the teachings of Christ and the law written in man's heart, these refinements of brotherly kindness and charity, these laws and precepts, are but the results of the same evolutionary process which frames the man out of an ape?

Fortunately the peril is not so great as it may seem to be. The rank and file invariably refuse to interest themselves in the theories of scholars, when the position taken by the savants in question sets aside all natural interpretation in order to assume an explication which is as refined as it is laborious. Meanwhile, for the sake of science and truth, it is proper to join issue with these advanced thinkers, to test their arguments and review their formulas. If there is aught of good in what they have said, it must be culled and treasured; if their facts, though specious, seem to be founded on error, such must be accorded their true value.

In this fair-minded spirit, Christian publicists have considered and met the various propositions which from time to time spring up in apparent opposition to the claims of an all-conquering religion which dates the amelioration of the condition of men as they exist in the state, with its own inception. In a similar spirit it is desired in this note to treat the arguments which many French and German professors are at present championing, regarding the origin and development of that masterful system which is still so incomplete as to be uncoded, and whose concern reaches beyond the realm of the individual, and deals with sovereign states,—international law.

These arguments contend that positive law antedates natural law. However short-sighted the reader may be, once familiar with the terms, he will readily see how far-reaching would be the results of their triumph. The positive law of nations is the collection of rules recognized, by those subject to its articles, as obligatory. It is the written, the enacted law; the mass of statutes, of precedents, of treaties, which govern the relation of states. Natural law has been considered until recently to be the law which is written by the finger of God on the heart of man. It has seemed reasonable to suppose that individuals, and social aggregations of individuals called states, were both governed by conscience, and the inner faculty that stamps with approval every rightful act, while it brands the wrong; that men, listening to the voice of

¹ A reply to M. Chauveau, Professor in the School of Law of Algiers.

their Author within the breast, and gathering in communities for convenience and safety, wrote on tables the precepts which their inner consciousness recognized; that these laws, constantly changing and shifting in their less material parts, to meet the needs of a more complex civilization, were thrilled with new life by the revelations of divine law through the personal teachings of Christ; and that, finally, states as individuals had been roused, by the active christianizing influences of the last few centuries, to recognize the same law that governed man, as applicable to themselves. If the facts are opposite, if such reasoning is obsolete and foolish, then it is time for the clergy to eliminate from their treatises such arguments as set forth revelation as the potent cause from which all the triumphant results of the nineteenth-century comity and courtesy in international relations have sprung.

Monsieur Chauveau, Professor in the School of Law of Algiers, the admirer of Holtzendorff and A. Rivier, has no doubt that past positions have been erroneously assumed. In his recently published book upon "Le Droit des Gens," arranged as an introduction to public international law, he seriously argues the question; and, since he is an able exponent of this newer school, his statements may, in a general way, be taken as representative of the theory of those who antagonize the *a priori* character of natural law. Positive law, in the mind of this savant, plays a rôle superior to that which is ordinarily assigned to natural, or, as Phillimore would have it, divine law. Scouting the opinion of Puppendorff, that the latter was "l'élément unique du droit des gens," he boldly declares that it is only after the history of institutions and their progressive development is made known, only after we have studied comparatively the law of diverse nations, that we are able to arrive at the broad synthesis "which has given birth to natural law." This latter name he does away with, preferring "droit théorique" as a title. Whether or not this takes the place of the more familiar term, is for the reader to judge. Probably the average student will agree that the coined phrase is adapted to introduce the French author's chapter upon "La Critique Scientifique," but it is probable that he will also confess that the following line of thought is devoted to the consideration of a subject somewhat different from that which we are accustomed to read after the more familiar title.

But let us listen to M. Chauveau.

When the precepts of positive law have been determined, and have practically fixed certain rules in the domain of international relations, he tells us that it is convenient to discuss the value of these rules, see whether they are adapted to all occasions, and whether, if they cannot be modified, they may be ameliorated. In other terms, "après avoir établi ce qui est, on doit rechercher ce qui devrait être." There are two stages in this search for a more perfect code of laws. In the first stage is the critique, having for an end the ascertaining whether existing laws are in accord with the development of the judicial conscience of the people and with the exigencies of the hour. At this period one seeks to formulate *desiderata* of the science which would appear to be immediately realizable. In the second stage, we come into the domain of

speculation ; build for ourselves ideals, and seek to find the bounds of a golden future in which not only shall the inhabitants of a given region live peaceably side by side, but which shall herald in " a parliament of man, a federation of the world."

That there is a process continually going on in the realm of international law which critically searches out the faults, and tends towards the realization of such schemes as were considered by our sires as mere dream stuff and Utopian, is not to be doubted. The science itself, the child of modern thought and effort, abundantly proves this with its unparalleled progress during this century. But that this process has no cause beyond the critical analysis of a positive system found to be ill adapted to the present need, or the day dreaming of a mind which is stimulated alone by yesterday's material triumph, is a theory which on its face is unsatisfactory to most minds.

Why this unrest, this reaching out into the future, this dissatisfaction with that which exists? If the conditions changed with each age and generation, if new goals were constantly being set for our mastery, we should be more inclined to listen to the new teaching ; but it is hard to deny the fact, with the pages of antiquity before us, that, however he exerted himself to bring about a better condition, man in remote times was cognizant of a possible state hardly less perfect than that which the most poetic of moderns may trace in fancy. This being so, it seems preferable to accept such teaching as recognizes in the human breast, and in direct revelation, not alone an inspiration to achievement, and to the casting of laws, but a sure gauge by which these laws may be tested.

Again, given the order which M. Chauveau champions, where and when in the process of evolution did man establish his first positive law, and what could have dictated such action? Even his school acknowledge that the improvement in laws and codes, the growth of jurisprudence, the first application of the same laws which govern man in the particular, to the relation of states, has been brought about through *droit théorique*, which approximates to what we call natural law. It is strange that, confessing this much, they will not assent to the position that this latter is also prior in its field, rather than secondary.

To be logical, our adversary must prove that this *droit théorique* has not always exercised its humanizing influence. He must point to a period in which it commenced its work ; also, he must in some general way indicate hypothetically, if not absolutely, what the primitive laws were upon which its refining influence was exerted. If he cannot consistently do this, and he does not, we are hardly to be expected to follow him, especially when more reasonable theories are before us.

What we need is authority and a " reason for the thing," in order to satisfy our minds. Both are found in a recognition of God and a revelation from him. Granted that there is a Deity, and an unalterable law emanating from him, and no perplexity need confront us. We have the great Author of the science in the very beginning, guiding and overruling, giving glimpses into

the future, and constantly animating men with a new zeal to reach that which he has set before their eyes as a perfect goal. At the very outset, man catches the bent of this teaching, but fails to reduce it to a code under which he must live and work. Still he reaches out for the perfect status, which he knows it is right for him to seek after. As the French lawyer suggests, once drawn, his enactments fail to satisfy the inner sense—he cannot be content; so he toils on, seeking for new light, thus keeping in the way of achievement, but always recognizing the foundation upon which the proud structure he erects is reared, and giving the glory, not to blind force, but to the Creator.

Phillimore has said, Positive law, whether national or international, being only declaratory, may add to, but cannot take from, the prohibitions of divine law. Is he not right in his judgment? Is not positive law, changeable and shifting, but the imperfect scroll upon which men have sought to engross the testimony of revelation?

Let us presume so. If we accept any other hypothesis we shall have grave difficulties to grapple with, both in private law and in the domain of the law of nations. It is difficult, even if the starting-point be indicated with sufficient clearness, to comprehend how individuals can be controlled in the state, when they once come to understand that the statutes and law are but the result of an evolutionary process, and but a convenient medium through which the greatest good of the greatest number may be secured. It is still more difficult to comprehend how states having little in common, with innumerable antagonistic interests, are to be successfully organized into an international league which shall indicate and maintain peaceful relations, when the factors which give them character recognize no higher law than what certain writers are pleased to call necessity, a law which does not always work for good if man is still admitted to be a free agent.

Refuse, however, to accept theories leading to conclusions which have been touched upon; recognize a moral judge to whose final court man is responsible, a judge who is none other than the God of revelation; concede an Eternal Being to whom states must bow the head, however stiff-necked, one to whom kings and republics alike must bend, although there be no human arbitrator, judge, or court lofty enough to require their obedience,—and you have a system which is not alone an explanation of the triumph of law as noted by the Christian preacher, but a mighty assurance of such progress in the future as shall vindicate the reasonableness of our fondest expectation.

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DANIEL CHAUNCEY BREWER.

IV.

TWO SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE "STORY OF THE SPIES."¹

1. As to the greater prominence given to Caleb over Joshua in the account as it stands in Numbers xiii. and xiv., the two men occupied quite different positions, and the differences were such as had important bearings on

¹ See March and May numbers of *The Biblical World* for 1893.

the matter in hand. Joshua was Moses' personal attendant, his "minister," and was in some respects more closely associated with him than was any one else in the camp. When Moses rose up to ascend the Mount, Joshua his minister rose up with him (Ex. xxiv. 13). How far he accompanied him, we are not told; but on the way back Joshua is with Moses, and ignorant of what had been transpiring in the camp (compare Ex. xxxiii. 11). His position with Moses on the Mount may have been like that of Peter, James, and John with Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration, or in the Garden of Gethsemane. He seems to have been in training to be Moses' successor, just as Elisha, when in training to be Elijah's successor, became his personal attendant. That this was the case with Joshua, and that it was understood to be so, derives some added probability from the fact that Joshua led the hosts when Israel fought with Amalek. His relations to Moses were both intimate and important. Hence, in any controversy which might arise between Moses and the people, the circumstances in which Joshua was placed, would commit him to Moses' side. It would require no special courage or fidelity in him to stand by Moses; but it would have been specially base in him to have gone over to the other side. But Caleb was one of the people, and belonged naturally on their side; and, furthermore, his tribe Judah, and Ephraim the tribe of Joshua, were the two leading and rival tribes. Americans have little experience of what rivalry is among clans and tribes, or what courage it takes to rise above it, or what baseness is thought to mark the man who is not true to his own clan. Neither have we experienced how sure such rivalry is to exist wherever tribes or clans are found. Had Caleb been like the ten cowardly spies, jealousy would have put him at their head. It was his loyalty to God's appointed leader, his faith in God, and his manly courage, and these alone, in the face of strong counter-influences, which brought him to the side of Moses. He was rewarded for being faithful where *all others like circumstanced* were unfaithful.

Again, in a political campaign, for instance, the arguments of the various candidates carry much the less weight because they are partisans. So the Israelites regarded Joshua as the henchman of Moses. If, furthermore, the leading men of the other tribes were jealous of him, this would still further embarrass his action, and compel him to keep somewhat in the background. Caleb's support of Moses would be far the more effective of the two; and it would also be all the more effective, as well as more heroic, because he himself was taking the lead, instead of following in the wake of Moses' minister. No man situated as Joshua was, could have taken Caleb's place. Caleb failed indeed to stay the panic; but the effect of his example, with his promised reward, on the morale of the next generation must have been very beneficial: and when the hale old hero led forth Judah to the battle, that one grey head was better than a thousand banners. Joshua's testing came not at this juncture, but at the time when the death of Moses put him in chief command. He proved equal to the test; and he too received his portion as the reward of a faithful leader (Josh. xix. 49, 50). But does not the greater prominence given

to Caleb in "The Story of the Spies" befit the situation? Is it not one of those "water-marks" which fiction cannot simulate?

2. The words "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" have their explanation in Lev. xviii. 25, "the land vomiteth out her inhabitants." The Canaanites were rotten with vice, so that they were dying out; and the spies had observed this fact. But the ten cowardly ones perverted it into a slander: "The land is so sickly that the people are dying off." A somewhat similar objection was once brought against the healthfulness of the station where I am now writing this. The number of children in the native families seemed very small, and it was assumed that this was due to a bad climate, producing a high death-rate among them. But the true explanation lay in the morals of the people. The tea trade brought together large crowds of men without families, and made flush times for a few months of each year. The people bent all their energies to make money while it was flood-tide; and many families became debauched, who under ordinary circumstances would have remained pure. Then there followed, each year, months of plenty and idleness to complete the mischief. Since then Shaowu tea has deteriorated, and become almost a drug in the market; and this has brought hard times. Hard times have purified the morals somewhat; and better morals have resulted in larger and healthier families. But during those flush times this region might almost have been described as "a land that vomiteth out her inhabitants"; and yet, in fact, it was stigmatized as "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof."

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J. E. WALKER.

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ÉTUDE SUR LE GREC DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT. *Le Verbe: Syntaxe des Propositions.* Par Joseph Viteau (M. L'Abbé). Paris: Émile Bouillon. 1893. (Pp. lxi, 240. 25 cm. by 16.)

It is an auspicious omen for the progress of biblical study in the Catholic Church that the recent Encyclical of the Supreme Pontiff relative to the subject has so nearly coincided in time with the appearance of the noteworthy work to which we here invite attention. Hitherto almost nothing has emanated from that church relative to the grammar of the Greek Testament which has challenged the respectful attention of the scholarly world. In fact, the only elaborate work of the century known to us—the slightly Latin octavo issued at Louvain, in 1857, by Professor J. T. Beelen—professes to be nothing more than a modified reproduction of Winer's fifth edition. The present work, therefore, is entitled to a special welcome. Evidently, the patient study of years has entered into it.

The extended Introduction is devoted to an exposition of the origin and characteristics of the New Testament language, and closes with a list of the more important works serviceable in the study of it. The account of the language, though somewhat diffuse, is clear, sensible, and founded on the best authorities; while the concluding list—in which it is gratifying to note that American authors find due recognition, especially Professors Goodwin and Sophocles—seems to omit no recent work of moment, unless it be the Grammar and Critical Notes of Thomas Sheldon Green. The twenty-two chapters into which the work is divided, not only deal with the various classes of independent and dependent propositions, but also with the infinitive (the treatment of which is especially full and valuable), the participle, negatives, and direct and indirect discourse.

The treatment is everywhere luminous, and the examples cited numerous, although detailed discussion of them is avoided, as belonging rather to the province of the exegete than that of the grammarian. Especially to be commended is the author's practice of giving, in fine print at the close of each chapter, a summary of its contents, in which the deviations of the New Testament usage from the classic and later Greek are carefully noted, and frequently the peculiarities of the individual writers besides. Particular attention is given, also, to the precedents furnished by the Septuagint, and the copious examples cited from it constitute a distinct contribution to the as yet unwritten grammar of that peculiar type of Greek. Very valuable, again, are

the careful collections of grammatical statistics scattered through the volume ; see, for example, chapters x. and xix.

The author follows exclusively the critical texts of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort. The tone of his discussions is broad and scholarly, and his judgments—which of course cannot be expected to commend themselves in every instance to every reader—are not chargeable with indecision or lack of independence. Nor do they seem to be hampered by ecclesiastical or confessional trammels. The Epistle to the Hebrews he reckons as Pauline merely provisionally, and the Gospel of Matthew he holds to have been written in Greek ; he discriminates intelligently between the peculiarities of the different writers ; recognizes the effect, on their style, of their intellectual temperament and individual apprehension of truth ; and is even ready to concede a certain influence of the sort to the various amanuenses.

It would be easy to cull out interesting comments, but two specimens must suffice : John xxi. 19 *seq.* our author understands in an outward and literal sense (p. 130) : Jesus is quitting his disciples for the moment, and, wishing only Peter to accompany him, checks John, who, not understanding his wish, had begun to follow ; to Peter's question What John shall do, he replies, " If I will that he tarry [here with the other disciples] while I come [with you ; (on *ἔως* cf. ix. 4, and *ἔρχομαι* xxi. 3)], What is that to thee ?" In Matt. xxvi. 50 M. Viteau correctly adheres to the relative force of *ἐφ' ὅ*, but would supply *αἴτια* : " Thy kiss does not deceive me. I know what thou hast come for." This passage, and a few others, start the query whether our author might not have derived a helpful hint occasionally from the Revised English Testament of 1881.

It is evident that by his book l'Abbé Viteau has laid his countrymen under large and lasting obligations. Indeed, his work is one which will render substantial service to thorough biblical students of every land. He twice at least (pp. xxx, xlix) speaks of the vocabulary of the New Testament as consisting of 5420 words, instead of 5594 : but he is not responsible for this error. One unaccountable omission, however, must be mentioned : the book has no index of biblical passages. Such an index is simply indispensable.

J. HENRY THAYER.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Carl von Weizsäcker, Professor of Church History in the University of Tübingen. Translated from the Second and Revised Edition, by James Millar, B. D. Vol. I. London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894. (Pp. 405. 4x7.) \$3.50.

With this volume is opened a new series of translations from the German, edited by Professors Cheyne and Bruce, and to be published simultaneously in England and America. The names of the editors are a sufficient guarantee of the thoroughness with which the work undertaken will be performed, and may also give some indications, in connection with the issue of this first volume, of the character of the works to be translated.

Weizsäcker's "Apostolic Age" is the best recent exponent of the teach-

ing of Tübingen concerning the nature and authority of the books of the New Testament. Holding in the main to the positions of Baur, it presents some important modifications, especially in its enlarged list of genuine Pauline literature, and the less offensive way in which the alleged quarrel between Paul and the twelve apostles is treated. Perhaps Dr. Bruce has set forth the essential difference between them in his Introduction, in which he quotes Matthew Arnold's objection to Baur on account of his "rigor and vigor," saying that Weizsäcker has all of Baur's vigor, but less of his rigor. This is something; and it is something, also, that, while Baur recognized only Romans, Galatians, and the two Corinthian epistles as genuine, Weizsäcker repeatedly refers to Philippians as Pauline, though the present volume gives no list of his writings as the author receives them. Essentially, however, the theology of Baur is here. The resurrection of Christ is denied, and the book of Acts is "didactic," and its true value as history is only to be determined "by cutting out the presumed embellishments" (p. 208). These embellishments are "presumed" to betray themselves wherever a difference appears between the Acts and the Pauline epistles, of course being most apparent in the comparison of Acts xv. and Galatians i. The re-baptism of the twelve disciples of John at Antioch is not regarded as history, but as allegory, and "the purpose of the narrative is rather to show that the faith in Christ of the Jewish Christians required the Pauline doctrine to raise it to the true spiritual faith, and to invest its followers with the Holy Ghost. The fact that the disciples of John are twelve in number, an unmistakable allusion to the primitive apostles, shows that the whole is entirely allegorical. The extension to the case of Apollos also . . . is plainly meant to prove that Apollos was not to be ranked with Paul, but derived his mission from him" (p. 404).

This indicates fairly the position of the work so far as it is set forth in the first volume. We have referred too often to the Tübingen theology in its earlier forms to make present criticism necessary. Of the learning of the author there can be no doubt; and the conspicuously pleasant style of his writings when translated into English makes them, as compared with most German authors, very easy reading.

IS MOSES SCIENTIFIC? First Chapter of Genesis Tested by Latest Discoveries of Science. By Rev. P. E. Kipp. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1893. (Pp. 239. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.)

This little volume shows close and careful study of the scientific questions involved in his interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, and is to be highly commended. This we are ready to say, though disagreeing with the author on two or three points, the principal of which is his interpretation of the fourth creative day, in which he follows Professor Warring in his theory that there was, at that period of the evolution of the solar system, a change in the inclination of the earth's axis, establishing the order of seasons which now prevails. The theory is well maintained by Mr. Kipp, and the ground of objection to it is by no means demonstrative; but it seems to be the introduction of a far greater cause than is required for the phenomenon reported in the text

of Genesis. In the first place, the internal heat of the earth may easily have controlled the temperature during the early geological ages; thus accounting for the uniformity of conditions, which is shown by the existence of tropical plants near the poles. Secondly, his objection to Dana's interpretation is insufficient. Dana's view is that the phenomena referred to are the changes in the enveloping clouds which finally brought the sun into view from the surface of the earth, and made it the controlling element in the determination of seasons and climates. Anything that would secure the appearance of these luminaries for the assigned purpose is a sufficient cause for the purposes of the theory. Mr. Kipp's point that in translating the phrase "made the two great lights" the meaning should be determined largely by the manifest object in view as stated in the immediate context is well taken. On the contrary, President Harper's recent criticism upon Professor Dana's view of this passage, adopted in this case by the author, well illustrates the narrowness of liberal dogmatism. Professor Dana had said that, inasmuch as the great purpose of the source of light was accomplished by the heavenly bodies when they were first made to appear, therefore "made to appear" is a natural interpretation of the word "made" in the passage. This, President Harper declares to be "jugglery of words, if any such thing is to be found anywhere." Aside from the offensiveness of such a charge laid at the door of so candid and eminent a man as Professor Dana, it is an entirely false view of the proper principles of interpretation; for, the context is always allowed great influence in determining the specific meaning. In making such a charge against Professor Dana, President Harper goes over to the camp of the mere literalists, holding that, because in another connection the writer had used the phrase "made to appear," therefore, whenever afterward he wanted to convey the same idea, he must use the same exact phrase,—a principle which would make nonsense of any extended passage of literature. We hope that President Harper will both apologize to Mr. Kipp and Professor Dana, and refresh his mind upon the rules of hermeneutics.

Mr. Kipp's method of interpretation, in which he attempts to give full weight to the modification of meaning which the word receives from the context, is the correct method, and no amount of opprobrious epithets can destroy its force with the intelligent public. Its application in the tenth chapter is interesting, as showing that the author is himself not an unreasoning literalist, but is inclined to give that large view of the meaning of words which a comprehensive survey of the subject demands. He therefore sees nothing in the language of Moses to contradict theistic theories of evolution; the question between the evolutionist and the direct creationist being, "not whether it was God who created or not," but simply what was the method of his creation.

NATURE IN SCRIPTURE: A Study of Bible Verification in the Range of Common Experience. By E. C. Cummings. Boston: Cupples and Hurd. 1887. (Pp. xiii, 357. 6x3¾.)

The author of this volume presents in a fascinating style a line of thought that will be helpful to a large class of minds, and instructive and interesting

to all who carefully read it. The thought is often subtle and a little difficult to catch, on superficial reading; but it is one of the books which repays close study, and will be likely to retain a permanent place in Christian literature. We give but a single specimen as illustrating the style:—

“So far, at least, the Scripture drama of the fall is the drama of universal experience. All men have occasion to verify the representation in themselves and in others. All men make their appearance in the world not having sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; all are occupied about natural things before coming to the consciousness of spiritual relations; all have, by and by, broken a command in partaking of what they were naturally, and it may be formally, forbidden to touch; all fall into worse conditions, whether as respects what they do or what they suffer, than might have been theirs under the good providence of the Father; all know what it means to hear the voice of God within saying, ‘Where art thou?’ ‘What is this that thou hast done?’ All are warned that there is no return to original innocency, as by the sword of the cherubim flashing upon an awakened moral vision. To all there is the lot of mortality; but to those who have knowingly sinned death is armed with a peculiar sting, so that physical death has a darker significance as the wages of sin, and life is no longer the fulness of life when the law of life has been broken. To all there is hope in that Seed of promise, whose is the victory over temptation; and for all there is conceivably the possibility of a new access to the tree of life, in the spiritual paradise of God” (pp. 87, 88).

THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Ch. Piepenbring, Pastor, and President of the Reformed Consistory at Strassburg. Translated from the French, by Permission of the Author, with Added References for English Readers. By H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. 1893. (Pp. xi, 361. 5¼x3½.)

This volume is put before the American public by its translator as one that, “even if it sometimes yielded more than was necessary, could not but further the cause of religion” (p. iv), because of the spirit in which it is written. But the good spirit of an author seems to us a poor reason, when standing alone, for commending a book which treats of such vital themes as are here discussed. Perusal of the book shows that the author is one of the liberal dogmatists who in the sweetest and most confident spirit puts forth his own interpretations of the Old Testament as infallible dogmas. Among his dogmas are: that it is “impossible to distinguish with certainty historical data from later additions in the accounts respecting Moses” (p. 10); that we cannot learn from the book of Genesis “what was the religious and moral life of the patriarchs themselves” (p. 10); that “in view of the results of modern criticism, one may well ask whether it is now possible to know for certain anything concerning the person and work of the great legislator” Moses (p. 7); that “we cannot place the date of absolute monotheism so early as Moses. It certainly did not appear in Israel until much later” (p. 22); that “it is only necessary to read a few pages of the Prophets or the Psalms to be con-

vinced that God is regarded as possessing all the members and functions of the human body" (p. 26); that "it is related that he [God] incited Moses and the Israelites to cheat and rob the Egyptians, and that he assisted them in this attempt" (p. 28); that "the ancient Israelites did not regard God as a pure Spirit, neither did they know how to worship him in spirit"; that "David had sacred images in his house and used them in consulting Jehovah," from which he infers that we may seriously doubt whether the second commandment was a fundamental law of the religion of Israel; and so on to the end of the book. Everything is interpreted according to the theory of religious evolution which has so recently come into the field, and this is coolly assumed to be the only historical method. The author's closing paragraph affirms that it is enough "for the world in general that God is so clearly revealed in his holiness and love that each can recognize his sinful condition and then hope for the divine favor" (p. 350). This want he believes to be partly satisfied in the revelation of the old covenant, and fully satisfied in the revelation of the new. We fear, however, that when he applies his principles of interpretation to the New Testament he will not find any very specific promises left upon which to base his hope.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Walter F. Adeney, M. A., Professor of New Testament Introduction, History, and Exegesis, New College, London. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1894. (Pp. 248. 3x5.) \$1.25.

Professor Adeney, whose volume on Ezra and Nehemiah shows that he can write well on the Old Testament, contributes to the "Theological Educator" series this concise and practical little volume on the New. Its analysis of the teaching of Jesus, as related to John the Baptist and the Jewish law on the one hand, and the apostles on the other, is admirable. The authority of the New Testament writers, their essential harmony, and the progress of revelation as exhibited by them are well set forth. It is hard to see how more good matter could be placed in a volume of this size.

A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS FOR HISTORICAL STUDY: An Analytical Synopsis of the Four Gospels in the Version of 1881. By William Arnold Stevens, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Rochester Theological Seminary, and Ernest DeWitt Burton, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Company. 1894. (Pp. x, 237. 6x5.) \$1.50.

A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS IN THE REVISED VERSION. With some new Features. By John A. Broadus, D. D., LL.D. The Notes at the end of the volume, by A. T. Robertson, D. D. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. 1893. (Pp. xvii, 264. 6x4.) \$1.50.

These two volumes, appearing simultaneously, indicate the continuance of the interest in the systematic study of the life of Christ which has characterized the last half-century. The volume prepared by Professors Stevens and Burton is unaccompanied by critical notes, consisting simply of the arrangement of the Gospels in parallel columns according to subjects. Running footnotes give parallel passages occurring elsewhere in the Gospels. The

book will be found very convenient and useful for the systematic study of the Gospels.

The volume prepared by Professor Broadus is the result of thirty years' teaching of the English New Testament, and therefore exhibits in condensed summary the ripest fruits of his long and successful study. The author remarks that he has become "more and more convinced that most harmonists seriously err in laying stress on the division of our Lord's ministry into Passover years" (p. iii), and remarks, that "the length of his ministry, and the dates of his birth and death, cannot be precisely fixed." He therefore contents himself with dividing the life into the three well-defined periods of progressive development which are readily traceable in the accounts.

The notes of Dr. Broadus are limited to a few of the most important questions. But at the end of the volume there are thirty pages of very discriminating explanatory notes by his associate, Professor A. T. Robertson, D. D. These relate to: The Genealogies of Christ; The Probable Time of the Saviour's Birth; The Feast of John v. 1, and the Duration of our Lord's Ministry; The Four Lists of the Twelve Apostles; The Sermon on the Mount; The Combination of Luke and John; Did Christ eat the Passover? The Hour of the Crucifixion; The Time of the Resurrection of Christ; and the Length of our Lord's Stay in the Tomb.

The note upon the question Did Christ eat the Passover? is especially clear and satisfactory, the conclusion being "that a fair interpretation of the passages alleged not only removes all contradiction between John and the Synoptists, but rather decidedly favors the view that they had the same date for the Passover meal, and that Jesus ate the Passover at the regular hour, and was crucified on Friday, 15th Nisan" (p. 257).

PSYCHOLOGY, DESCRIPTIVE AND EXPLANATORY: A Treatise of the Phenomena, Laws, and Development of Human Mental Life. By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1894 (Pp. 676. 4x7.) \$4.50.

No student of philosophy can doubt that the past few years have witnessed great changes in the study of Psychology. Besides its other merits, Dr. Ladd's new book is an instructive way-mark, and indicates the new method of study in our universities and colleges. One is struck at once with the almost total change in arrangement, as this book is compared with the text-books of a dozen years ago. Like them, it is divided into three parts; but these relate, not to the Intellect, the Sensibility, and the Will, respectively, but to the "Most General Forms of Mental Life"; "The Elements of Mental Life"; and "The Development of Mental Life." Consciousness, instead of being relegated to a subdivision, is the starting-point, and the centre throughout, and the definition of Psychology given is, "the science which describes and explains the phenomena of consciousness, as such" (p. 1). "The old and vicious theory of faculties" is wholly discarded, and the author has so arranged his book, with malice prepense, as to give the least possible encouragement to one who, anchoring to one of the old definitions, en-

deavors from that point of view to take his bearings. Instead of treating of the faculties as existing, and only requiring analysis and classification, the author announces, and the book exhibits, his "consistent tenure of the view that the formation and development of faculty is itself the chief thing which scientific psychology has to explain" (p. ix).

The author defends the scientific character of psychological research against those who assert that Psychology cannot be called a science "because it has as yet discovered no law corresponding to the Newtonian principle of gravitation or to the principle of chemical equivalents." The facts of human consciousness, faithfully described, are, he maintains, the data, than which no science has a larger available collection, and none has made more swift advance in analysis and classification in recent years.

Thus the method of the book is inductive, proceeding from the gathered phenomena of consciousness, and always with respect to their origin and development. For instance, in the treatment of the will, at the point where in an older work we should look for a definition of the will as a faculty, we meet the italicised statement that "*To will* (in the highest sense of the word) is the result of a development; it is something which no one can do at the beginning of mental life, but which all men learn to do in the course of its unfolding" (p. 611). Later we find a definition of *volition* as "*a definite conative activity consciously directed toward the realization of a mentally represented end, preceded or accompanied by the condition of desire, and usually accompanied or followed by the feeling of effort*" (p. 613). What follows as to the nature of choice and the freedom of volition, is not essentially different from what we are accustomed to find, but greater attention is given to the volition as exercised in deliberation, as well as in the final decision. The ethical sentiments are treated as original and underived from other forms of feeling, yet as complex processes of consciousness, so that there is no peculiar class of psychoses to be denominated "moral judgments" (p. 580 *seq.*).

One misses throughout the exact divisions, the axiomatic definitions, and the unerring deductions of the older mental science. He turns to the index in vain for "Soul," "Reason," "Conscience," "Obligation," and other familiar terms. In place of these are discussions of the sensory-motor system, and inquiries into theories of feelings and sensations as primitive states of mind. One cannot doubt that this is a great improvement, and will lead to more accurate knowledge, yet the question arises, whether the wholesale discarding of the nomenclature and method of past study is not somewhat extreme? The book is one of great value. It is not designed primarily as a text-book, yet the author intends that it shall be used as such, and says that he would not have changed it materially if it had been especially designed for the class-room. The philosophy of the mind and speculative discussion of psychological phenomena are reserved for another volume, whose appearance will be watched for with interest by scholars.

THE NEW TESTAMENT ; OR THE BOOK OF THE HOLY GOSPEL OF OUR LORD AND OUR GOD, JESUS THE MESSIAH. A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By James Murdock, D. D. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository. (Pp. xliii, 507. 4x7.) \$2.50.

The Peshito has a double value, evidential and exegetical. So early a translation and into a language so nearly like that spoken by the Apostles has ever had its due weight with scholars. Few ministers, however, have time to study Syriac; and within limits it may be said that Murdock's translation has rendered it unnecessary for them to do so. For forty years or thereabout this has been recognized as a work of great and exact scholarship. The edition before us has a portrait and biographical sketch of the translator, and an introduction to the Syriac New Testament, by H. L. Hastings, which add greatly to the value of the work. It is well printed, and bound in cloth and leather.

CIVILIZATION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. Especially in Relation to Modern Civilization. By George Burton Adams, Professor of History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1894. (Pp. 463. 3½x6¼.)

History is too often considered as the mere recording of facts; and students have thought themselves to have learned history when they have memorized certain dates and fastened upon them, each upon its isolated peg, certain memorable events. What we call the philosophy of history is steadily gaining ground as a method of study. The new books that are to live, and influence thought, show the effect of this larger view of history, and better interpretation of its message to our own time. The work before us is not a history in the sense of setting forth in chronological order the series of events which occurred in the Middle Ages; but is a philosophical consideration of the facts and forces of that period in their relation to preceding, and especially to succeeding ages. The forces are four: the civilization of Greece, and of Rome; the power of the Germans; and the influence of Christianity. The events in their order he supposes the reader to know, or, if he does not know, refers him for them to some general history. The book then sets itself to show how, out of the material with which the Middle Ages began, and the little which they accumulated, there were wrought out, under the influence of the parallel-ogram of forces at work, the great movements of the period and of later history,—the Papacy, the Feudal System, the Crusades, and at length the Renaissance and the Reformation.

There cannot be two opinions of the value of the work. It will take high rank at once among works of its class. It is as interesting as it is stimulating and instructive, and shows the results of scholarship and clear thinking.

THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE. Collected and Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway. Volume I. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Pp. 445. 4x7.) \$2.50.

This first volume of Mr. Conway's promised edition of the complete works of Paine in style uniform with his *Life*, embraces the writings of Paine

between the years 1774 and 1779. These are chiefly patriotic, and are worthy of perpetual preservation. Their influence in confuting the arguments of loyalists and reviving the courage of patriots ought never to be forgotten. This volume contains the articles signed "Common Sense" and those entitled "The Crisis," of which latter the first opens with the memorable words that struck a spark from the manhood of the colonies in its blackest hour,— "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph" (p. 170).

There are no religious articles in this volume, excepting those that incidentally use religious arguments, where the use is reverent, as in the letter addressed to the Quakers of Pennsylvania, some of whom were using the doctrine of non-resistance against the colonial cause. There are reverent quotations of Scripture; there is a reference to the prescience of Christ (p. 125), and there is a significant appeal to the geographical situation of America as providentially pointing to independence, to deny which, he asserts, "would be a kind of atheism against nature: and the best answer to such an objection would be, '*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God*'" (p. 202).

Two of the opening articles are worthy of especial attention, being among the most pronounced of early protests against negro slavery, and duelling. A bright and sensible fable signed "Esop," and entitled "Cupid and Hymen," is worthy a frequent republication. Some of these earlier essays have never been published before with Paine's collected works. The complete writings of the man will not only help to a juster estimate of his own character, but some of them will throw an important side-light on the early history of our nation.

MR. MOZOOMDAR'S BOOKS.

The recent visit of Protap Chunder Mozoomdar to this country has created new interest in his book *THE ORIENTAL CHRIST*,¹ published some ten years ago, and has been accompanied by the publication of a book which is really its sequel, *THE SPIRIT OF GOD*,² and a collection of extracts from his writings, called *HEART-BEATS*.³ The first deserves its revived attention. Written by one professing himself "outside the fold of Christianity," as he says, it deserves close study, not simply for the light thrown upon the character of Christ when interpreted as distinctively Oriental, but also for the insight which it affords into the experience of thoughtful men in the Orient of whom the author is a type, and who has come to say, without professing conversion to the Christian faith, "In the midst of these crumbling systems of Hindu error and superstition, in the midst of this self-righteous dogmatism and acri-

¹ 1883. Pp. 193. \$1.25.

² 1894. Pp. 323. \$1.50.

³ With Portrait, and Biographical Sketch by S. J. Barrows. 1894. Pp. 288. \$1.50.

monious controversy, in the midst of these cold, spectral shadows of transition, secularism, and agnostic doubt, to me Christ has been like the meat and drink of my soul." In the new book on "The Spirit of God," the doctrine is considered from the dual standpoint of Hindu and Christian faith, as being the poles between which the self-manifestations of the Spirit range. But there are whole chapters whose spirit and phraseology are so distinctively Christian, that one is forced to think of the professed Hinduism as but the husk, while the kernel is Christian. Its end is to set forth the manifold workings of the Spirit until God may be seen working all and in all,—"nay, until the accursed and unhallowed becomes beautiful and blessed, like the cross of Calvary." Perhaps more than in either book the author's real faith shows itself in the little book called "Heart-Beats." It is a devotional book worthy to be named with the "Imago Christi." It opens the soul of the author as no Occidental book could do without self-consciousness and pedantry. And if we do not misread, it shows progress Christward even since the lofty sentiments of affection for Christ in the first of his books. Here is a quotation: "How can there be any comparison between Christ and any other man? His personal goodness and faith alone would confer supreme eminence on him. When to that is added the strange element of unexampled suffering and neglect, such as would have crushed any other man's soul, does he not become unique? . . . The world to-day bears the teeming evidence that Christ lives. . . . All goodness, sweetness, wisdom, are crowned with the meek dignity of the Son of Man. . . . Where is such another on earth?"

These books have more than a personal significance. Wherever the gospel is preached in a heathen land having an educated class, there is likely to grow up a movement either in alleged partial sympathy with, or more likely in pronounced hostility to, organized Christianity, but seeking to assimilate its ethical doctrines, and state them under the forms of the old faith. The issue of these movements as they affect the more spiritually minded of their followers can but be an interesting and significant study. The reaction in Japan, and the spirit exhibited by Kinza Riuge M. Hirai at the Parliament of Religions, and the recent addresses in this country by the Hindu Vivekananda, are to be studied as phenomena likely to reappear in many a land where missionary effort has become established and aggressive. What is the ultimate tendency of these anti- and extra-Christian movements? To the study of this problem we may well bring such light as is afforded by the history of the Brahma-Somaj, and especially by these works of its greatest living exponent. The study is upon the whole an encouraging one. It has its dark and perplexing features, even as thus viewed, but these are not predominant. We have no disposition to attribute to Mr. Mozoomdar's words any meaning not intended by their author, or to apply to him any name which he would disavow; but while allowing him to class himself, as he does, with those "outside the fold of Christianity," we cannot read his books otherwise than thankfully and hopefully, remembering that other sheep of Christ's, not of this fold, are yet to be brought, and there shall be one fold, one Shepherd.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITARIAN MOVEMENT since the Reformation. By Joseph Henry Allen, D. D., late Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Honorary Member of the Supreme Consistory of Transylvania. New York: The Christian Literature Co. 1894. (Pp. vi, 254. 6x3¾.) \$1.50.

The special value of Dr. Allen's "Historical Sketch" lies in the last three chapters, which treat of the development of Unitarianism in New England, and give the author's own personal reminiscences of the actors in this remarkable and influential movement, which has enlisted the labors of so many interesting, cultivated, and charming men. The author does not object, as many do, to the name Unitarian, but thinks it fairly well expresses the character of the movement. In summing up his views of the present situation, he adopts (p. 246) the words of Dr. Frothingham, and makes no objection to the dropping out of all distinctively Christian articles of faith in their bond of union: "The new Unitarianism is neither sentimental nor transcendental nor traditional. It calls itself Unitarian simply because that name suggests freedom and breadth and progress and elasticity and joy. Another name might do as well, perhaps be more accurately descriptive. But no other would be so impressive, or on the whole so honorable."¹

THE QUESTION OF UNITY: Many Voices Concerning the Unification of Christendom. Edited by Amory H. Bradford, D. D. New York: The Christian Literature Co. 1894. (Pp. 84. 5¼x3.) 75 cents.

In this timely little volume the question of the unification of Christendom is discussed from many points of view, and Dr. Bradford still believes, that, notwithstanding the recent almost unanimous insistence of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America upon the acceptance of the historic episcopate as the first step in any denominational union, "a large, growing and influential minority, . . . are far more catholic and irenic than those who have spoken for their church" (Preface). We confess that we do not see the evidence of this approaching union; but, on the contrary, it seems to us that the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational form of church government strike as deeply through our church organizations as ever they did, and we do not believe the evil is as great as many suppose. Questions of church polity relate largely to practical promotion of church life, and it is by no means certain that all can work well in the same ecclesiastical harness. It is quite possible that union under the present conditions of human nature, would indicate paralysis of the higher functions of Christian activity. If a man has strong faith in the gospel, the strength of his convictions are pretty sure to attach themselves to the means chosen for the promotion of the gospel.

ANNOTATIONS UPON POPULAR HYMNS. By Charles Seymour Robinson, D. D. For Use in Praise Meetings. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. (Pp. 581. 5x7.) \$2.50.

It is high time that Dr. Robinson, who has given to the Church so many good hymn-books, should give to it also something of what he has learned

¹ Boston Unitarianism, p. 267.

about hymns. The volume of "Annotations" takes for its basis the hymns in "Laudes Domini," together with the additional hymns in "The New Laudes Domini," and the hymns of the Baptist edition. The first of these has already served as the basis of Duffield's "English Hymns," with which this book suggests comparison. It is better winnowed than Dr. Duffield's book, and contains the pith of it, and more. This book takes the hymns of "Laudes Domini" in order; while Duffield treats them in the order of the alphabetical arrangement of their first lines. This is the more convenient if one uses Dr. Robinson's hymn-books, but not so convenient if the hymns are found in other books. A goodly number of illustrations show the faces of authors, and scenes connected with their lives.

We have sometimes wished that Dr. Robinson's hymn-books were less dogmatic, and we experience something of the same feeling in reading some of his comments. No doubt "there are times in which a genuine Christian will not consent to be anything less than dogmatic," as he affirms; but those times should not be the times when he is singing praises to God with brethren who are not in full accord with all his own doctrinal views. A hymn should reflect sound doctrine; but just so far as it contains dogmatic affirmations upon doctrines concerning which Christians differ, it is unfitted to unite Christians in common worship.

MURDOCK'S TRANSLATION OF MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, FROM THE BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With Copious Notes by James Murdock, S. T. D. A New Edition, with a Biographical Sketch of the Translator, by H. L. Hastings, Editor of The Christian, Boston, Mass. Three volumes in one. Boston and London: Scriptural Tract Repository. 1892. (Pp. 470, 485, 506. 4x7.) Cloth, \$3.50; half leather, \$4.00.

Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History" has occupied a place of its own among our church histories for many years. With acknowledged defects, it still remains an important work, which may stand without shame upon the shelf with the best and more recent works on the subject. This new edition is from the plates of the former revised edition, with an introduction and biographical sketch by the editor, and a portrait of Dr. Murdock, who in his day was a contributor to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The plates are well preserved, considering their years of service, and the new matter is of value. We wish it a renewal of its youth, and a wide sale.

BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. Edited with an Introduction, by Mowbray Morris. In two volumes. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. (Pp. 590, 609.) Per volume, \$1.00.

Biographies come and go, but Boswell's Johnson goes on forever. The edition before us is uniform with new editions of Scott, Carlyle, Hugo, and others recently issued by these publishers. The edition deserves commendation because of its excellent quality and low price. The paper and letter-press and attractive binding are such as any library might be glad to admit, and the price is less than any edition of equal merit that we have seen.

THE ASCENT OF FAITH: or the Grounds of Certainty in Science and Religion. By Alexander James Harrison, B. D., Vicar of Lightcliffe. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1894. (Pp. 302. 3¼x5¼.) \$1.75.

This is a thoughtful series of lectures addressed to agnostics. Starting with the proposition that every man is bound to seek the truth and obey it, he excludes the term "unknowable," as opposed to clear thought, and, begging the question at issue, proceeds to point out the reasonable grounds of theistic and Christian belief. It is our judgment that the discussion of the claims of the Anglican Church, and of infant baptism, are a blemish upon the book: but the purpose and spirit of the book are excellent.

A LIE NEVER JUSTIFIABLE. By H. Clay Trumbull. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. (Pp. xii, 237. 3x5.) \$1.00.

This book is a thorough and honest statement of the author's conviction, so often expressed in the *Sunday-School Times*, and considers a large number of practical cases in which lying is supposed by some to be justifiable, in all of which, he contends, and at all hazard, the truth should be told, or nothing.

Dr. Trumbull not only believes the proposition stated in the title of his book, but proved his faith by his works when, in the War, he refused to escape from the enemy's prison by lying. Yet he declares the right of an officer to deceive the enemy "by any exhibit of 'Quaker guns' or mock fortifications, or of movements and counter-movements, or of feints of attack, or of surplus watch-fires" (p. 72). All these he gathers under the head of concealment of weaknesses or of plans. But people there be who will still call this deception, and will ask why there should be so great a difference between a lie acted and the same lie spoken.

THE CHAUTAUQUA BOOKS.¹

The books prepared for the Chautauqua course for the current year are fully up to the standard of former years. Rev. William Cleaver Wilkinson has revised his *LATIN IN ENGLISH* work, the main result appearing in its condensation. Mr. James Richard Joy has expanded his "Outline History of Rome" into a good-sized volume entitled *ROME AND THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE*. Mr. W. H. Goodyear adds to his volumes on Art one entitled *ROMAN AND MEDIÆVAL ART*. Selections from early French, Spanish, Scandinavian, German, and Italian literature, translated and with notes, are given in a volume by the Messrs. McClintock, entitled *SONG AND LEGEND FROM THE MIDDLE AGES*. Professor Ely's new volume on *ECONOMICS*, prepared with the assistance of Professor H. H. Powers, formerly of Oberlin and now of Smith College, is the best and clearest work that has come to us from Dr. Ely. Least in size, but not in importance, is a little volume entitled *SCIENCE AND PRAYER*, by W. W. Kinsley, the substance of which is already familiar to readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and which, first published for scholars and now for general readers, illustrates the possibility of making profound discussions of great subjects clear and interesting.

¹ The Chautauqua-Century Press. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. Price per set, \$5.00.

FRIENDSHIP THE MASTER PASSION: or the Nature and History of Friendship, and its Place as a Force in the World. By H. Clay Trumbull. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. 1894. (Pp. 413. 3½x5½.)

It is good to read a book that has been written out of pure love of the theme. Every page of this volume, and every mechanical feature, reveal the author's friendship for his theme. The book contains two divisions, one of which treats of the nature of friendship, which the author affirms consists in loving, rather than being loved, and thus spending itself without thought of reciprocity. It is "gainfully expensive," and involves no thought of possession of the person or friendship of the one loved. From this point of view a discussion is appended on the meaning of *ἀγάπη* and *φιλία*, which declares *ἀγάπη* to be "friendship-love." In this philosophical and linguistic discussion there are certain points where the author's analysis and distinction will not carry the conviction of all his readers. But the second part is one that gives uninterrupted pleasure. Whatever friendship is in its essence, and in contradistinction to other affections, its place in history, poetry, and art has never been more beautifully set forth than here. It is a superb book, and a most appropriate gift for a friend.

THE WAY: THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REVELATION. By John F. Weir, M. A., N. A., Dean of the Department of Fine Arts in Yale University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1889. (Pp. xvi, 430. 5¼x3¼.) \$1.75.

The alleged purpose of this work is to consider the truths of Revelation "in the light of Scripture as the sole competent witness of their meaning or intention." In reality, however, it views all Scripture teaching through an assumption that "while there is both a natural and a spiritual sense in Revelation, it is the spiritual intention which is essentially the word of God." It will be difficult to convince most people that this "spiritual intention" is not in large measure the product of the author's imagination. Thus, large portions of biblical history become mere allegories, with "only an apparent reference to times past;" and the plain meaning of passages is set aside, while the author seeks a far-fetched Swedenborgian spiritual significance. "He who does not read between the lines is but a sterile seeker after light," our author tells us. They who believe in reading the author's own opinions into the text, or between the lines, will enjoy the book, provided always their and his opinions coincide. To others the method of the book will appear wrong, its conclusions unreliable, and its voluminous Scripture quotations unstratified and perverted. It is needless to add, however, that the author appears to have been conscientious and thorough in his work. It will be liked by those who like that sort of thing.

THE REV. PROFESSOR EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D. D., LL. D.

IN the death of Professor Edwin Cone Bissell, on the 10th of April, 1894, the *Bibliotheca Sacra* lost one of its associate editors and a most valued contributor. Professor Bissell was born at Schoharie, Schoharie County, N. Y., on the second of March, 1832. Soon after his birth his parents moved back into Connecticut, whence they had come to Schoharie, and lived in the town of Coventry, in that State. He was led quite early in boyhood to unite with the church; and this step seems to have suggested to him the further step of giving himself entirely to the service of God in the gospel ministry. Accordingly he prepared himself for college, partly at the Monson Academy in Monson, Mass., and partly privately, and in the fall of 1851 presented himself for admission at Amherst College. He spent the next four years at this institution, graduating in the class of 1855. After spending one year as a teacher at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass., he entered Union Theological Seminary, New York, and with a brief interruption of a part of a term, which he spent at the Theological Institute of Connecticut (now Hartford Theological Seminary), he took his entire theological course at Union and graduated in 1859. Immediately after leaving the Seminary he was called to the pastorate of the church at Westhampton, Mass., and remained in this field until 1865. In the fall of 1859 he was married to Miss Emily Pomeroy, of Somers, Conn. During his pastorate at Westhampton the war of the Rebellion broke out and, in answer to a call for volunteers, he organized Company K of the Fifty-second Massachusetts regiment, and led it as its captain, spending one year in the service. In 1865 he went to San Francisco, and took charge of city mission work there. This was later organized into the Greene Street Congregational Church, with him as its first pastor. At the same time he was connected with the *Pacific* as associate, and afterwards as managing editor. In 1869 he was given leave of absence by his church, and spent nearly one year supplying the English church at Honolulu. This church invited him to become its pastor, but he did not see his way clear to settle there. At the same time, resigning his charge at San Francisco, he returned to the East, and became pastor of the church at Winchester, Mass. Here he remained until 1873, preparing and

publishing his "Historic Origin of the Bible" during that year. The same year an opportunity offered itself to satisfy a long-cherished desire to go into the foreign mission field, and he put himself under the American Board to be sent to the Tyrol, Austria. He continued in this service till 1878. He then spent one year in the preparation of the volume on the "Apocrypha" published in 1880 in the Lange series of Commentaries on the Bible, and one year in special studies in Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Leipzig. In 1881 he was called to the Nettleton professorship of the Hebrew Language and Literature at Hartford Theological Seminary. This he accepted, and held until 1892, when he was offered the chair of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis at the McCormick Theological Seminary and removed to Chicago, giving the last two years of his life to this institution.

Besides "The Historic Origin of the Bible" and the Commentary on the "Apocrypha," Dr. Bissell wrote "The Pentateuch: its Origin and Structure," published in 1885; "Biblical Antiquities," 1888; "Practical Hebrew Grammar," 1891; and "Genesis Printed in Colors," 1892. He also wrote many articles and book-reviews in the theological magazines and religious papers, especially in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, the *Presbyterian Quarterly*, the *Biblical World* (formerly *The Old and New Testament Student*) and the *Hartford Seminary Record*, and contributed the essay on "Pentateuchal Analysis: the Codes" in the volume on "Moses and the Prophets," published under the editorial supervision of Dr. T. W. Chambers.

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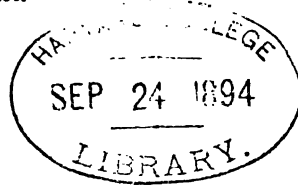
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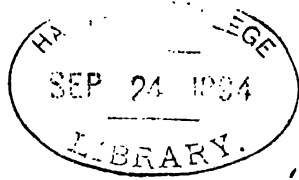
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THE
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ARTICLE I.

CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

BY MR. Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

THE complicated facts of sociology narrow the possibilities of a magazine article to suggestions, rather than an attempt to treat any part of the subject exhaustively, or to compass the entire field even in outline. It would be idle for one to dogmatize in this sphere of thought; for sociology is more of a philosophy than a science. It takes deep root, to be sure, in social, civil, ethical, economic, and religious truths, which have themselves been systematized, but the combining of such infinite and complex data, and attempting to form safe generalizations, is the difficult task of the sociologist. We do know some things, however, about man and of his duties in this world. Since man is the integral unit and the concrete aggregate of many of these units is society, and we know that a perfect society must have perfect units, and the Christian religion has come to seek and to save that which was lost, we see at once the relation of Christianity to civilization.

Plato's Republic, Cicero's Commonwealth, More's Utopia, assumed perfect units, and the practical attempts at socialism have failed for the want of them. The real difficulty in all theories about an ideal social condition has been that

an ideal society must be formed of persons who themselves are ideals of benevolence and wisdom. Society cannot be a perfect machine, working smoothly and accomplishing its purpose, so long as the individuals which compose that society are themselves imperfect. It has never been difficult to construct, in theory, an imaginary state out of imaginary citizens and have them all honest, industrious, and thrifty, and, therefore, contented and happy. The world has never lacked for theorists, transcendentalists, dreamers; but the Christian religion is practically the only force that has appeared yet to accomplish any ideal result, and Christian men and women so far have been the only agents for doing this work in this world. We define as "Christian" the doers of righteousness. It is the mission of the Christian religion to regenerate and perfect the individual. Sociology, therefore, leads at once to biblical theology, and its very first question is, "What shall I do with Jesus, which is called the Christ?" This can be evaded by sociology no more than by the individual conscience; and if the claims of Christ, to be the Messiah, be not admitted, he must be crucified. What the aged Simeon prophesied in the Temple has come to pass, at least in sociology, for we stumble upon that babe at the very threshold, and whether we rise or fall remains to be seen. The historical Christ must first have our intelligent consideration.

And the child grew in stature and wisdom, until, thirty years later, he appeared upon the hills of Palestine, a simple day laborer, claiming to be a teacher sent from God. He combined in himself the strongest opposites and characteristics the world has seen. He was of humble origin, and yet claimed to be divinely born. The oxen and the angels alike witnessed his birth. The peasants and the wise men from the East joined in adoration. At twelve years of age his simplicity and wisdom confounded the doctors in the Temple. He followed the carpenter's trade, and yet assumed to be a

king. He proposed to establish a world-wide religion which he prophesied should be like a tree in whose branches all the nations of the earth, like birds of the air, should find lodgment; and to accomplish such an audacious task chose for his disciples some simple fishermen, a tax collector, and a few other equally humble men.

He was not the product of his age. He was not the flowering of Hebrew genius. He was a strange contradiction to his times. He drank from some fountain, before unknown, such draughts of simplicity, purity, and wisdom that his character has ever been the greatest miracle. He was kingly and courtly in manner, and yet took little children upon his lap and blessed them. Soldiers were sent to lay hold upon him, and fell away through fear; yet Martha and Mary found in him the gentlest and purest friend. He scathed the Pharisees till they gnashed on him with their teeth; and, according to the old version, he then forgave on the spot the woman taken in crime. He wept over Lazarus and over Jerusalem; yet he drove the traders out of the Temple with a scourge of small cords. The greatest destructionist in religious history has builded as no constructionist has dared to attempt. To his best friend he could say, "Get thee behind me, Satan," and yet that friend died for him. He loved nature and drew his simple truths from the lilies of the field, the birds of the air, and the daily walks of life; yet scholarship has found no flaw in his philosophy. His exquisite fancy and delicate sentiment fringed with gold everything it touched; and he condemned hypocrisy and sin with a coldness and severity worthy of a Nero or a Caligula. His imagination was broad in its sweep, and delicate in its touch. His will was imperial in its power over both mind and matter, yet it was ever buried out of sight in the depth of his tenderness and love. He was a child in language, a philosopher in thought. No man confused or confounded him, for he knew all that was in man. Truths which have given rise to the great universities of the

world were spoken with an artless simplicity that has commanded the admiration of poet and scholar in every age. He was the greatest egoist that ever lived coupled with the greatest humility. He had not where to lay his head, and yet claimed to be equal with God. He stooped to conquer. Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, have lived through the centuries as thinkers, but what wayfaring man can understand their teachings; while old Uncle Tom can trace out with his rough, black fingers: "In my Father's house are many mansions." Christ was a man with a woman's affection and delicacy; he was a woman with a man's ambition, courage, and virility. Herod was afraid of him; the shepherds were not. The greatest individualist the world has seen, and the first true socialist. He believed in the anarchism of ideas, coupled with patience in realizing their fruitage. He was the greatest democrat the world has known, both in character and teaching,—of the people, by the people, for the people, yet he paid tribute to Cæsar. He was an aristocrat in character, but not of wealth, learning, or culture. In his loftiest moods he called himself the Son of man; in his humblest moods he was the Son of God, a Royal Vicegerent and Minister Plenipotentiary from a Divine Government, clothed with authority and power to make treaties and forgive sins. He was betrayed by one of his own disciples, and yet asserted that he would come to judge the earth, clothed with authority, majesty, and power. While he admitted that he was the son of Mary, he denied all limitations of time, and claimed to have existed before Abraham; and then promised to be present with his disciples even after death. He likewise denied limitations of space, and was present with his disciples with closed doors, with the two on the way to Emmaus, and by the Sea of Tiberias. He told his disciples to beware of men, and yet laid down his life to save them. He saved others, himself he did not try to save. Like the flash of the meteor across the dark sky, came the Christ in the dark ages. Like the strong lights and shad-

ows of a Doré, his character and words have inspired men and lived in history.

Is it a wonder that art has struggled to reproduce such an ideal, and thus has sat at his feet a humble worshipper, striving for utterance? Is it a marvel that philosophy has learned its lessons of simplicity from him; that learning has founded its universities in his name; that religion has moved away from forms and ceremonies, and taken on a new meaning, being simply love of God and all that God has made? Is it a wonder that sacred and profane history alike prophesied that in the golden age the lion and the lamb should lie down together, and a little child should lead them? Christ had reason without rationalism; faith without credulity; sentiment without sentimentalism; will without wilfulness; repose without complacency; zeal without fanaticism; earnestness without intolerance; firmness without obstinacy; courage without foolhardiness; self-love without selfishness; liberty without license; hope without visions; egoism without egotism; tenderness without weakness; humility with self-respect; and love without lust. He pursued the golden mean commended by Aristotle, because he was such in character, and the ideal citizen of Plato and Cicero he was able to exemplify in his own life. If all the world were like him in character, we should have the ideal social condition, which has been the dream of the philosopher, the work of the philanthropist, and the talk of the politician. This is the Christ to whose life and teachings such writers as Froude and Guizot admit that we must look for all that is worthy in civilization.

Christian sociology must therefore take deep root in biblical theology, and this will clear the equation of all needless or meaningless factors. We shall quarrel with neither the inductive nor the empirical method, if in the equation, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," x is admitted to be equal to y , and can be substituted with confidence that the equation will prove.

If Christ's life and character revealed such opposites, we need not be surprised to find in his utterances the strong antitheses and seeming contradictions that, in the language of poetry, in an oriental clime and an object-teaching age, startled men into thought and action. Christ was the truth in himself; hence his mind was full-orbed. He presented the different poles of thought at different times; so that his words must be all the more carefully studied and weighed, if they are to be rightly understood, and held up as containing sociological truths worthy of confidence. He did not speak judicially, nor did he fear to emphasize a special phase of truth on a special occasion. The difficulty of speaking to one's own age is multiplied many times in attempting to speak to the centuries, as did the Christ; nor could the technical or judicial method be followed in such an emergency if the common people would hear him gladly. Mountain-peak truths must stand out in solitary relief against the objections, the exceptions, the technicalities, and details which necessarily inhere, if such truths are to catch the popular ear, and form a philosophy of life for the common people. Christ's harmony is not alone the composition of a Wagner, appreciated only by the educated and refined, but also the simple melody of the heart, caught up instinctively by the common people, and living through the centuries as the soul's own natural voice. He is both a Browning and a Burns.

The sociological scholar will find his task of interpreting social phenomena much simplified by adhering closely to Christ's estimate of man, his origin, nature, and destiny. If the great fact of sin in the world be overlooked, no solution to many problems can be found, for the complexity of the data will bewilder and confuse. Social problems are lumbered with innumerable factors that will easily cancel if Christ's view of sin is once admitted as a working hypothesis. And sin must be understood to be a matter of proportions and relations, and not of definite acts. It may be virtue carried

to excess, or it may be a right in wrongful relations. The rightful theory of accumulating money by exercising the desire to acquire; or the theory of labor organizations, and the entire subject of charity, may break down into a positive menace to society by the manner in which these theories are practised. The practical result may be monopolies and trusts; strikes that threaten the very existence of the State, or pauperism that breeds pestilence and disease. Unless Christ is studied and interpreted fairly and fully, he will easily seem to favor celibacy, pauperism, improvidence, poverty, non-resistance. He can be so interpreted as to oppose acquiring and ownership, prudence, forethought; regard for life, liberty, and reputation; the honoring of parents and the proper regard for wife and children or the family structure, which is the unit of society. The ascetic, the tramp, the recluse, the mystic, the sentimentalist, the happy-go-lucky, can find in isolated sayings of Christ a warrant for their laziness, their uselessness, and good-for-nothing-ness. The anarchists in Chicago claimed to be followers of Christ. The socialist claims him; the communist quotes the first church at Jerusalem for his example; the individualist; the philosophical or evolution anarchist; rich and poor; prince and pauper; employer and wage earner; capitalist and labor agitator; Uncle Tom and Master Sinclair,—each finds in Christ something to make him feel he has a first claim on Christ's life and teachings, and that Christ is one of his own kind. It is important to interpret Christ anew by the best thought and highest standards of to-day. If Tolstoi were right, let us follow Christ literally, as he does. If the socialist is the true Christian, let us hasten to conform our lives to his ideal. But we must first be sure they are right, and this involves a restatement of Christian truth.

There are three ways of learning the mind of Christ upon any given subject. The first is to read his words, and interpret them fairly, comparing each saying with others of his own upon the same topic. The second way is to interpret

his actions when he did not express himself in direct language. The third way is to catch the spirit, motive, and purpose of his life and character as it is revealed through his followers from the inspired apostles to the present time. It is essential that we interpret him in connection with the circumstances and occasions which inspired his sayings. Literal interpretation leads to many seeming inconsistencies and contradictions. For instance, Christ says, if a man hate not his father and mother, he cannot be his disciple. And yet again he says, he came not to set aside or abrogate the law, but to fulfil, which means that the fifth commandment is still in force, —to honor father and mother. It is the spirit, more than the letter, to be studied. "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor" would demoralize society if acted upon literally. "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away" is a personal instance, and not for universal application. The words of Christ are addressed to people of common sense, and that is presumably to be exercised in understanding them. The literal interpreters have never been his loveliest followers. A man may eat locusts and wild honey, let his hair grow long, wear a leathern girdle about his loins, and yet be very far from resembling John the Baptist. One may wash the disciples' feet, and not catch the spirit of humility and earnest desire to serve others which is what the Master commended. It is because of the danger of these misinterpretations, the Catholic Church prefers to interpret the Scriptures for its people.

The second way of interpreting Christ is through his actions or life. We do not need to have Christ tell us of his estimate of the value of a man. He died for man. His views of poverty are read in his life. He and his followers knew the simple annals of the poor. When Pilate asked him, "What is truth?" Christ's silence is as full of meaning as any words would have been. When he turned and looked upon Peter, there was a language that cut to the quick. The fact that he

paid tribute to Cæsar reveals his idea of duty to existing government, even if that government be not the best. His earlier manhood was spent at the carpenter's bench, which reveals his thought of the dignity of manual labor and of the value of industry. By his acts Christ honored marriage, the home, children, government, industry, parental obedience, friendship; and by no act, much less by word, denied any of the fundamental principles of ethics. On the contrary, the highest system of ethics looks to Christian truth for its origin and inspiration.

But there is a growth of Christian consciousness through the centuries, of which Neander loved so much to speak, and which Newman Smyth in his "Christian Ethics" emphasizes so clearly, in the light of which all of Christ's words may be fairly interpreted. And this must be a great source of knowledge in Christian sociology. Failure to observe these rules of interpretation has led to the founding of all sorts of one-sided sects, following some new fancy or ism, acting upon some half-truth or some whole truth half understood; and, hence, Christianity has been split into many sects.

While it is desirable to know Christ's mind upon important social questions, we must confess frankly that he never came to earth to teach political economy nor the science of government, art, or ethics. Nor did he announce his purpose to save society except as society is saved through its units. He did, in three and a half years, speak words that for eighteen centuries have held men spell-bound, and the influences which he set in motion have revolutionized society, little by little, until, as Guizot says, there is no civilization that is worthy of the name that has not sprung from Christianity. At Christ's feet have sat art, philosophy, ethics, science, no less than religion, as humble learners. "Beauty is the flowering of truth," says Ruskin, and the truths of the Son of Mary have unfolded until the world has been filled with the sweet perfume, like the odor from the alabaster box of ointment. As Paul

did not denounce a single evil, like the gladiatorial scenes, but set in motion the influences that overthrew the entire civilization, and later the Colosseum, so Christ's acts and words have broadened and deepened in their influence and power, until the world knows he was opposed to slavery and to every form of human oppression. The teacher is often better understood by the effect of his teachings on his disciples than by direct interpretation, for in them the motive to produce effect is wanting. Hence, we look to Plato and Xenophon to know Socrates, as we look to Paul and John to know more fully the Christ. It is because Christ is claimed by every modern school of economics, that we must study, in the light of to-day, what he said in word or deed that may be the truths of political economy or sociology.

The best Christian thought and scholarship has evolved a system of economics that, so far as our age is Christian and civilized, and is capable of understanding Christ, is simple and clear. A later age may do better in the interpretation of the Master, but the best minds in the sphere of economics have arrived at conclusions.

Political economy is the science of wealth. It treats of accumulation and distribution, of consumption and production; incidentally of origin of value, of labor, capital, land, rent, interest, industry, idleness, pauperism, crime, charity, property. It takes deep root in ethics, and widens out into sociology. But sociology must ask questions of moral philosophy, as well as of political economy. The first inquiry of moral philosophy is for the ground of obligation or duty. It is found in the perception of the good. That good is sentient being or personality. Virtue consists in conforming the will to this obligation, which is benevolence. This is highest reason. Hence the conformity of the will to the reason is righteousness. This is the philosophy of Presidents Edwards, Finney, Fairchild, and Mark Hopkins. Edwards defined benevolence as love of being, and Dr. Newman Smyth, likewise, empha-

sizes clearly the good of self as a proper object of regard. President Fairchild says, "It lies within our reach as no other good does, and hence arises a special obligation to promote it." Political economy must ever go hand in hand with ethics, and sociology looks to both for data from which to generalize.

What is the teaching of Christ on selfhood and altruism? The cardinal principle of Christianity is what James calls the royal law: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, might, mind, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." President Mark Hopkins, in his "Law of Love," says, this is the cardinal principle of Christianity. Dr. Lyman Abbott says, it is the Judaistic law of justice, while Christianity, as Christ exemplified it, demands that thou shalt love thy neighbor better than thyself. This is founded on Christ's words: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you," which love, Dr. Abbott says, is greater than love of self. He cites a mother's love as ideal, and says: "A mother loves her children better than herself." Dr. Abbott has overlooked the fact that a mother's love is an instinct, and not the harmony of the will with the reason, or a state of benevolence. Up to a certain point the tigress has the same love for her cubs that a mother has for her offspring; but this is not an ideal love. The test would be for a mother to love another's children better than her own. Dr. Josiah Strong, in the "New Era," says essentially the same thing—that the remedial law is, Thou shalt love thy neighbor better than thyself; the law of justice is, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Paul said: "And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The effort to love one's neighbor better than self is to be the coming fad among the churches, if such a philosophy gains the ascendancy. But it will result precisely as Hopkinsianism in New England did as preached by Dr.

Emmons. The effort to get Christians willing to be damned, in order that their neighbors might be saved, was such an ignoring of duties to self, that it was not simply unnatural, it was unchristian. This attempt of many modern writers to wither self-love to zero, in order to magnify and exalt altruism to unity, will not only be unsuccessful, and lead Christian thought out into the wilderness, but it will delay and hinder the work of the Christian churches. There is no possible competition between a proper regard for self and the love of God and neighbor. Self-love led Paul to say, "I bring my body under subjection, lest, while I preach to others, I myself should be a castaway." The law of love stands eternal, unalterable, unchangeable. Man must have good-will or love, not necessarily emotional, but full of divine purpose and enthusiasm. This love, if it exist at all, will glow in three directions:—upward, toward God; outward, toward man; inward, toward self. This selfhood or self-interest is not inconsistent with the highest benevolence. Selfishness is irrational, and must not be confounded with self-love. The Pharisee's prayer was supreme egotism, and unduly exalted self: "God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess."

This is selfishness. But self-interest led the publican to say, "God, be merciful to me a sinner." This prayer has self for its object no less than the other, but its proportions are right. Self-love, or duties towards self, are obligatory, otherwise suicide would be justifiable. The parable of the talents enforces this. God has given to each person a life which is to be preserved; a mind to be cultivated; a moral nature to be developed; a will to be strengthened and exercised in accordance with reason; an imagination to be purified, which is an ever-ending source of joy to its possessor, for here lives poetry, art, sentiment; a soul to be saved. Man holds these powers as a sacred trust, and is accountable

to God for their use. True self-love is, in fact, necessary first, in order to love others. The sun must be fed before it can give out heat, and a man must build up in himself before he can impart to others. The prodigal son came to *himself*, and said, "I will return to my father's home." This is the first step in virtue. If a man will be true to himself, he is taking the first step toward heaven. "To thine own self be true, and thou canst not then be false to another." This loyalty to one's own higher self is like God himself, who has the springs of blessedness himself within himself. Self-love will lead a young man to harbor his resources, cultivate his powers, and then in whatever sphere he is called he will develop in wisdom, no less than in stature, and in favor with God and man. Extravagance, foolish waste of time, over-fondness for dress or pleasure, love of display, are all the fruits of selfishness, not of self-love. If the relative values of God, neighbor, and self were to be expressed in the form of an equation, the Christian equations would be $\text{God}=\infty$, $\text{self}=1$, $\text{neighbor}=1$. We need not here lead to its absurdities the equation, $\text{God}=0$, but let the commandment stand in its full force: Thou shalt not take the name (character, attributes, existence) of the Lord thy God as zero, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name as zero. We account for the unity of self and neighbor only by admitting the infinity of God.

The attempt to make $\text{neighbor}=0$, has resulted in absurdities of every sort. Monopolies, trusts, avarice, selfishness in all its forms, slavery, in short,—*sin* is the corollary of that proposition. The Dred Scott decision was founded on it, and it took a civil war to teach the American people that the slave had rights which the white man *was* bound to respect, or, in other words, $\text{neighbor}=1$, not 0. Paul hints at this equation when he asks, "Why dost thou set thy brother at naught?"=0. John asserts that to make $\text{neighbor}=0$ is to deny that $\text{God}=\infty$. This was the crime of Cain, and has

been, through the ages, the absurd equation which man has tried to solve, but the result of believing which has been the constant need of penitentiaries and jails. To preserve the proper equation and enforce it, laws are made and courts are established. The gentlest and sweetest character the world has seen was the one who announced the persistence of force in character, and the logical result of calling thy brother a fool or setting him at zero. It was such a crystallization of character as ends in eternal absurdity. The industrial unrest and social agitations of the present time, so far as these are caused by the encroachments of organized capital and of organized labor, find their meaning nowhere if not in the absurd and unsolvable equation, $\text{neighbor}=\text{o}$. A life conducted upon a false idea of the value of neighbor must end in absurdity, and the social condition will be disturbed so long as any considerable number of men act upon it. When it goes so far as to find voice in law, because the majority are ignorant or malicious, and the remedy cannot be found in education or persuasion, revolution becomes justifiable. Time nor eternity can prove $\text{neighbor}=\text{o}$, for the universe is opposed to it, and will fight it as a libel upon God's moral law of gravitation. All the laws of God as revealed in religion, ethics, economics and sociology reveal the everlasting and eternal truth that $\text{neighbor}=\text{i}$.

But the equation, $\text{self}=\text{o}$, is equally absurd, and ends in confusion of thought. The desire to acquire, the right of ownership, in short,—life, liberty, property, and reputation are dependent upon the equality of the ratio, $\text{self}=\text{i}$. Slavery is possible under the equation, $\text{self}=\text{o}$, no less than under, $\text{neighbor}=\text{o}$. Morbidity, self-consciousness, and similar unhealthy tendencies follow quickly the attempt to reduce self to zero, for the result is to emphasize and exaggerate the value of ego. An admirable illustration of this is seen in the *June Arena*, in a short article of one hundred and thirty lines, in which the writer, who is a noted apostle of $\text{self}=\text{o}$, uses the

first personal pronoun ninety-one times. The article reveals that his efforts to become nothing have met with poor success. His sincerity, no one questions.

A strange confounding of self-interest with selfishness has its origin just here. Howells says: "The world is what it must be from the selfish motives which underlie our economic life." Dr. Graham Taylor well says, that "the discovery of selfhood is the preliminary mission of Christianity"; but he is not so clear when he calls the economic man a "changelessly selfish animal, a blasphemous parody of humanity." Dr. Herron, of Iowa College, innocently uses selfishness and self-interest as synonyms, and proceeds to indict mankind for exercising the desire to acquire, which he again confounds with avarice. His mistake is a logical sequence from his assumption that acquiring has its origin in selfishness, instead of in self-interest. Self-interest had its origin in self= \neq 1, neighbor= \neq 1; avarice has its origin in neighbor= \neq 0, or in self= \neq 0. Herbert Spencer's phrase "enlightened self-interest" is, for all of the abuse it has received, full of truth and philosophy. Most of the indictments against society to-day are based upon the confusing of the noble traits that have their origin in self= \neq 1 with the perversion of those traits based either upon God= \neq 0, or neighbor= \neq 0, or self= \neq 0. We name a few: Self-interest *vs.* selfishness; the desire to acquire *vs.* avarice; love *vs.* lust; reason *vs.* rationalism; will *vs.* willfulness; liberty *vs.* license; capital *vs.* monopolies and trusts; labor organizations in theory *vs.* their practice. It would be as unreasonable to charge the domestic relations of life, including the love of home, wife and offspring, with being founded not on love, but on its perversion, which is lust. The pessimistic wails of the chair of Applied Christianity in Iowa College are traceable to confusion of thought just here. Here are a few:—

"Self-interest led Cain to slay his brother Abel;" "Greed moves our civilization."

Both of the statements are absurd. His corollaries are natural, but amusing.

"The wage system is fundamentally a slave system, whether wages be just or unjust."

"The most honored members of society are its parasites."

"Speculation in land is a crime against the nation and a blasphemy against God."

"Either the principle of competition must come to an end or Christianity."

"Our courts cannot become courts of justice until they become courts of redemption ; until they are able and just to forgive sins and apply the blood that cleanses from unrighteousness."

"There is no justice in the courts. If there is anarchy everywhere, it had its origin in the courts."

"Christianity has never been tried."

"Whatever else our theological seminaries teach, they do not teach Christianity."

Such a philosophy ushered in with brass bands and the booming of cannon, will be ushered out to the music of hisses when the disciples find that imagination unguided by reason was the source of their inspiration, and that their zeal was not according to knowledge, which is another way of saying it was fanaticism. It is applied Christianity with a vengeance. The cure for it is one term of earnest study in Fairchild's "Moral Philosophy," Hopkins' "Law of Love," or Newman Smyth's "Christian Ethics," for there it will be learned that justice is but one form of benevolence, and that commercial life, courts of justice, and even forms of charity are Christian so far as they are just. Christianity can deal rationally with the murderer and burglar and evil-doers generally, including labor organizations that resort to violence, no less than with the heathen through missionaries. The Christian religion has use for prisons as well as for psalm tunes,

and the best way to inject Christian doctrine may be by muskets as well as by preaching. Judas has a place as well as Stephen.

The eloquent words of Archbishop Ireland stand out in bold relief, in contrast with the crazy utterances of Iowa College. He says: "Let me now enter my brief plea for capital. At once you will unite with me in extending over it the shield which covers property, whether this be the extensive investment of the rich or the circumscribed possession of the poor. Property is the very foundation stone of the social fabric; it is the incentive and reward of industry and energy. . . . He who menaces property is an Anarchist, and the Anarchist is the deadly foe of order, of right, of society. He is the wild beast solely bent on destruction. . . . The laws of the financial world are as inflexible as those of the four seasons of the year; the State or the country in which, through mob riots or oppressive legislative statutes, property is endangered or made unproductive, will be surely abandoned to their own sterile resources. . . . Amid the utmost fury of strikes, property must be held sacred, and the liberty of other men allowed as we demand that our liberty be allowed."

The truths of sociology are revealed at such long range we have given all the more care to these fundamental distinctions, because otherwise our conclusions will be wide of the mark. The presses of the country are busy sending forth economic and sociological speculations. In a book just out by a Professor in Political Economy, and published by T. Y. Crowell & Co., the following is the amusing diagnosis of the ills of society: First, there is a social problem; second, Christianity is the *cause* of our social problem; third, it is the failure of Christians that perpetuate and intensify social problems; fourth, the failures of Christians are due to the failures of Christian preachers. The fifth point is not given, but should be, as a logical sequence, that the failure of preachers is due to the failure of the theological seminaries to teach the

truth. The professors in our seminaries will be surprised to find themselves responsible for our industrial unrest. Such generalizations are of the same spirit and tenor as those of Iowa College that Christianity is not taught or understood in our theological seminaries. The writer is led to his conclusions from his absurd hypothesis: "The dreary burden of work, work, work."

He needs to learn that work is a blessing, not a curse.

Having given what seems to be a rational interpretation of the Royal Law, it remains only to turn the full force of this search-light upon the dark corners, upon vexed and disputed questions, such as capitalism, labor organizations, monopolies, trusts (whether of labor or capital), taxation of incomes, land, rent, strikes, boycotts, poverty, charity,—in short, upon the whole field of political economy. The great proposition to be always borne in mind is that justice is but a form of benevolence. Benevolence is not "a gush of the sensibilities," as Dr. Leonard Bacon well said.

Richard T. Ely well says: "Christianity sets us a goal toward which we must ever move." Self-denial is the first demand of Christianity, and that is but a love of the higher self over the lower self. Hence Christ, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame. Follow out this law in its bearings on sociology. Self-denial is simply the government of self; and its fruits, therefore, are honesty, industry and thrift, self-respect and self-reliance. A free, democratic republic like our own, is never safe till the masses have learned this truth, for the integral units must be self-governed as a condition of safety in a self-government for the masses. Unless Christianity ultimately prevails, democracy is doomed. Its frictions are traceable clearly to the want of love of Christ or of self-denial by the individuals which compose the state.

The law of Christ respecting the instinct of self-preservation is clear in the light of duties to self. Life must be sur-

rendered in the view of a higher good only, as in being a witness to truth or in view of good of country as the patriotic motive. The higher good comes in to suspend the lower.

Liberty is seen to be freedom to act in accordance with law, which is the end of all culture. The truth or the nature of things, which is law, must set free. Freedom to do right is true liberty. It comes only through bondage to truth. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." This is forever an answer to Anarchism and to the crude notions of labor organizations of government and its proper functions. "Man is liberty served by organs," said some French writer, "and to enslave the organs is to enslave man," which is forever an answer to socialism. Bondage to such laws as are imposed by God, or by the nature of things, or, in other words, by the truth, is seen to be beautiful, because its end is liberty, which is a love of law. The growing disrespect for law finds no warrant in the teachings of Christ. Property is seen to be justified, not because it is an adjunct of self-preservation, which is the first law of nature, but because it is identified with man's development and usefulness as a son of God. So long as it is a means, and not an end, acquisition, or the sense of property, as Chancellor Kent well said, is graciously bestowed upon mankind by a wise and benevolent Creator. Reputation, or the desire for a good name or the esteem of men, is justified until a higher good demands its suspension. Who made himself of no reputation, but humbled himself.

The doctrine of Christian stewardship is, that property is held in trust for sentient beings, including self and neighbor. But ownership is not denied, nor can A tell B what his specific duties are to C. Self is made the judge of the object of its benevolence, and if indiscriminate charity breaks down the self-respect of the recipient, it is withheld. To love neighbor as self is not to deny to neighbor the blessings of industry, economy, prudence, thrift, self-respect, self-depend-

ence, and the subjective fruits of toil which lead the writers of the Old Testament so to exalt wealth as a blessing of God.

The doctrine of Christian stewardship presupposes that pearls will not be cast before swine, and the ravings of socialism on the subject of property and its artificial distribution find nowhere a justification in the teachings of Christ. The primal proposition of socialism is one of injustice; and while it charges capital with seeking to earn its bread by the sweat of the laborer's brow, it would justify the non-producer in living by the sweat of his neighbor's brow, and cite Christ for its authority. The sentimental school of the present time, who reduce self to zero, warp the doctrine of Christian stewardship until we behold the strange spectacle of many pulpits and economic chairs on the same platform with anarchists, socialists, and the haters of law, order, and justice, who know not the love side of law. At no time in their history, have the American people beheld such a heterogeneous mass of dreamers, theorists, transcendentalists, literal interpreters of Christ, sentimentalists, quacks, foreigners, ignorant of our institutions, each with his nostrums for the ills of society, but all with crowbars ready to pry up the foundation stones of this Republic. That justice is but another form of benevolence sounds to such like the selfish utterance of capitalism, instead of the primal proposition of Christianity.

Of the thirty parables of Christ, the sower teaches that some men fail to come to fruitage in religious, moral, intellectual, or economic worth. The tares teaches evolution, and not revolution. The tares and wheat are to grow together. The leaven teaches growth and development from within, and not by artificial methods. The draw-net, that society has in it the bad to be cast away. The lost sheep, the love of the individual as an integral unit of society, and the necessity of finding the lost one. Christianity is individualistic. The lost piece of money, the reclaiming of a character. The prodigal

son, the love of the radical by the father, but the ill-will of the conservative. The pearl of great price and the hid treasure teach that, whatever a man gains, he must concentrate all his powers to do it. The marriage of the king's son, that many are called, but few chosen,—few find the goal for which they strive. The ten virgins warns of improvidence. The rich fool, the absurdity of looking to externals for happiness. Lazarus and Dives, the result of ignoring the claims of humanity when opportunity presents or thrusts itself upon us. "Take no thought for the morrow" must be compared with the prudential spirit of Christianity, and it will be seen to mean *anxious* thought. To trust the Lord and keep your powder dry is eminently Christian.

The sense of justice which Christianity inculcates and inspires, and which calls out the Winchester rifles in defence of property rights, no less than it feeds the hungry, assumes that without law and order the rights of the individual, no less than those of society, disappear, hence justice is but another form of benevolence. The doctrine of non-resistance in such an emergency is sentimentalism.

The theory and practice of labor organizations must be measured by this standard.

The doctrine of justice renders the single tax theory null and void; for the nationalization of land or confiscation of rent cannot be effected with due regard to acquired rights and existing interests.

Man cannot be made virtuous and happy by act of Congress. Not all of mankind can be wealthy, but the virtues that spring from poverty must be the inheritance of the many for ages to come, and the false predominance given to laboring classes springs from false notions of industry, the assumption being that work is a curse, instead of a blessing and the divinely appointed lot of mankind. The wealth of the world, if equally distributed, would yet leave each one poor. The best plan, after all, is to let each one acquire freely, but to

regulate false acquisitions so far as possible by law, and to preach the gospel to rich and poor alike. "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor." (Lev. xix. 15.)

To the poor the gospel is preached, and by the rich the gospel will be lived. Wealth, learning, culture, no less than religion, must, like the Mary, sit at the feet of the divine Master. Then not only the churches, colleges, and seminaries will teach him, as they are now doing earnestly and faithfully, but commerce, trade, politics, and the practical affairs of life will conform more perfectly to his character and teachings. But this must all come through the same human nature inspired by the Christian motives,—love of Christ, self, and neighbor. The master motives, the desire to acquire; love of home; of country; of reputation; of property; of a good name; of progress; of immortality,—these all must move men in the ages to come as they have in the past, and they are simply the unfolding of the Royal Law.

We are approaching a new era. We are on the eve of a new century. Great changes are going on before our eyes. There is a growing disrespect for law. Our institutions are being assailed. Men who have Continental views of aristocracy, law, and government are coming into power. The ballot is in the hands of the ignorant. Demagogism is rampant. Acts of violence in defiance of property and vested rights are common. We have cast our pearls before swine. Economic thinkers are abusing the churches and seminaries for their failure to interest and convert criminals and evil-doers, no less than the masses. Monopolies, trusts, and adulteration of foods are grinding the faces of the poor. Socialism is on the increase. Anarchism still hisses at law and order. The age is one of wealth and materialism, and yet of the greatest benevolences in the history of mankind. But there is One sleeping on the ship, and he has been aboard from the land-

ing of the Mayflower until the present time,—through the Revolution, the ratifying of the Constitution, the great Rebellion, the overthrow of slavery, and now in the industrial upheaval. In his own time he will awaken, and say to the waves, "Peace, be still," and there will be a great calm. It will be the dawn of another period. Our institutions and form of government are being weighed in the balances, but, we firmly believe, will be found not wanting. Out of the struggle shall come new truths, nobler ideals, a higher order of individual and social life, a more Christian civilization.

ARTICLE II.

THE ADAPTATIONS OF NATURE TO THE
INTELLECTUAL WANTS OF MAN.

BY PROFESSOR G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, OBERLIN, OHIO.

THAT man should be able to interpret nature, and from the experiences of the present both reproduce the past and forecast the future, is a mystery of the first degree. It was considered a marvellous triumph of human ingenuity when Champollion deciphered the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and opened to his followers the vast stores of information which had been so long concealed in them. But his success was due to the fortunate discovery of a key in the celebrated Rosetta stone, which contained an inscription in Greek translating the parallel inscription in hieroglyphics. Sir Henry Rawlinson's success in interpreting the cuneiform inscriptions was due to a similar fortunate experience. In these cases the interpreters were dealing with the works of men whose capacities were altogether like their own. Man cannot, if he would, wholly deceive his fellow-men. In knowing the restrictions of our own powers we know those of our fellow-men. Hence it comes about that cipher despatches, designed to deceive all but those specially initiated, can never wholly baffle the skill of experts. Some clue exists, and, when discovered, readily yields the secret.

To the thoughtful student of nature, there is no other evidence of the goodness of the Creator so impressive as the fact that his works are capable of interpretation by the mind of man. That the infinite mind should make his thoughts

known to the finite, betokens a condescension which only a benevolent being would exercise. It is as when the full-grown man shortens his steps in the drifting snows, in order that the child behind him may have a beaten path through which to reach the safety of his home. Or, as when a great philosopher like Faraday condescends to speak for the instruction of children, and puts his profound thoughts in language so simple that the infant can understand. The more fully we realize the fact that the Creator is infinite in power, that his thoughts are above our thoughts, and his ways above our ways, the more wonderful does it seem that the works of God can be understood by us at all. Yet, as a matter of fact, we do find nature comprehensible, and capable of interpretation. We are able with confidence to reconstruct in thought a large portion of the past, and to forecast in hope the distant future. The Creator has so graduated his steps in nature, that man can follow them in the past, and calculate their course in the future.

In maintaining this point it is not necessary for us to contend that we can fully understand the works of God, for this is not needful for our present well-being. Indeed, there could be no greater calamity than for man to have attained to all knowledge. No small part of the joy of finite existence consists in the progressiveness of its condition. The gratification of curiosity, the joy of animated search for truth, and the satisfaction of discovery are things with which, as finite beings, we could not well dispense. It is, in fact, a real question, whether, in the majority of cases, the privilege of searching for the truth is not more valuable than the truth itself when once attained.

The mystery of inductive reasoning can be solved only by regarding the adaptation of nature to the intellectual capacity of man as a product of benevolent design. Indeed, it is not strange that some, like the Abbé Gratry, should believe every true induction to be "an immediate inspiration from on

high";¹ nor that others like Hume should declare, that "reason can never satisfy us that the existence of any one object does ever imply that of another; so that when we pass from the impression of one to the idea or belief of another, we are not determined by reason, but by custom, or a principle of association."² The falsity of this proposition of Hume, however, becomes apparent in noting the progress of modern science. Science has flourished not where custom reigned supreme, as in China, but where the mind of the investigator is prepared to discard all inveterate associations, and to accept the reality of things which run contrary to all the reputed experience of the past.

In searching for the philosophical basis of modern progress and scientific discovery, much use has been made of the misleading phrase "uniformity of nature." It has frequently been said that we expect the future to be as the past because we believe nature to be uniform in her operations. Confidence in this principle, however, disappears upon close inspection, since there is nowhere any absolute uniformity in the operation of nature. There is a *course* of nature; and there is, no doubt, a causal connection between the events which come before and those which follow after. But this ongoing of nature is an evolution, rather than a uniformity; and the evolution is not constant, and by steps of equal length, but is rhythmical and to some extent paroxysmal.³ As Mill truly says, "Every person's consciousness assures him that he does not always expect uniformity in the course of events; he does not always believe that the unknown will be similar to the known, that the future will resemble the past. Nobody believes that the succession of rain and fine weather will be the

¹ Popular Science Monthly, Vol. xii. p. 117.

² On the Understanding, sect. vii. (Works, vol. i. p. 128. Boston and Edinburgh, 1854.)

³ See my Studies in Science and Religion, pp. 8-11; Logic of Christian Evidences, p. 96.

same in every future year as in the present. Nobody expects to have the same dreams repeated every night. On the contrary, everybody mentions it as something extraordinary, if the course of nature is constant, and resembles itself, in these particulars. To look for constancy where constancy is not to be expected, as, for instance, that a day which has once brought good fortune will always be a fortunate day, is justly accounted superstition."

All nature is in motion. Everything changes. Nature never exactly repeats herself. The sum of the forces in the universe may, for all we know, remain uniform, but their interactions upon each other are infinitely diversified. In its search for absolute uniformity, the reason pauses only when it reaches the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator. It is the prerogative of science to penetrate deeper and deeper into the course of nature, until, under the magnifying power of Reason's eye, the so-called uniformities of nature disappear in the dissolving view spread upon the canvas of the infinite. Nature's operations seem uniform to us, because our minds are so slow in their ordinary actions. When we drop the element of time from our thoughts, and consider nature in its causes and effects, or compare movements separated by vast intervals of time, the ordinary conception of uniformity vanishes. Fifty millions of years ago the sun did not rise at intervals of twenty-four hours, and the moon did not go through her phases once in twenty-seven days. The mathematicians¹ tell us that, through the retarding influence of the tides, the rate of the revolution of the earth has diminished from that of a period of three or four hours, fifty million or a hundred million years ago, to one of twenty-four hours at the present time. The same authorities tell us that, at the early date spoken of, the moon almost touched the earth, and revolved

¹ Geo. H. Darwin, *Nature*, Vols. xviii. pp. 265, 580; xix. p. 292; xx. p. 246; xxi. p. 234; xxiii. p. 389; *New Princeton Review*, Vol. lxi. p. 59; *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. xxix. p. 440.

about it in the same time that the earth itself rotated upon its axis.

In inductive reasoning, progress is made, and truth attained, by discovering the material embodiment of the Creator's ideas; so that we do truly think his thoughts after him. The creation is a realization of divine ideas prepared for our study. With our limited vision we can discover the plan and development of so much of the whole as our necessities demand. The repetition of given phenomena in nature reveals to us second causes in their isolated action. The variations in the phenomena reveal to us second causes in their combined action. By careful observation and comparison, indeed, in chemistry and astronomy, and by the use of mechanical instruments of precision and of the formulæ of mathematics, this process of observation and comparison is greatly aided. These reveal to us more fully the rate of change in progress, and the relative importance of the several causes involved.

Complete analysis will show, however, that rational confidence in our interpretation of nature rests upon the ethical judgment that God is wise and good, and that his veracity is involved in the orderly arrangement appearing in nature. The law of benevolence demands a correlation between the powers of human apprehension and the rate of change which is taking place in the evolving system of secondary causes which we call the universe. The repetition of like events, to a certain extent involves God's veracity. Our part is to inspect the course of nature, to learn the degree in which the present is like the past, and from that experience, first, to infer the degree of likeness which, on the theory of their being the work of a wise and benevolent Creator, ought to exist in periods earlier than our experience in time, or beyond its reach in space; secondly, to prognosticate the future. This is the meaning of those vague expressions, "The present is conformable to the past"; "The future will resemble the present"; "The

future will be like the present," etc., which we find in writers on the philosophy of induction.

We can best impress this thought upon our minds by taking a brief survey of the accomplishments of modern science. And in such a survey, better than by any other method, we shall come to realize what an immeasurable chasm separates man from the lower animals,—a superiority which can be maintained without any depreciation of their capacity.

The animal creation, indeed, is endowed with instincts in many respects far superior to those of man. But, instinct and reason would seem to vary in inverse ratio: the more complete the instinct, the less the need of dependence upon reason. The power of instinct, for example, is strikingly seen in the annual migrations of birds. Yet how simple and insignificant are these movements when compared with the commerce of nations; for, while the power of the bird to direct his migrations seems to belong to the very physical development of the bird, the skill of the captain and pilot is the cumulative wisdom of many centuries, and the accomplishment of their purposes is secured by a combination of skilled workmen and successful inventors from every age and clime. The pilot guides his course by the stars and depends upon the painstaking calculations of the mathematicians who make up the nautical almanac. The inventor of logarithms renders indispensable assistance to every ship which sails the seas. Think, too, of the skill which enters into the construction of a ship, of the genius which, within the past few years, has transformed the whole art of shipbuilding,—making iron to swim, and substituting the ore dug from the mountains for the timber cut from Norwegian hills. Think also of the inventions which, by the introduction of steam, have made the pilot independent of the winds. Indeed, it would require a volume simply to enumerate and describe the scientific inventions of which every one of the great ocean steamers makes use during every hour of its long voyages.

In entering upon a narrower survey of the subject, we note how the science of chemistry illustrates both the power of the human mind to interpret nature, and the admirable manner in which nature's steps are graded to the wants of the inquiring mind. By such slow and toilsome steps as are best for the moral development of the race, the marvellous results of this science have been attained. Here, as elsewhere, a high premium has been set on that humility of mind which is the first condition of entering the kingdom of heaven.

Illustrations from Chemistry.

The modern science of chemistry really dates from the discovery of oxygen by Priestley, in 1774, though this great investigator failed himself to appreciate the meaning of his discovery, and was, a quarter of a century later, still an opponent of the new views of chemistry brought to light by his own ingenious experiments. For fifty years previous to this, the phenomena of combustion had been explained upon Stahl's modification of Aristotle's theory (1660-1734), that all combustible bodies contained phlogiston, which was expelled during the process of combustion, leaving the other constituents of the substance behind.

We smile now at this conception; but what can be more natural, on the face of the phenomenon, than such a theory of combustion? For when a fire blazes, does not something seem to go out of the substance which is burned? The source of the error here, as frequently, lies in the fact that the outward appearance is deceitful, and that nature unfolds her secrets only to the diligent student who goes behind the appearance, and pays respect to the deeper currents of cause which underlie all her great operations. Thus, upon this theory, when phosphorus was dephlogisticated, or burned, the resulting phosphoric acid was a residue—phlogiston had gone out, and phosphoric acid was left. That certainly is what seems to have occurred. Again, when the metals were de-

phlogisticated, or burned, a calx was left. But, on the other hand, when limestone was burned, it appeared to have absorbed phlogiston, for it had a great deal of heat to give out when water was poured upon it.

A puzzling thing on this theory, however, was, that when limestone was burned, and so according to the theory became charged with phlogiston, it weighed less than before it was burned. This phenomenon seems to have escaped the attention of the theorists of the eighteenth century, until Black, of Edinburgh (1728-1799), discovered the fact in 1755. But the theorists were ready with an explanation. They said that this proved that phlogiston had the power of levitation. This explanation was the more readily accepted, because Aristotle in his time had familiarized the world of letters with the idea that the essence of fire was specifically light. Now, what Black had really discovered was, that the thing expelled from limestone when it was burned was carbonic dioxide, which he called fixed air. When it came to be understood, the difference between the weight of limestone just before it was burned and that just after, measured the amount of carbonic acid gas which has been expelled. But mere instinct and plodding observation never could have given this interpretation. The interpretation was really a marvellous stroke of genius, or what Abbé Gratry would call an inspiration. We may therefore well pause a little longer upon this line of discovery.

Cavendish (1731-1810) in 1765 investigated hydrogen, and was led to believe that he had discovered phlogiston at last. Its great lightness attracted his attention, and he named it inflammable air. In 1784, however, he discovered that, if hydrogen be used in the phlogistication of common air, common air was diminished in volume, and water was produced; while Priestley, in 1774, had discovered the companion of Cavendish's phlogiston in oxygen gas, which he denominated dephlogisticated air.

During the very next year Lavoisier discovered that when

the oxide of mercury was heated with charcoal, it produced not dephlogisticated air and metallic mercury, but metallic mercury and carbonic acid gas, or what he called fixed air. By continued experiments Lavoisier made other discoveries in the same direction. A more accurate weighing of the elements showed that, in what is called the calcination, or the burning, of metals in air, the metal gains as much weight as the air loses.¹ He also discovered that combustion of fuel, the respiration of animals, the formation of acids, and the calcination of metals were analogous in this respect, that they withdrew from the air a common element, which he named vital air, but which we now call oxygen. In short, Lavoisier had discovered that, where the old theory held that phlogiston was subtracted from a substance, the very opposite had really occurred, and "vital air," or the acid principle, was added. In short, combustion was an oxidation, instead of a dephlogistication.

But old theories have great vitality, and this theory of dephlogistication did not die easily. Some objections seemed for a time insurmountable. For example, when metals were dissolved in weak acids, it was found that what was then called inflammable air, or hydrogen gas, was produced. But the previous discovery of Cavendish, already referred to, that hydrogen and oxygen when burned together produced water, furnished Lavoisier the clue to the difficulty. He surmised that, when metal was dissolved in acid, and hydrogen was produced, some of the water was decomposed. This he also verified by burning oxygen and hydrogen together, thus making a little water, and then separating the water again into its elements by passing it over red hot iron; whereupon the oxygen united with the iron, and the hydrogen was set free. Lavoisier afterwards "showed the consistency of his theory with all that was discovered concerning the composition of alcohol, oil, animal and vegetable substances, and many

¹ Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Vol. ii. p. 274.

other bodies." And so, within twenty-five years from the discovery of oxygen by Priestley, the theory that combustion and analogous phenomena were produced by the combination of elements, rather than by their separation, was generally accepted, and the quantitative method of investigation, which has since characterized the science of chemistry, came into use, and from it have followed all those marvellous results of chemical science upon which it almost may be said that the human race now lives, and moves, and has its being.

How sublime are these triumphs of genius when compared with any of the results attained by instinct! What an illustration, also, is here presented of the pains the Creator has taken to secure adaptation between the faculties of man and the intelligible marks of causation running through the system of nature! How closely connected have been the links of this chain of progress! Had any of these links been too long for man to span, progress would have been impossible. There is no way of avoiding here the argument of design. Either nature was designed for man, or man was designed for nature: and it makes no difference, so far as the argument is concerned, which was designed first. The supposition that any intelligent being should arise or be developed, to make this use of nature, by accident, is incredible. The *power* of God is seen in creating such an adaptation, and at the same time the *wisdom* and *goodness* of God are seen in setting an appropriate premium upon the diligent use of man's faculties and opportunities. *It is only those who seek who find.* The consciousness of power that comes to the whole race by such achievements is of incalculable value.

But we have still more marvellous achievements to relate in chemical science. What at first sight would seem more unlikely than that the chemical composition of the sun should be revealed in the rainbow! And yet the story is all there awaiting interpretation, and we have now learned to study known metals by analyzing the rays of light which stream

from them in the act of combustion, and by the same means to detect the presence of unknown metals. For example, in 1860 the first indications of the metals cæsium and rubidium were detected by Bunsen and Kirschhoff, from the use of the spectroscope, then just invented. Certain mineral waters had been evaporated, and the residuum was burned by these chemists under intense heat. The flame showed some lines of light never before observed, and led them to suspect the existence of new mineral elements. But so small an ingredient were these minerals in the water of the Dürkheim Springs, that forty-four tons of it had to be boiled away to obtain sufficient residuum for ordinary analysis.¹

Chemistry is what is called the typical experimental science. But, clearly, it is far more than an experimental science. The results are obtained not so much by experiment, as by thought. A dull, aimless repetition of experiments might continue forever without producing any valuable results. The great chemists are great men, and Providence has provided for them a great opportunity. Had not the men been matched by the opportunities, their striving would have been in vain; and, had not the opportunities been matched by the men, the results would have been insignificant and misleading.

Illustrations from Astronomy.

The science of astronomy illustrates the theme, also, in a high degree. Few appreciate the original difficulties in the way of establishing the astronomical theory which now prevails among scientific men, and upon which are built so many practical plans and inspiring theoretical conceptions of the present time. There is little direct resemblance between the falling of an apple and the revolution of a planet about its central sun. The intellect that first thought of the analogy must have been of heavenly birth; while the marvellous skill by which the theory of universal gravitation has been verified,

¹ Eclectic Magazine, June, 1870, pp. 652, 653.

would have been of no avail, except for a special adaptation of the solar system to reveal the theory. After Newton's hypothesis had been propounded, it remained yet to be verified by showing that such a cause as gravitation would produce the actual motion of the heavenly bodies. This involved the celebrated problem of the interaction of three moving bodies upon one another. But to tell with absolute exactness how the sun, the earth, and the moon would affect each other when their rates of motion and their relative positions to each other were undergoing constant change, surpasses the power even of modern mathematics.

As Whewell has remarked, "The result must be got at by successive approximations. We must first find a quantity near the truth; and then by the help of this, one nearer still, and so on; and in this manner the moon's place will be given by a converging series of terms. The form of these terms depends upon the relations of position between the sun and the moon, their apogee, the moon's nodes, and other quantities; and by the variety of combinations of which these admit the terms become very numerous and complex. The magnitude of the terms depends also upon various circumstances; as the relative force of the sun and earth, the relative times of the solar and lunar revolutions, the eccentricities and inclinations of the two orbits. . . . Even the possibility of doing what has been done depends upon what we may call accidental circumstances; the smallness of the inclinations and eccentricities of the system, and the like."

So that Legrange used to say, "If nature had not favored us in this way there would have been an end of the geometers in this problem."

The close connection between all sciences and the essential unity of human thought is admirably illustrated in some of the modern processes of astronomy. There would seem at first sight to be little connection between chemistry and astronomy, and yet it may be truly said, that astronomy is now a

chemical science, chemistry having almost wholly revolutionized the modes of astronomical investigation. It was the chemists who invented photography, and now the camera, rather than the great telescope, is the chief means of astronomical research. Toward the close of the last century, Captain Cook was sent with an astronomical party to the Pacific Ocean to observe the transit of Venus. The event was carefully watched, and every observation noted down. But the human eye is not perfect, and no two persons ever see things exactly alike. Hence there were discrepancies in the observations which could be eliminated only on general principles, as there was no record of the event except the recorded impressions of the witnesses at the time. But the recent transit of Venus was observed by the unerring action of the photographer's sensitive plate, which gives an abiding record. By this marvellous chemical art, stars which no eye has ever seen can be readily photographed. But this, again, is dependent upon the skill of the clockmaker, who can so adjust the motion of his pendulum that it shall give such a movement to a photographic plate that, notwithstanding the motion of the earth, a particular point of the heavens shall, for a considerable period, be kept in focus upon it. Thus by accumulating the chemical forces of rays of light which is too feeble to be recognized by the retina of the human eye, a permanent impression can be made, and a perfect map constructed, of stars of all magnitudes occupying a limited space in the sky. The great astronomical observatories of the world are now engaged in a combined effort thus to photograph the whole heavens, and so have a permanent record to be compared with similar maps which shall be made in future times.

How different is all this from the action of instinct, and how marvellous the power bestowed upon the human mind by which it can rise above the natural limitations of the physical organization through which it works, and make use of these occult laws of nature, and through them see with the

mind's eye relations that are not even faintly suggested on the face of nature!

Illustrations from Geology.

The same truth is illustrated in the science of geology, which treats of the material history of the earth. We have not space to unfold in order all, or even many, of the leaves of this most interesting volume. We will therefore limit ourselves to illustrations drawn from a single page of the geological record.

The signs of the glacial period, for example, are pre-eminently adjusted to the capacity of the human understanding. The glacial theory is not a thing to be apprehended by instinct, but only by the slower and surer processes of inductive reasoning. A dog can scent his living master through a crowded thoroughfare, but how absurd to expect him to trace the footsteps of a prehistoric man through the mazes of his glacial history!

The characters in which the story of the ice age are told are essentially like those of a cipher despatch: they are unintelligible when seen singly and without a clue, and are only comprehensible to a reasoning mind of high capacity. The information which, however, they reveal, when once the clue is found and the facts are brought together, is astonishing both in character and in amount, and the story of the ice age is every whit as interesting and as full of surprises as the tale of the Arabian Nights. What, for instance, at first thought would be more unlikely than that the mud banks of some obscure stream in the northern part of the United States should yield information concerning the age of man in Upper Egypt! and yet such is the solidarity of science, and so bound together in a system are the connected marks of causation in the universe, that this possibility is by no means remote.

Through long-continued comparison and study of the ruder forms of human implements, it has come to be the well-

established opinion of archæologists that there was a great similarity in the character and form of the stone implements earliest in use among the various tribes of the human family. This earliest type of implements is unpolished and rude in shape, being made out of flint or argillite or quartz, substances which are capable of being worked to an edge by a rough process of chipping. With these rough stone implements, or palæoliths as they are called, early man performed all his work. His arms of offence and defence, the weapons with which he attacked the gigantic animals associated with him, and the implements with which he tilled the soil, or felled the forest, and hollowed out his canoes, were all made from stone by this process of fracture, and without any attempt at polishing.

Implements of this sort are so widely scattered, and so exclusively connected with a certain class of gravel deposits, that the inference is legitimate that they as universally preceded the use of smoothed stone implements as the use of polished stone preceded that of bronze, and bronze that of iron. The type of palæolithic implements is also strikingly uniform. Photographs of those from Northern France are so strikingly like those from Upper Egypt, and from Trenton, N. J., that one might plausibly infer that the Garden of Eden was in the vicinity of Paris, and that from the very earliest times, as now, the fashions radiated from that centre.

Attention was not specially directed to this class of implements until twenty-five or thirty years ago, when it was ascertained by Boucher de Perthes, and his coadjutors in the study of the gravel deposits in the valley of the Somme in France, that palæolithic implements occurred in the gravel terraces along that stream in such position as to indicate a much earlier age than had heretofore been assigned to man.

The implements were found in gravel banks, on the side of the valley, about one hundred feet above the present floodplain, indicating that the river, though now but a small stream,

had lowered its whole trough, which is about a mile wide, to that extent since the gravel was deposited in which these implements are inclosed. The distinction between the races using these implements and those using smoothed stone implements was made manifest by the fact that only implements of the rougher sorts are found in these ancient gravels, and, still further, by the fact that various gigantic animals which became extinct before the historic period are found associated with the deposits containing palæolithic implements, but not with the implements of the other class. The examination being extended to other portions of the country, a similar class of facts was found to occur in Southeastern and Southern England, and in addition the deposits in various caves which had been occupied by man yielded similar results; the lower strata contained palæolithic implements and the bones of extinct animals, while the upper strata conformed more and more nearly to the conditions of the historic period.

When once this principle of the priority of the rough stone implements as a type was established in Europe, it became of interest to archæologists to know whether the same priority existed in other parts of the world. The establishment of the fact in this country is due to the labors of Dr. C. C. Abbott, of Trenton, N. J., who early became a collector of the ordinary Indian implements abounding in his favored locality. In 1875 Dr. Abbott was fortunate enough to discover some implements of a palæolithic type deeply imbedded in the deposit of gravel upon which the city of Trenton is built. From time to time similar discoveries, to the number of thirty or forty, have been made by him in the same gravel deposit. The instructive fact is that here, as in Europe, only implements of this type have been found in such gravel deposits as that at Trenton.

About the same time that Dr. Abbott was finding his implements in Trenton, N. J., Professor Henry W. Haynes, of Boston, devoted himself to studying the archæology of the

Nile in Upper Egypt. He likewise was fortunate enough to find in the gravel of the Nile and Upper Egypt palæolithic implements of the same type as those in the valley of the Somme and of the Delaware. These cannot be so definitely connected with the glacial period as can those of which we have been speaking in France and America, but it is probably for the reason that the glacial period was limited to more northern latitudes. Still, the similarity of type, and its disappearance in giving place to other types of implements in all three of these regions, is significant, while in France and America the occurrence of the implements in undisturbed beds of gravel at once transfers the question of antiquity from the realm of archæology proper to that of geology.

The gravel containing this class of implements can be connected with the closing portion of the glacial period in America. The terrace upon which the city of Trenton, N. J., is built is such as is characteristic of all the southward flowing streams in and on the border of the glaciated region. Nor is the evidence of this connection wholly confined to the locality of Trenton. But, since Dr. Abbott's discoveries, other similar discoveries in gravel similarly deposited have been made of implements in the valley of the Little Miami, in Southern Ohio, of the White River, Indiana, and of the Mississippi in Minnesota. The age of these implements, therefore, becomes a question of glacial geology. The archæologist must now ask, How long ago was the glacial period? When did it close? At what stage of the period were these gravel deposits formed?

The connection of sciences was here again illustrated in the fact that the most popular attempt to solve the problems of glacial chronology and antiquity uses astronomical methods. Mr. Croll propounded a theory that the glacial period was caused by certain astronomical changes whose influence could be definitely pointed out. Through the influence of the precession of the equinoxes and of changes in the eccen-

tricity in the earth's orbit, it was contended by Mr. Croll, conditions of climate favorable to the glaciation of the northern hemisphere occur once in about 21,000 years; that one of those periods occurred about 11,000 years ago, but that the maximum effect of the conditions, such as could be supposed to produce a glacial period like that which covered the northern part of the United States so deep with ice, could have culminated not less than 180,000 years ago, near the close of a period of high eccentricity in the earth's orbit.

This was an easy and attractive method of settling the questions of glacial chronology. And, if it had been merely a question of astronomy, since these changes in eccentricity are definitely known to have taken place, the question would have been settled beyond controversy. But, unfortunately, astronomy, like mathematics, consists of two divisions, namely, pure and mixed. In estimating the effect of physical forces we must be sure to know what the forces are, before we apply our multipliers, and divisors, and all the instruments of the calculus to them. It is so with this attractive theory as to the date of the glacial period. We cannot be sure that the acknowledged astronomical changes would produce the climatic changes which the mathematicians suppose. Here, also, it is impossible with present limits to go into details. But it is sufficient to say that the meteorologists and the geologists who are studying the subject, from their knowledge of the connected facts, have become quite generally convinced that the astronomical theory is not sufficient to account for the facts, or, at any rate, that it is not proven to be sufficient. In whichever case, the question of calculating the date of the glacial age is remanded to those who are engaged in the study of the glacial phenomena as they exist all over the country.

What now are the direct means by which the geologist can approach the subject? At first it would seem like a hopeless task. But close inspection shows that here, as elsewhere

in nature, the Creator has not left himself without witness to those who closely scan his ways. Geology, as well as astronomy, has its chronometers. Those of the glacial period are to be found in the deltas, the river valleys, and the waterfalls of the glaciated area.

Three of the most significant questions which thrust themselves upon the student of glacial geology are these:

1. Why are there so many lakes in the glaciated region?
2. Why are the troughs of the rivers so small in the glaciated region?
3. Why are there so many waterfalls in the glaciated region?

—questions which it is inconceivable that any animal should ask.

But even in the time of Solomon the question was asked, Why is it that when all the rivers run into the sea, the sea is never full? This we can now answer. We say it is because the evaporation equals the precipitation. The other more recent questions we can also now answer with great confidence.

1. The lake basins are not filled with sediment, because their life has been short. The rivers have not been engaged in this work forever. For, evidently, it is only a question of time when, through the erosive agency of the rivers and their innumerable tributaries, the valleys shall all literally be exalted and the hills made low. In every lake basin, therefore, of the glaciated region, (and there are scarcely any lakes anywhere else) the thoughtful inquirer has a problem inviting him to the exercise of his ingenuity in answering one of the most interesting of all historical and archæological problems, namely, the antiquity of the human race. In innumerable cases these little glacial lakes, which so beautify the landscape, present a very well-defined problem, since they are so small that their original as well as their present depth can be estimated, and the amount of sediment carried into them already can thus be approximately determined. The observer, therefore, has only to calculate the size of the drain-

age basin, and the amount of the sediment in the streams, and the problem is solved. Not all of these elements can be easily obtained. But most are attainable, and the problem invites effort at solution and presents a reasonable hope of success. The problem but awaits the response of the inquiring mind.

2. The problem of the river valleys is similar. Why have they not enlarged themselves more than they have in the glaciated regions? The answer, in the majority of cases, clearly is, Because they have not had time enough. Give these rivers time, and they will remove every particle of the *débris* with which the ice of the glacial period has clogged them. They are busily engaged at this work all the while, and are producing results which can be observed and measured. Here again nature is awaiting the intelligent questioning of the inquiring mind. Long before the time of our Saviour, even from the very beginning of human history, the divine word had gone forth, that to him that knocketh it shall be opened, and only to him. A fair premium is set upon a diligent use of our powers, but the reward is ever near. It is thus that anyone is warranted in putting inquiries concerning the age of man in Delaware, and France, and Egypt, to any sluggish stream in the glaciated region.

3. The third question, Why are there so many waterfalls in the glaciated region? leads to the same goal. The great majority of the waterfalls of the world are in the glaciated region, and they exist because the time is so short since the ice withdrew and suffered the water to run in its present channels. It has recently been ascertained that the Falls of Niagara are receding at the rate of from four to five feet per year. This is the result of accurate observations carried on during the past forty-five years. It was also ascertained long ago that the Falls of Niagara did not exist before the glacial period. The gorge below the falls is therefore another glacial chronometer. This gorge is only about seven and a

half miles long. The date of the close of the glacial period therefore resolves itself into a simple sum in division, namely, How many times will five feet go into seven miles and a half? If there had been indefinite time since the glacial period, the falls would have receded to the bed of Lake Erie long ago. But, as it is, the work done indicates for the cataract a life of only a few thousand years.

This is but one of innumerable instances in which, by studying the recession of waterfalls, some clue can be obtained respecting glacial chronology, and so, by inference, of human chronology.

But let us pause a little, at this point, to reflect upon the significance of such facts as have been already presented in their bearing upon the theme of our discussion. No one can have gone thus far in this enumeration without being impressed with the intelligibility of nature, and with the marvellous additions to human knowledge coming from what seem at first most unlikely sources. Nor can he help being impressed with the grandeur which this power of research and discovery gives to man. This life is ennobled beyond measure both by the power of research bestowed upon the human race, and by the preparation of a field so enticing to the inquirer and so richly rewarding his inquiries. One has only to take up any physical geography of the present time to see, at a glance, how much there is in it both to enrich the life of the child who studies it, and to prepare him for partnership in the joy of all future discoveries recorded by the daily press. What sublimity there is to a thoughtful mind in the daily reports of the weather bureau, which records the progress and the contest of the various storm-centres the whole world over! The isobars upon the maps of the physical geographies, which surround the areas of equal barometric pressure, become invested with symbolic meaning and through them the reader sees with the mind's eye the movements on the grandest scale of the mightiest of physical forces. The record reads: Low.

pressure of the barometer on the Atlantic coast; high pressure in the Northwest. To the mind's eye this means a gradient as real as that down which a river flows, or the cars on an inclined railroad run with accelerating speed. Thus viewed, how abundant are the provisions here made for man's intellectual enjoyment, as well as for his physical well-being!

The world is full of similar enticements to intellectual effort. There is no spot so barren but it bristles with interrogation points. And there is a science adapted to every kind of mind. If not interested in one line of investigation, the student finds countless others suited to his taste. Recurring to the glacial period, one says he is not interested in archæology and the antiquity of man, and he cares nothing about glacial dams, glacial mill-ponds, and all that ilk. But perhaps he cares for botany, and admires the tiny flower that nestles in the wall, and the luxurious vine that covers the decaying oak with its mass of verdure, or the stately cedar that mantles Lebanon with its solemn shadows. Yet in studying the distribution of these over the earth, one will find himself unwittingly paying deference to glacial geology. For what but the great ice-sheet was it that drove down from the far north, to their present habitat, the Bald Cypress of the Southern States, the gigantic Sequoias of the Pacific coast, and their near relative the Chinese *Glyptostrobus* to the mountains of Japan and Northern China? Again, what but this far-reaching force of glacial action was it which caused the arctic plants to migrate from northern climates to inhabit the summits of such isolated peaks as Mount Washington in New Hampshire, and forced the persistent Scotch heather to leave its native heath and take up a lonely residence on the barren hills of Nantucket? And are not the cedars of Lebanon growing upon an ancient moraine of the glacial period?

But, one says, I am not particularly interested in botany: I am studying butterflies. Very well: you have not yet escaped the meshes of our net, for here you are with your

butterflies attached to the triumphant car of glacial geology; for has not Mr. Scudder discovered a colony of arctic butterflies, on the very tops of the White Mountains, which could by no possibility have migrated thither except under the conditions furnished by the glacial period? And are not the relatives of these butterflies found in the Rocky Mountains and on the Alps, where they bear testimony to the same pervasive influence?

When the student of science is asked the utility of his investigations, it is sufficient to say, that they are justified by the additions they make to the mental furniture of the human race. They enrich the life of all the people who become cognizant of the new facts ascertained and the new principles established. To add a comprehensive thought or an important principle to the stock of the world's ideas is to increase the value of human life beyond the power of money to estimate. The world was made for other ends than the production of bread and butter. Man is endowed with measureless powers of thought and investigation, and the world is adapted to evoke those powers to their utmost, and to give to him the highest mental satisfaction.

The still wider scope of inductive reasoning, and the solid basis upon which it is founded, is illustrated in the recent advancement made in the study of zoölogy and botany, and here, as elsewhere in the realm of natural science, a remarkable adaptation is evident between the powers of the human mind and the field of investigation to which it is limited. The real meaning of modern scientific advancement is that, in the realm in which it is most manifest, we are getting nearer than ever before to the thoughts of the Creator. Nature is a realization of the thought of God, and it is by no means the astronomer only who thinks the thoughts of God after him. In an unscientific age men are contented to live in a world of their own creation, and to people the earth and sky with ghosts and hobgoblins, and to cower down in the presence of the oc-

cult forces of nature as though these forces were not held in restraint by the same arm that sustains the visible world.

The modern doctrine of the derivative origin of species is one of the most important additions to the mental furniture of the human race. To a greater extent than we are ordinarily aware, our mental processes depend upon the principle of the continuity of nature. So long as every species was thought to be of independent origin, and every organ of the plant or animal was looked upon as designed for present service in the organization, the study of botany and zoölogy yielded disappointing results, both to the system maker and to the student of natural theology. There was comparatively little satisfaction to a high-minded man in spending his days in the mere classification of different forms of plants and animals according to degree of resemblances. As closer attention was given, it became necessary to recognize newly discovered differences, and either to set up new species without number, or enlarge the definition of variety until it was about the same as species had heretofore been; while the student of natural theology was more and more puzzled to meet the demands made upon him in explaining the usefulness of rudimentary organs, and the benevolent design of the various imperfections in all the organs most essential to life. The assumption of the continuity of species was needed to give meaning to these troublesome facts in classification, to account for the apparent imperfections of organs both in structure and in function, and to give a reason for the many anomalous facts in the distribution of plants and animals both in time and space. But when once this higher conception of nature was furnished, all these inexplicable and anomalous facts became invested with intellectual grandeur. Innumerable things which, under the old style of reasoning, were inexplicable on account of our narrow views of design, take on now deep and real meaning.

For example, all so-called rudimentary organs have real

meaning when viewed in the light of the continuity of species. The uncut rudimentary teeth of the new-born calf, the apparently harmful splint-bones of the horse's leg, the useless and sometimes dangerous vermiform appendix of the human stomach, and innumerable other such abortive organs, although so ill adapted to any present service in the organisms, are to the intellect of man an avenue through which comes a great enlargement of his mental horizon. These organs, though not of use now, have been of use in time past, and, as Darwin has suggested, are now of the highest use as an aid to the student of nature. Like the silent letters in a language, they are historical monuments of great value.

In all this adaptation to the intellectual wants of the human mind, the goodness of the Creator is too plain to be denied. God has not left us orphans in the world. He has indeed set us down in a most complicated labyrinth of natural forces; but he has provided us with all the clue that is necessary for its explanation, and given us the intelligence to use the clue successfully, if we will. The universe is not a trackless desert, in which man is left to find his way by guesswork, but rather a well-ordered country, amply provided with natural highways, and guide-boards pointing to all the desirable places of destination. The progress of modern science is a standing witness to this truth. The method of modern science is but a reflex of the method of the universe. The backwardness of the race in scientific attainments is due to their pride and prejudice. Instead of questioning nature for information, men have, until recent times, been content to frame great theories without regard to facts, and have amused themselves with telling how they thought the world ought to be built, rather than how it really is built. We are but just learning how condescending and instructive a teacher nature herself really is, if only we will interrogate her work. Whence can it come, that dead nature is our teacher in such far-off things as these,

if she have not the same intelligent and benevolent author who has framed the constitution of the human mind?

Thirty centuries ago the Psalmist exclaimed:—

“When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and stars, which thou hast ordained;
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?”

The answer is sometimes thought to imply that this question involves the idea that man is a very humble and lowly creature. But both the question and the answer imply the very opposite of this. What is man? Why, says the Psalmist, according to the best translation, he is a being that is but little lower than God, and whom God has covered with glory and honor.

“Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet:
All sheep and oxen,
Yea, and the beast of the field;
The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea,
Whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.
O Lord, our Lord,
How excellent is thy name in all the earth!”

The lordship of man over nature was provided for in the creation both of man and of nature. If David in his day marvelled at the extent of this lordship, what should be the admiration of the modern man of science when he sees the extent of this dominion increased so many thousand-fold! Man has already climbed to dizzy heights of knowledge, and is to ascend still higher, but it is on a mountain of God's own making. The same heavenly Father who clothes the lilies of the field with beauty, and feedeth the birds of the air, that toil not nor spin, has provided for the vast intellectual wants of the human race. In this adaptation, and in these remarkable provisions, lie the great arguments for the pervasive existence of design in the works of nature. Modern science is not tearing down the great argument for design, but is building it up in colossal proportions. If it is causing us to neglect

some of the old arguments of Paley, it is on the same principle that an army possessed of Springfield rifles and Krupp guns thinks lightly of the bows and arrows and various flint implements of earlier days. Modern science is an inestimable witness not only to the sublime endowments of the human race, but to the benevolence of the Creator in so ordering his own steps in nature that a finite being could follow them.

ARTICLE III.

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF SYSTEMATIC
THEOLOGY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR D. W. SIMON, D. D., DELIVERED
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THE expression "systematic theology" is really an impertinent tautology. It is a tautology, in so far as a theology that is not systematic or methodical would be no theology. The idea of rational method lies in the word *logos*, which forms part of the term theology. And it is an impertinence, in so far as it suggests that there are other theological disciplinæ, or departments of theology, which are not methodical. There doubtless may be, nay more, there certainly are, treatments of the subject-matter of all the branches of the great family of sciences known as theology which are far enough from being rationally methodical;—the same thing is true with regard to other groups of sciences, such as medicine or economics—only too true;—but in neither case would a suggestion of the kind referred to be warranted.

The title "systematic theology," common as it has been, and is, in this country, can claim no prescriptive right. Indeed, if we look beyond our own country, or even beyond the United States, we shall find that it is one of the designations which are less sanctioned by scientific usage. The majority, or at all events a large proportion, of recent German works do not bear the title. During the present century, influenced by the example of Schleiermacher,¹ the name

¹ Schleiermacher did not originate the usage. A very interesting bit of intellectual history is enshrined in the various names given to the discipline under consideration.

Glaubenslehre, Christliche Glaubenslehre,—which may be somewhat freely rendered “Doctrine or Science of the Christian Faith,”—has become almost as current in Germany as Systematic Theology has been among us, though it is not open to the reproach deserved by the designation which we have preferred.

The subject-matter which it is the business of the systematic theologian to investigate belongs primarily to the domain of history; and what is commonly designated systematic theology may therefore be described as a chapter in the science or philosophy of history. If it were permitted on the one hand to extend, and on the other to narrow, the meaning of the word Christianity, I should speak of it as, “The Philosophy of Christianity”—a designation for which I might plead the authority of eminent German authorities like Weisse and Hofmann. The reasons why I do not straightway follow their example are, *first*, that the mission and work of Christ and his apostles constitute apparently the whole of the historical matter of which they treat; in other words, they restrict themselves mainly to the first century of our era; *then*, that they mix up the subject-matter with what I regard as properly forming part of the philosophy of the subject-matter; and *thirdly*, that they deal with the biblical books as if they alone furnished, or as if they even *were* the subject-matter; whereas they are primarily the sole, or at all events the chief, media through which we become acquainted with a part of the objective life, which is the real subject-matter. In excuse for the exaggerated position and importance assigned to them, however, it may be justly pleaded that the section of the life they reflect and embody, besides being original, and standing in normative relation to the life outside the limits of those books, also sets forth, in the form of beliefs, its generative causes and sustaining energies.

German theologians all unhesitatingly speak of systematic theology as a science, whatever other specific designa-

tion they may adopt; and the usage is certainly correct. We in England have unfortunately accustomed ourselves to restrict the term science to the methodical observation and explanation of the various domains of the world of nature; in which some include psychology, and indeed the individual man generally. Some scientists laugh us theologians to scorn, when we are bold enough to apply the term science to theology at all, much more to systematic theology;—possibly because they know about as much of it as most of us know of the higher mathematics.

So far, however, as the use of the term science would suggest—as it is only too liable to do—the classification of its subject-matter with that of the natural sciences, and the exclusive validity of their methods, so far it is wiser, for the present, to avoid it. It is of course true that there is no perfect homogeneity either in the subject-matter, or in the methods of the sciences, though the constant use of the general term “science,” as in phrases like “science teaches this,” “science is opposed to that,” implies it. Still, on the whole, their procedure is so dominated by the ideas of necessity and uniformity, or by the idea of natural law, that no room is left for many of the determining forces and facts with which systematic theology is chiefly concerned.

On the other hand, there is not a sufficient agreement with regard to the word philosophy to admit of its being employed without cautionary remark. It has been defined as a theory of knowledge; as self-knowledge, rather than knowledge of the universe; as an attempt to find the necessary *a priori* elements or factors in experience, and to arrange them into a system; as the doctrine of the final purpose of human reason; as the universal science which has to unite the cognitions obtained by the particular sciences into a consistent system, or as the complete unification of knowledge, in contrast to the partial unification aimed at by the individual sciences; as the science of the absolute idea, reason being as-

sumed to be the substance of the universe, and the absolute idea being regarded as the identity of the theoretical and the practical¹—and so forth. . A Christian philosopher like Professor Ladd of Yale University defines it, in substantial agreement with Lotze, as “the progressive rational system of the principles presupposed and ascertained by the particular sciences in their relation to ultimate Reality.” With perhaps one exception,—that of the German Wundt and of Herbert Spencer,—these and other definitions can scarcely be made to cover or include the subject-matter of systematic theology. In point of fact, I doubt whether they admit of application to *history* at all, unless history be regarded after the manner of both supra-spiritual and sub-spiritual, that is, the idealistic and materialistic schools of thought, as an unbroken and unbreakable though exceedingly complicated chain of causes and effects.

Without further examining or criticising the various definitions of philosophy, let me briefly explain my own use of the term in connection with theology. This will be best done by approaching it from the side of nature in general.

The world to which we belong is a system constituting part of the great system known as the universe; itself, again in turn, constituted by other systems. There is, for example, the system investigated by physics; that investigated by chemistry; a third investigated by crystallography; a fourth, the biological system; each with more or less numerous and varied subsystems; and, finally, there is the psychical system, shading away downwards to the lowest form of animal life, and upwards—whither?

The constitutive factors of these several systems, and their mutual relations,—their movements,—may be isolated for examination, isolated in and for thought; but, as every one knows, cannot be actually, really isolated. Equally impossible is it to *understand* any factor or movement of any

¹ See Ladd's Introduction to Philosophy.

system, without taking into consideration every other factor and movement. A sort of working intelligibility may, of course, be arrived at; but a true and full scientific intelligibility is not otherwise attainable. Illustrations in evidence might be endlessly adduced. The lowest and most elementary system, indeed, is independent of the higher ones. It forms the foundation on which the mundane edifice rests. Its independence, if I may so say, is necessary to the interdependence which constitutes the peculiar character of the higher systems. But as such, whilst in one aspect it is the most intelligible, in another and higher aspect it is the darkest, the least intelligible. Take, however, a factor of the vegetable world:—the life of a plant, the movements of its constitutive elements, and the movements of the whole are inexplicable, unless we bear in mind the action of the physical and chemical forces around and within it. •Earth, water, air, light, heat, and other things act upon it; evoke its reaction, give rise to its changes; in other words, its growth and development are dependent, as we say, on its environment.

Great mundane changes or movements too are dependent on analogous influences wielded by the solar system to which our planet belongs. The double revolution of our earth—around the sun and on its own axis; the regular recurrence of the tides, on which the order of the world and the health of its inhabitants so largely depend; the light and heat which stream in on us and condition the very existence of life,—all these things witness to the fact under consideration.

What is true of our solar system is true of the entire universe: nay more, what is true of the minutest part of any system in relation to its own proper system, namely, that its movements or life cannot be properly understood save in the light of the whole, is no less true of the minutest system in relation to the universal system to which all belongs.

Tennyson's beautiful lines may be taken in a larger and fuller sense than he indicates:—

"Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies:—
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

As the flower contains within itself the key to the universe; so the universe, the key to the flower. The part throws light on the whole: the whole throws light on the part. Approaching the question as to the true nature and aim of philosophy from this point of view, I should say that its function is so to grasp the whole that every part shall find its proper place therein; and the parts, that they shall form an orderly organic whole. In this way the whole becomes intelligible as well as the part; and the part as well as the whole. What a science properly understood does for a subsystem; that, philosophy aims to do for the system which the subsystems constitute. Its business is not merely or primarily to elaborate a theory of knowing, or to discover general principles, which, after all, are abstractions; but so to correlate the *reals*, which with their interactivities make up the world or the universe, that the whole shall be seen in its harmony and unity; and that to every individual real shall be assigned the place in which it can be seen to be discharging its proper functions. This seems to me to be, moreover, the ideal that really hovers before the mind of philosophers.

I remarked previously that I could not directly use the word Christianity to designate the subject-matter of which systematic theology, as I understand it, aims to be the philosophy. Why I do not, will more fully appear when I describe the nature of that subject-matter.

To indicate in a single sentence what I mean—*It is the religious life the beginnings of which are found in Abraham,*

which reached its culmination in Jesus Christ, and which from him has gone on diffusing itself down to the present day. That is the history, the objective historical life, which it is the business of the theologian to explain. He seeks to effect his purpose by first correlating its parts to each other, and then by correlating the whole to the great system in which the movement has found a place.

When I speak of the *religious* life I do not mean a life isolated from everything else that goes to constitute a human life; but life—the life, for example, of individual Jews, of Jewish communities, of the Jewish nation, which in its general features resembled that lived by other men in their circumstances—life, chiefly on its Godward side, in its conscious Godward relations with its divine elements.

Christ indeed lived, so far as was at all compatible with earthly conditions, after he entered on his active mission, an exclusively religious life. So also did his apostles. This in fact was a necessity of his and their mission to humanity. The religious life needed deepening: the relation to God needed to be apprehended and realized in all its importance, significance, depth, and height. Men needed to learn that the whole life was to be religious; that religion is not a matter of times and seasons, particular commands and observances, as it had in the main been amongst the Jews down to that time, and as it tends everywhere to become. But, in order to secure this, detached lives were requisite,—lives consecrated to the one object.—lives, the meat and drink of which were, in the most restricted sense possible, to do the will of God. Apart from this, men generally could never have been empowered to eat and drink, and to do all that they do, to the glory of God.

Some of the first followers of Christ fell into the mistake of supposing that what was necessary as a temporary means to an end, was the normal state of things; and accordingly began with spending their whole time in exercises of religion.

We all know how this error constantly revives. Like the heads of the fabled Cerberus, no sooner has one been destroyed than it springs up again in another form or place. Especially is this the case when shallowness, worldliness, externality, take possession of the church of Christ:—and though the form and direction of reactions may be false, the instinct to which they owe their rise is true. It is only by detachment, even now, that mankind generally will be brought to see that the truest religious life is normally interwoven with, and normally expresses itself chiefly in and through, ordinary activities and occupations. This was the view of religion which Luther in his day revived with all the energy of a man who had tried the plan of isolation, almost to the point of self-immolation, and had found it out to be as alien from the mind of God as it is alien from the constitution of man. Happily, among ourselves the day is fast passing when it was thought necessary, in order to live a religious life, to live a life as far as possible emptied of common human interests and activities. If we are exposed to any danger at all in this sphere, it is the opposite *moralistic* danger of identifying religion with the normal discharge of the ordinary human functions and duties.

The limits of this address will not admit of my sketching with any detail the features of the great stream of life to which I have just alluded. In point of fact to do so lies beyond my proper beat. Strictly speaking, it is the business of the teachers of Old Testament history, of the life of Christ, of the history of the rise and development of the Christian church, to deal with that subject. They supply the students with the materials out of which I build my edifice. The systematic theologian must of necessity lay claim in a sort to the position of architect among the workmen who are engaged in building up the edifice of Christian thought.

I hope I shall be forgiven if, as the representative,—however humble,—in this College, of the queen of the sciences,

I seem thus to be treating my colleagues as my *Handlanger*, or hodsmen; but it is a necessity of the situation, not wilful or willing self-exaltation. In reality, I am proclaiming my dependence on them. At the same time they will not be at all surprised, from what they know of me already, and especially after the remarks which I have been making in the course of this address, if I maintain that, whilst my branch depends on theirs, theirs also depends on mine. I am quite sure that investigations into the sources of our knowledge of the life of which I am speaking cannot be healthily fruitful, unless they are conducted with due regard to, and in the light of, the whole history, as well as of its determinative epochs. One of the perils of present-day thought and science is isolation; or, described from another point of view, specialism. I know indeed too well that this part is to some extent the result of a reaction against the arbitrary conduct of the queen whose servant I am. She used practically, if not theoretically, to claim the right not only to correlate, but even to modify, to correct, or possibly to deny or give existence to, her subject-matter, as suited her convenience. This was bad, and the result has naturally given rise to discontent, to revolt, to rebellion, in some cases to anarchy. But if facts are propounded as facts in other departments of theological enquiry which cannot find a proper place in the great whole of life, which it is my business to construct; if the stones and timbers supplied for the edifice of which you have chosen me to be the master-builder cannot be worked in, depend upon it, I shall deal with them as they deserve. On the other hand, if I should yield to the temptation to which even ordinary architects are subject, much more those who build in the spiritual world, to sacrifice solidity and truth to artificial beauty, consistency, and homogeneity, it will be their business to run a full tilt against my building; and, if possible, demonstrate that it is constructed on unsound principles. My hope, however, is that whilst each of us will work in his own way

and on his own lines, we shall be seen to be co-operating harmoniously and energetically, for the erection of a theological house which our students shall welcome as an object of beauty, a home of comfort, and a tower of refuge amid the storms which are raging around us. Let me add, too, that I trust, and believe, that none of us will ever be classifiable among the men who, to use an apt commercial illustration, have "tied their parcel up" so tight and close, that it is incapable either of diminution, enlargement, or rearrangement;—still less among those who have no goods at all that they think worth tying up—no goods that they know to be of abiding value.

The subject-matter to be explained, as I stated before, is a great historical religious movement which is still in progress at the present moment; whilst its beginnings go back to the time when Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees in obedience to what he believed to be a divine command. The religious life of Abraham and his descendants, down to the epoch inaugurated by Moses, would seem to have been in every respect of a most elementary and simple kind. Isolated acts were performed in fulfilment, as was believed, of definite divine commands; worship and sacrifice were occasionally offered; they took for granted that they must obey and follow the divine will—that was all, till the Exodus. Afterwards, a whole network of divine obligations was by degrees cast around the life of the Israelites. Their weeks and years were broken up by Sabbatic festivals; the customs and common laws which had grown up among them acquired a divine sanction and a new significance; and religious rites were reduced to system and regularity. A third stage was inaugurated with the passage of the loose tribal relationship between the various stems and families into a kingdom. It differed, however, from the preceding chiefly in the ever-increasing elaboration and finity of both the civil and religious organization; and in the rise of the order of prophets, whose mission was, *first*, to inten-

sify and widen the connection of the civil life with God; *secondly*, to make the religious and moral life more inward; and, *thirdly*, to prepare the way for the transformation of the relation of the Israelites from a merely national one to a personal one; i. e., from a relation of individuals mediated through that of the nation, to one that was direct, immediate.

The *final* epoch was inaugurated by Christ. He established a kingdom or society which was to include all legitimate modes of human activity or forms of human life within itself; and all the relations and activities of which were to be in the deepest and broadest sense religious—in which the religious life was to express itself alike in worship and work, each aiding and glorifying the other. In this epoch we are living.

This is the movement considered in its development; considered in the stricter sense from its historical or temporal side.

Taking the movement as a whole, and classifying its contents from a religious point of view, we find: *first*, certain ideas as to the nature and character of God and man, and their reciprocal relations; *secondly*, a certain mode of inward and outward conduct on the part of man toward God; *thirdly*, certain experiences; and, *fourthly*, certain beliefs touching the genesis of the ideas, the conduct, and the experiences.

The elements embraced under these four heads, with various others affecting the intellectual life, the affections, and the social, civic, and political relations, did not all make their appearance in ripeness and completeness at once. Nor were they always contemporary. Nor, after once appearing, did they maintain their position and take ever firmer hold, without relapse, on the lives they concerned and affected. That is not the way with human history under any circumstances. It is not the way, in fact, with any form of life. Not even a tree goes on, without break or intermission, realizing the idea

that informs it. Still less is this the way with a life—whether it be that of an individual, or of a community, or of a nation—which God inspires and controls. For God never forces or drives; his influence on men is never marked by the uniformity which we rightly expect in the region where physical law holds sway. Ever-varying development of the whole and of the parts is the law of normal human life; abnormal human life is marked, in addition, by ever-varying retardations, retrogressions, and corruptions.

The ideas, the inward and outward conduct towards God, the experiences and the beliefs regarding the action of God, to which the rise of the ideas, conduct, and experiences was traced, have found embodiment and expression in a variety of institutions, customs, rites, ceremonies, festivals, laws, books, buildings, monuments, and so forth, which have naturally undergone manifold changes, corresponding to the changes of the life out of which they grew. This was no less the case in Old Testament times, than it has been in New Testament times. And the special action of God in Old Testament times, and in the mission and work of Christ and his apostles, did not necessitate either sudden completeness or uniform growth in the manifestations of the life, any more than it did in the life itself.

One of the products of the life which grew out of the special action just referred to, which in the nature of the case was of the highest importance both in itself and in its bearing on the invigoration and propagation of the life, namely, the literature to which we chiefly owe our knowledge of it, has naturally attracted to itself chief attention. Its exceptionally remarkable religious character has led to its being isolated from the life which it embodies, and to its being treated as if, like the image of the great goddess Diana worshipped by the Ephesians, it had been produced immediately by the very finger of God. But we shall never understand its peculiarities; we shall never profit by it as we might, un-

less we learn to treat it primarily as the expression, embodiment, monument, and record of a life—a veritable historical life. Still further, until then we shall constantly find ourselves hampered by difficulties, due not to the literature itself or the life, but to the defective point of view from which we regard it.¹

In enumerating the elements with which the theological philosopher has to deal, you will have noticed—or at all events I intended to bring under your notice—that I referred to the special action of God in the genesis, growth, and development of the life to be considered solely as a belief. Let me ask particular attention, for a minute or two, to this point, and set forth my idea with regard to it.

It is not open to reasonable doubt or question, that as to some, indeed as to the chief, essential features, there has been a wonderful continuity and homogeneity in the religious life of Israel and the Christian nations. The highest Christianity of to-day is linked with the Jewish religion of three thousand or more years ago, as truly as the oak of to-day is linked with the acorn of the reign of Elizabeth. The best evidence of this fact is, the place which the literature of Israel has held, and still holds, in the life of the Christian church—that the books of the Old and New Testaments, which are essentially the production of Jews, constitute for us one religious canon.

Now both Jews and Christians have *believed* and *maintained* that their distinctive religious life owed its *origin* to special divine interventions, and its growth and sustenance to continuous and distinctive gifts of divine grace:—I say, this was their *belief* and *conviction*. As to that, there can be no doubt.

But to start, as theologians have been wont to do, with the assumption that this belief and conviction were well

¹ For a further discussion of the point of view here summarily described, see my book, *The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Sons. Price, 4s. 6d. Engl.

grounded, that they represented facts, is of course, scientifically or philosophically considered, a *petitio principii*. The belief, for the philosophical student, is one of the things to be explained and justified. For myself, I have no doubt that the belief was well grounded. The explanation which forced itself on the great bearers and leaders of the life, that their life owed its significance, hopefulness, vigor, nobility, glory, yea eternity, to the direct, and at certain great epochs special or supernatural, action of God, is in my judgment the only rational one. In the first instance, however, the philosopher has to treat it simply and solely as a *belief*—a belief, moreover, to which parallels are adduced from other religions.

Let me now recur to what I said regarding the business of the systematic theologian. The *historical life* with which he occupies himself forms one of the subsystems of the general history of humanity; and he seeks to understand it. His *first* effort will be to show how the various factors and stages fit into, and throw light on, each other, and together constitute a process which is informed and ruled by a great idea. Here he will be chiefly concerned with, and aided by, the *beliefs* of which I spoke. In them he ought to find the unifying principle of the whole, *if they are well grounded; if not, they will as readily bear pruning or excising as analogous beliefs elsewhere.*

The *next* step will be to do for the religious history of man generally, what he has done for the special section to which I have just been referring. If a true philosophy of the latter have been found,—considering what this latter claims to be,—it ought to serve as a key to the labyrinth which the former has hitherto been for enquirers, who approach the subject from an unbiblical point of view. His final aim will be the construction of a view of the world, in which all the observed phenomena or facts shall form one organic whole,—all, whether belonging to the sphere of nature or to that of spirit. In my humble judgment, no view of the system of

the world as a whole, no, view of the subsystem humanity, especially with its religions, will for long commend itself as faithful to all the facts, natural and spiritual, moral and religious, which treats the beliefs recorded in the Scriptures and in the literature of the Christian church as merely subjective—as imaginations destitute of objective validity;—no view, in other words, which eliminates or emasculates the supernatural element of the great history to which we owe the most precious factors of our modern life. It is a question, in this connection, not of upholding a system of belief because it is comfortable and useful; not of the authority of a creed or dogma, or a church or a literature; not of orthodoxy; but of a rational view of the system of things to which we belong. Leave out the elements which I classified as beliefs, in their objective validity; in other words, leave out the living God and Father; leave out his special loving action for the redemption of humanity, first, through the Jewish nation, by means especially of inspiration; then, through the life, death, and resurrection of his Son; subsequently, through the intercession and invisible kingly sway of the same Son; and, finally, through the indwelling work of the Holy Spirit;—and you will understand neither the historical life of which we are the youngest born heirs, nor the life of humanity generally in its relation to God. You will not understand even the history of the physical world:—*understand*, I mean, *in the true and full sense of the word*.

Were I engaged in apologizing for, instead of merely expounding—expounding, too, of necessity in an exceedingly fragmentary way—the view of the nature and scope of systematic theology to which I have called your attention, many points would need elucidation and justification which have been merely touched on and taken for granted,—or scarcely even that. One, in particular, which has not improbably occurred to some of those present, namely, the exceptional position, among the religions of the world, assigned to Chris-

tianity, with the Judaism which prepared the way for it. To do that, however, is not the work of an inaugural address, but that of the lecture-room. Part, at all events, of the task will be performed in another department of the instruction given in this Institution.

One word, in conclusion, with regard to the determination and classification of the phenomena with which philosophical theology has to deal. You all know that the first thing in every science is the due appreciation of the subject-matter which it investigates; that each science has its own specific class of facts or phenomena; and that in each case the due appreciation thereof depends on the fulfilment of certain conditions. A chemist gains an adequate acquaintance with his subject-matter in one way; the geologist in another; the biologist in another, and so on. Neither of them, however eminent he may be in his own department, is qualified to pronounce upon the subject-matter of the other, unless he first fulfil the appropriate conditions. So is it, let me say especially to you who will be my fellow-students in the domain over which we are to roam, we shall not be able to appreciate the subject-matter of theology; that is, the historical life, with its human warp and divine weft, unless we approach it in an attitude and spirit which is akin to itself. We must enter into the life we study, and let the life enter into us, ere we can pretend to appreciate it;—nay more, ere we can pretend profitably to carry on the work of textual and other criticism and of interpretation which a biblical scholar has to undertake. And that means, otherwise expressed,—expressed in the names of the founders of this Institution and of its supporters,—that we must be converted men, men of living faith in Christ; men under the control of the Holy Ghost; men who are seeking with a single eye the glory of the Triune God. One of the chief difficulties in the study of theology is, that the life whose history is our study must, as to its essential elements, be lived by ourselves if we are to study it

to profit; whilst, at the same time, one of our peculiar advantages is that, if we cultivate close fellowship with God, the innermost secrets thereof will be unveiled by him whose gracious purpose controlled the history. Provided then that, in addition, we go to work with disciplined minds, thorough industry, and a single eye to the truth, we shall not only theologize or philosophize well, but, in the very act of doing so, we shall quicken our own spiritual life and glorify the name of our God.

ARTICLE IV.

THE EVOLUTION OF ANARCHY.

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IN the House of Representatives, one year after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Garfield, moving an adjournment of the House, said, with reference to the assassination of the great president, "It was no one man who killed Abraham Lincoln; it was the embodied spirit of treason and slavery, inspirited with fearful hate, that struck him down in the moment of the nation's supremest joy." A few weeks ago a madman brutally assassinated Sadi-Carnot in the streets of Lyons, also at the moment of his greatest success. To the casual observer this seems a random stroke, unconnected with anything in history or in the national life of France. But the words of Garfield with reference to the murderer of Lincoln are equally applicable to this act, and we may say, It was no one man who struck down one of the noblest, calmest, and best presidents France has had. That blow was connected historically with a long line of social and political events. As an act it was connected with those acts which, like it, have been perpetrated by similar unbalanced and fanatical minds. Santo is the brother of such men as Guiteau, Prendergast, and others, who, without judgment and infuriated by imagined wrongs, have blindly struck at one whom they supposed to be the author of their misfortunes.

The movement of which the assassinations of Lincoln, Garfield, Harrison, and Carnot are the fruit, goes back to that mighty social and political upheaval known as the French

Revolution. This was the historical birth-place of all these acts of violence.

No one studying the evolution of society and the development of man can for a moment fail to see that the French Revolution was the mighty protest of humanity against the domination and despotism of a class. It was the breaking away of man from the rule of Feudalism; that was the enfranchisement of what the French love to call the "third estate," but it was but a partial movement, and the "third estate," having attained the power of the two estates, simply paved the way and set the example for a social upheaval which by social adjustment, by political revolution, and by individual violence was to bring the "fourth estate" to the surface. We are very apt to think that because these movements have come through violence, disruption, and social discord, that, therefore, they are born simply of the spirit of hate and anarchy. But if we go back to the inception of the upward movement of society and consider the names and the characters of the men who have been the most potent factors in this movement, we shall be impressed with the seriousness, earnestness, and general intelligence of those who gave the movement its first impulse and directed it in its earlier stages.

The first great name is that of Saint-Simon, born in 1760. Saint-Simon was a French nobleman of one of the illustrious families of that country,—not an anarchist, not a revolutionary, but a man whose heart was early stirred by the wants, the needs, and the sufferings of the French poor. So sincere and honest was he, in his confidence that the lot of the poor and of the toiler could be vastly improved without disturbing the equilibrium of the state, that he went so far as to appeal to Louis XVIII. to co-operate with him in ameliorating their condition; but with the exception of a few works little read and a very small number of followers, Saint-Simon left nothing behind him, as the result of his labors, but his example.

Fourier, born in 1772 and for a time the contemporary of Saint-Simon, was a man of humble origin but splendid ability. Of an almost puritanic life, temperate, moderate, thoughtful, he devoted his slender means to the dissemination of the principles of social improvement. He, too, aimed at uplifting the laborer without disrupting the state. But Fourier, dying in 1837, left behind him almost no traces of his work.

Louis Blanc, who, born in 1811, took up the work laid down by his two eminent predecessors, was a man of different character, and set about, in a measure, to associate the state with the uplifting of the downtrodden. Passionate, eloquent, enthusiastic, utterly devoted to the cause of the poor and the suffering, he gave himself unremittingly to the great cause that he had at heart; but, lacking in that intellectual and moral balance which give weight and efficiency to enthusiasm, his efforts also proved abortive.

The last great name of the eminent French socialists is that of Proudhon. A native of Besançon, the birth-place of his predecessor, Fourier, Proudhon was the son of a very poor family, but endowed with a brilliant genius, and it is related that he came home from the college, laden with honors and prizes, to find that there was nothing in the house for him to eat. He early espoused the cause of the poor, the unfortunate, and the suffering. But he, unlike any of his predecessors, was the real father of anarchy, and was convinced that the only way of improving the social and moral condition of the laborer was by a complete revolution of the state. The life of Proudhon, covering the period between 1808 and 1865, spans that epoch in French history and, we may say, in the history of Europe, which comprises the greatest and many of the most violent social and political revolutions and upheavals which have characterized the first half of the nineteenth century. It was, therefore, a most favorable seed-time, and the doctrines of these social revolutionaries were sowed broad-

cast, and found a ready soil not only on the Continent, but also in Great Britain.

If now we turn to Great Britain, we find the great name of Robert Dale Owen. Born in 1771, at an early age he left his native Wales and came to Manchester, where still in his teens he, by his intelligence, industry, and executive ability, became the director in one of the great mills of that manufacturing centre. Here, he, too, felt his heart drawn out toward the lot of the poor and the toiler. Even at this distance it is not to be wondered at that the heart of the sympathetic was roused by a contemplation of the monstrous inequalities, injustice, and cruelties which characterized the lot of the poor. Women and children were condemned to toil in the mines of Cornwall and Wales, seldom seeing the sun or coming up to breathe the fresher air. Women, almost nude, with great leathern belts about their loins, were made to draw the small cars of coal in their run-way to the foot of the shaft until their knees and hands were calloused and grown hard and horny as a horse's hoof. Children at the age of five and seven were made to toil in the dark, dangerous, and noisome mills. The hours of labor were almost unlimited, not even the limits of endurance being observed. It was these conditions which roused the heart of Owen, and led him to apply his splendid genius to the question of emancipating the white slaves of England. But this he did at first in the most practical and common-sense way. Seeking no great political enfranchisement nor any political adjustment, he gave himself simply and resolutely to improving the environment of the toiler. Finding his efforts cramped by established customs and the conservatism of property, he moved to New Lanark, on the Clyde, and there, with an old mill and two thousand workmen of the poorest and the most wretched class, with all the iniquities and cruelties of their class in full force, he attempted to give them conditions which should make morality and decency at least possible. He at once in-

stituted schools for the children, the first schools for the children of the poor established in England. He shortened the hours of labor, he protected woman from overwork and temptation, introduced sanitation, better homes, better houses, cleaner streets, reading-rooms,—in short, he simply lifted the two thousand operatives under his hand into the sunshine and into the air. The history of his movement in America need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that, with a hope of accomplishing more by establishing a community in the new country, where he could have a larger field, a broader liberty, a better opportunity, he found that even in the New World the old character of man was unchanged. In brief, it may be said, as Kirkup, the historian of Socialism, has shown, that all efforts at social improvement have failed to reckon with one factor in human development. Recent science has shown us that there are two factors,—native character and the environment. Given a pure and noble character, it is yet susceptible of degradation and vice under the unfavorable surroundings of poverty, hardship, and filth. Given, on the other hand, the best of surroundings, even a garden of Eden does not seem to succeed in keeping out the viper; and Robert Owen's community, upon a new soil, with fresh and wholesome surroundings, with the direction and devotion of his heart and brain, found itself a prey to animosities, discords, and strifes that soon rent it asunder and made the entire effort a failure. Owen returned to England only to exhibit the weakness which so often mars great characters. Led astray by his irreligious and unwholesome social views, he so wounded the conscience and alienated the good-will of the English that his influence seemed entirely to have waned.

If we turn now to the brilliant, violent, and sad chapter of socialism in Germany, we shall find here two facts. First of all, greater genius and devotion, with a wider intelligence, but also singularly enough a spirit of growing violence and anarchy. Lassalle, born in 1825, was the founder of German

social democracy. Bringing to his work the gifts both of the writer and speaker, he succeeded in 1864 in rousing the common people—the toilers—in the Rhine country. But his violence, his passionate appeals, his revolutionary methods, his antagonism to the state, so well organized, stirred up great opposition. And, notwithstanding this, Lassalle was not strictly speaking an anarchist, at least not in the modern sense of that word. But he did not limit himself to peaceable and social measures for the improvement of the lot of the poor; rather he hoped and strove for political advancement which should put the German common people on a level with the noble and privileged, and enable them so to adjust the relations of labor and capital as to give, what he considered, the fair share of capital to labor.

To understand the entire movement at this stage, we must go back to the political economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo. The orthodox political economist of that day and school based his entire system upon the declaration that capital was wholly the product of labor, and Proudhon and Lassalle, taking these principles as bases, carried the premise to its logical conclusion; uttered in the words of Proudhon: "Private property is robbery, Capital belongs to labor." It was this extreme and revolutionary view which characterized the entire work of Lassalle. But Lassalle, who had a brilliant future before him, again reveals to us the sad, partial, and one-sided character of the would-be reformer. After his triumphal march, crowned with flowers and received with ovations throughout the Rhine country in May, 1864, he is drawn into an ignoble quarrel about a woman and falls in a duel in October of that same year.

The work is now taken up by Karl Marx, whose life covers a long period from 1818 to 1883. With a better training than Lassalle, a more wide and brilliant genius, a larger grasp of the situation in Germany, and broader plans for the federation of all the proletarians of the world, Karl Marx

brought to his task the most splendid equipment and an unflinching devotion. But, too turbulent and dangerous to the political conditions of Germany, he was obliged to spend his years in exile. He was the founder of the "International," which represents more perfectly his idea as bodied forth in his compendious work "Capital." His influence was sufficient to change and mould anew the plans and the qualities of Lassalle. But a careful study of the history of social movements and an impatience for immediate results led him to feel that the poor could come to his rights only by the use of violence. We have covered this historical epoch of social effort simply to give a conception of the roots out of which the baneful fruit of anarchy and assassination in Europe and America have grown. It should be observed, as Mr. Kidd in his recent work has maintained, that much of the social disturbances in the United States is due to conditions in the old country which gave them their birth here.

From this brief and imperfect review three things are to be inferred. First of all, the movement is a human and humane movement. It had, at its inception, the broadest sympathy for man, and called forth intelligence and endeavor. Nothing could be nobler than the self-sacrifice, the utter self-forgetfulness which is characteristic of many, if not all, of the contributors to the social evolution. When the Nihilists were withdrawn from the Swiss universities in 1872, where they had been imbibing the free and social notions of the West, these sons and daughters of the noblest Russian families gave themselves willingly to the lowliest services—to becoming house-maids, nurses, cobblers, tailors, common toilers, that they might, side by side with the toiler, kindle his heart with hope and with aspiration. And this was the character of most all of those who have wrought at the regeneration of society. The movement is, therefore, to be considered not as mechanical, forced, or unnatural, not as anarchistic in its

purpose, but rather as a slow, gradual, and more or less steady movement upward and forward which has its genesis in the heart of the oppressed and depressed classes. It is an historic movement for the enfranchisement of the "fourth estate."

Secondly, it is to be noticed that the movement has been hindered, if it has not failed, through the one-sided character of its leaders. No movement in society, state, or nature, can be permanent, and therefore successful, which does not take into consideration and adjust itself to all the laws of nature. The early movement was optimistic. It had a too unbounded faith in man; believed him capable and willing to achieve the highest and noblest destiny; believed him ready to exercise that prudence, moderation, self-denial which are prerequisites of any advancement; believed that if his circumstances were improved, his virtue would be insured. But the history of Owen, Fourier, and Proudhon has shown the fallacy of this attitude. The springs of human goodness lie not outside of man but within him. He is the maker and the moulder in the world. The most tremendous factor in the regeneration in society is, after all, *personality*, the character of the individual. It goes without saying that this character is itself moulded and inspired by spiritual influences which come from on high. But in vain shall we struggle by merely improving the house, the town, the state, the government, by giving men books or ballots, in uplifting and purifying the character of man.

It is clearly the oversight of this great central fact which has caused so much of the failure of socialistic movements, on the one hand, and has led to the third fact which we must here observe, namely, that violent political disruption, anarchy in the state and in society, have been due to the violence of individual characters, and have not entered and do not enter naturally into the principles of the reformers. We may think that to-day we have reason for condemning and opposing the social advancement of the lower classes in the violence and

destructiveness,—the recklessness of life which individuals have shown; but a calmer study of the entire movement in its breadth and in its history will convince us that these outbreaks of violence are but eruptions, but monstrosities which are foreign to, though they spring out of, a long, serious, and continued effort of man to be free from the repression, the oppression, the limitation, the disabilities, which have been imposed upon him by the fortunate and the strong.

The two fundamental principles which we must not forget, are, that if the advancement of humanity is indeed, as we believe, a growth, an evolution and not a revolution, it is a truly natural and vital process. Every step forward prepares the way for the next which must necessarily follow, and which can no more be prevented or repressed than violence or storms will hinder the advance of spring. The second principle, which is of the most vital concern to both the reformer and those who may be terrified at the onward march of events and the breaking up and disappearance of old forms of society, is that violence is not a part of the divine economy. The Gatling gun and the torch will not advance or retard the onward march of man. Indeed, so true is this, that the misdirected efforts of foolish men accomplish the very reverse of what they desire. The Fieldens, Schwabs, Santos, and Vaillants are the worst foes of the cause they profess to advocate. And the oppression of the rich and strong are not so baneful to the cause of the poor as the mad and murderous strokes of these anarchists. On the other hand, we must not forget nor ignore the fact that there is a mighty movement upward and forward on the part of the depressed classes which can be only precious to every lover of his kind; and, instead of seeking by any form of violence to repress or throttle it, we must recognize it and even foster it, and by wisdom direct and fashion it to the highest and noblest results. The one lesson which we must learn is the lesson of the Golden Rule, the lesson of the Ser-

mon on the Mount, which teaches us that we are brethren, that man is to help his fellow-man, that society is bound together by bands of affection, sympathy, and co-operation; that its interests are mutual interests. We are to remember that man is the one great value in the world, that the coming of the Son of God into the world is to rescue man, to save his character, and that he began this renovation not by changing social and political conditions, but by regenerating the individual heart; we are to remember that the rich and the strong and the cultured are such, not for their own good or enjoyment, but for the protection and for the benefit of their fellow-men;—that this entire struggle upward is a struggle in behalf of humanity, of man; that God says to the strong, Shelter the weak; to the rich, Share with and uplift the poor; to the cultured, Enlighten the less fortunate; and so the entire society of man shall be bound about with the strong bands of the divine love which shall protect, shelter, and help equally each and all. The one message of the church to the age is simply this: One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.

ARTICLE V.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE.¹

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THE subject of the Inspiration of the Bible is one which has been much confused in recent discussion. He who, seeking to learn the truth, should gather about him the latest treatises, bearing such titles as, "Inspiration, and other Lectures," "Inspiration and the Bible," "What is Inspiration?" "How did God inspire the Bible?" "The Oracles of God,"²—would find himself led by them in every conceivable direction at once. No wonder if he should stand stock-still in the midst of his would-be guides, confounded by the Babel of voices. The old formula, *quot homines tot sententiæ*, seems no longer adequate. Wherever five "advanced thinkers" assemble, at least six theories as to inspiration are likely to be ventilated. They differ in every conceivable point, or in every conceivable point save one. They agree that inspiration is less pervasive and less determinative than has heretofore been thought, or than is still thought in less enlightened circles. They agree that there is less of the truth of God and more of the error of man in the Bible than Christians have been wont to believe. They agree accordingly that the teaching of the Bible may be, in this, that, or the other,—here, there, or elsewhere,—safely neglected or openly repudiated. So soon as we turn to the constructive side, however, and ask wherein the inspiration of the Bible consists; how far it guarantees

¹ A lecture.

² Titles of recent treatises by Rooke, Horton, DeWitt, Smyth, and Sanday respectively.

the trustworthiness of the Bible's teaching; in what of its elements is the Bible a divinely safeguarded guide to truth: the concurrence ends and hopeless dissension sets in. They agree only in their common destructive attitude towards some higher view of the inspiration of the Bible, of the presence of which each one seems supremely conscious.

It is upon this fact that we need first of all to fix our attention. It is not of the variegated hypotheses of his fellow-theorizers, but of some high doctrine of inspiration, the common object of attack of them all, that each new theorizer on the subject of inspiration is especially conscious, as standing over against him, with reference to which he is to orient himself, and against the claims of which he is to defend his new hypothesis. Thus they themselves introduce us to the fact that over against the numberless discordant theories of inspiration which vex our time, there stands a well-defined church-doctrine of inspiration. This church-doctrine of inspiration differs from the theories that would fain supplant it, in that it is not the invention nor the property of an individual, but the settled faith of the universal church of God; in that it is not the growth of yesterday, but the assured persuasion of the people of God from the first planting of the church until to-day; in that it is not a protean shape, varying its affirmations to fit every new change in the ever-shifting thought of men, but from the beginning has been the church's constant and abiding conviction as to the divinity of the Scriptures committed to her keeping. It is certainly a most impressive fact,—this well-defined, aboriginal, stable doctrine of the church as to the nature and trustworthiness of the Scriptures of God, which confronts with its gentle but steady persistence of affirmation all the theories of inspiration which the restless energy of unbelieving and half-believing speculation has been able to invent in this agitated nineteenth century of ours. Surely the seeker after the truth

in the matter of the inspiration of the Bible may well take this church-doctrine as his starting-point.

What this church-doctrine is, it is scarcely necessary minutely to describe. It will suffice to remind ourselves that it looks upon the Bible as an oracular book,—as the Word of God in such a sense that whatever it says God says,—not a book, then, in which one may, by searching, find some word of God, but a book which may be frankly appealed to at any point with the assurance that whatever it may be found to say, that is the Word of God. We are all of us members in particular of the body of Christ which we call the church: and the life of the church, and the faith of the church, and the thought of the church are our natural heritage. We know how, as Christian men, we approach this Holy Book,—how unquestioningly we receive its statements of fact, bow before its enunciations of duty, tremble before its threatenings, and rest upon its promises. Or, if the subtle spirit of modern doubt has seeped somewhat into our hearts, our memory will easily recall those happier days when we stood a child at our Christian mother's knee, with lisping lips following the words which her slow finger traced upon this open page,—words which were her support in every trial and, as she fondly trusted, were to be our guide throughout life. Mother church was speaking to us in that maternal voice, commending to us her vital faith in the Word of God. How often since then has it been our own lot, in our turn, to speak to others all the words of this life! As we sit in the midst of our pupils in the Sabbath-school, or in the centre of our circle at home, or perchance at some bedside of sickness or of death; or as we meet our fellow-man amid the busy work of the world, hemmed in by temptation or weighed down with care, and would fain put beneath him some firm support and stay: in what spirit do we turn to this Bible then? with what confidence do we commend its every word to those whom we would make partakers of its comfort or of its

strength? In such scenes as these is revealed the vital faith of the people of God in the surety and trustworthiness of the Word of God.

Nor do we need to do more than remind ourselves that this attitude of entire trust in every word of the Scriptures has been characteristic of the people of God from the very foundation of the church. Christendom has always reposed upon the belief that the utterances of this book are properly oracles of God. The whole body of Christian literature bears witness to this fact. We may trace its stream to its source, and everywhere it is vocal with a living faith in the divine trustworthiness of the Scriptures of God in every one of their affirmations. This is the murmur of the little rills of Christian speech which find their tenuous way through the parched heathen land of the early second century. And this is the mighty voice of the great river of Christian thought which sweeps through the ages, freighted with blessings for men. Dr. Sanday, in his recent Bampton Lectures on "Inspiration"—in which, unfortunately, he does not teach the church-doctrine—is driven to admit that not only may "testimonies to the general doctrine of inspiration" from the earliest Fathers, "be multiplied to almost any extent; but [that] there are some which go further and point to an inspiration which might be described as 'verbal'"; "nor does this idea," he adds, "come in tentatively and by degrees, but almost from the very first."¹ He might have spared the adverb "almost." The earliest writers know no other doctrine. If Origen asserts that the Holy Spirit was co-worker with the Evangelists in the composition of the Gospels, and that, therefore, lapse of memory, error or falsehood was impossible to them;² and if Irenæus, the pupil of Polycarp, claims for Christians a clear knowledge that "the Scriptures are perfect, seeing that they are spoken by God's Word and his Spirit;"³ no less does

¹ Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 34.

² On Matt. xvi. 12 and Jno. vi. 18.

³ *Adv. Haer.* ii. 28.

Polycarp, the pupil of John, consider the Scriptures the very voice of the Most High, and pronounce him the first-born of Satan, "whosoever perverts these oracles of the Lord."¹ Nor do the later Fathers know a different doctrine. Augustine, for example, affirms that he defers to the canonical Scriptures alone among books with such reverence and honor that he most "firmly believes that no one of their authors has erred in anything, in writing."² To precisely the same effect did the Reformers believe and teach. Luther adopts these words of Augustine's as his own, and declares that the whole of the Scriptures are to be ascribed to the Holy Ghost, and therefore cannot err.³ Calvin demands that whatever is propounded in Scripture, "without exception," shall be humbly received by us,—that the Scriptures as a whole shall be received by us with the same reverence which we give to God, "because they have emanated from him alone, and are mixed with nothing human."⁴ The saintly Rutherford, who speaks of the Scriptures as a more sure word than a direct oracle from heaven,⁵ and Baxter, who affirms that "all that the holy writers have recorded is true (and no falsehood in the Scriptures but what is from the errors of scribes and translators),"⁶ hand down this supreme trust in the Scripture word to our own day—to our own Charles Hodge and Henry B. Smith, the one of whom asserts that the Bible "gives us truth without error,"⁷ and the other, that "all the books of the Scripture are equally inspired; . . . all alike are infallible in what they teach; . . . their assertions must be free from error."⁸ Such testimonies are simply the formulation by the

¹ Ep. ad Phil., cap. vii.

² Ep. ad Hier. lxxxii. 3.

³ Works (St. Louis ed.), xix. 305; (Erlangen ed.), xxxvii. 11 and xxxviii. 33.

⁴ Institutes, i. 18; Commentary on Romans xv. 4, and on 2 Tim. iii. 16.

⁵ Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience, p. 373.

⁶ Works, xv. 65.

⁷ Henry B. Smith, Sermon on Inspiration (Cincinnati ed.), p. 19.

⁸ Charles Hodge, Syst. Theol. i. 163.

theologians of each age of the constant faith of Christians throughout all ages.

If we would estimate at its full meaning the depth of this trust in the Scripture word, we should observe Christian men at work upon the text of Scripture. There is but one view-point which will account for or justify the minute and loving pains which have been expended upon the text of Scripture, by the long line of commentators that has extended unbrokenly from the first Christian ages to our own. The allegorical interpretation which rioted in the early days of the church was the daughter of reverence for the biblical word; a spurious daughter you may think, but none the less undeniably a direct offspring of the awe with which the sacred text was regarded as the utterances of God, and, as such, pregnant with inexhaustible significance. The patient and anxious care with which the Bible text is scrutinized to-day by scholars, of a different spirit no doubt from those old allegorizers, but of equal reverence for the text of Scripture, betrays the same fundamental view-point,—to which the Bible is the Word of God, every detail of the meaning of which is of inestimable preciousness. No doubt there have been men who have busied themselves with the interpretation of Scripture, who have not approached it in such a spirit or with such expectations. But it is not the Jowetts, with their supercilious doubts whether Paul meant very much by what he said, who represent the spirit of Christian exposition. This is represented rather by the Bengels, who count no labor wasted, in their efforts to distill from the very words of Holy Writ the honey which the Spirit has hidden in them for the comfort and the delight of the saints. It is represented rather by the Westcotts, who bear witness to their own experience of “the rest and confidence which grows firmer with increasing knowledge,” as their patient investigation has dug deeper and deeper for the treasures hid in the words and

clauses and sentences of the Epistles of John,¹—to the sure conviction which forty years of study of the Epistle to the Hebrews has brought them that “we come nearer to the meaning of Scripture by the closest attention to the subtleties and minute variations of words and order.” It was a just remark of one of the wisest men I ever knew, Dr. Wistar Hodge, that this is “a high testimony to verbal inspiration.”²

Of course the church has not failed to bring this, her vital faith in the divine trustworthiness of the Scripture word, to formal expression in her solemn creeds. The simple faith of the Christian people is also the confessional doctrine of the Christian churches. The assumption of the divine authority of the scriptural teaching underlies all the credal statements of the church; all of which are formally based upon the Scriptures. And from the beginning, it finds more or less full expression in them. Already, in some of the formulas of faith which underlie the Apostles' Creed itself, we meet with the phrase “according to the Scriptures” as validating the items of belief; while in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, amid the meagre clauses outlining only what is essential to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, place is given to the declaration that He is to be found speaking in the prophets—“who spake by the prophets.” It was in conscious dependence upon the immemorial teaching of the church that the Council of Trent defined it as of faith in the Church of Rome, that God is the author of Scripture,—a declaration which has been repeated in our own day by the Vatican Council, with such full explanations as are included in these rich words: “The church holds” the books of the Old and New Testaments, “to be sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor merely because they contain revelation with no admixture of error; but because,

¹ B. F. Westcott, *Commentary on the Epistles of John*, p. 6.

² C. Wistar Hodge, *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, ii. 330.

having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author." Needless to say that a no less firm conviction of the absolute authority of Scripture underlies all the Protestant creeds. Before all else, Protestantism is, in its very essence, an appeal from all other authority to the divine authority of Holy Scripture. The Augsburg Confession, the first Protestant creed, is, therefore, commended to consideration, only on the ground that it is "drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the pure word of God." The later Lutheran creeds, and especially the Reformed creeds, grow progressively more explicit. It is our special felicity, that as Reformed Christians, and heirs of the richest and fullest formulation of Reformed thought, we possess in that precious heritage, the Westminster Confession, the most complete, the most admirable, the most perfect statement of the essential Christian doctrine of Holy Scripture which has ever been formed by man. Here the vital faith of the church is brought to full expression; the Scriptures are declared to be the word of God in such a sense that God is their author, and they, because immediately inspired by God, are of infallible truth and divine authority, and are to be believed to be true by the Christian man, in whatsoever is revealed in them, for the authority of God himself speaking therein.

Thus, in every way possible, the church has borne her testimony from the beginning, and still in our day, to her faith in the divine trustworthiness of her Scriptures, in all their affirmations of whatever kind. At no age has it been possible for men to express without rebuke the faintest doubt as to the absolute trustworthiness of their least declaration. Tertullian, writing at the opening of the third century, suggests, with evident hesitation and timidity, that Paul's language in the seventh chapter of First Corinthians may be intended to distinguish, in his remarks on marriage and divorce, between matters of divine commandment and of human arrangement. Dr. Sanday is obliged to comment on his lan-

guage: "Any seeming depreciation of Scripture was as unpopular even then as it is now."¹ The church has always believed her Scriptures to be the book of God, of which God was in such a sense the author that every one of its affirmations of whatever kind is to be esteemed as the utterance of God, of infallible truth and authority.

In the whole history of the church there have been but two movements of thought, tending to a lower conception of the inspiration and authority of Scripture, which have attained sufficient proportions to bring them into view in an historical sketch.

(1) The first of these may be called the Rationalistic view. Its characteristic feature is an effort to distinguish between inspired and uninspired elements within the Scriptures. With forerunners among the Humanists, this mode of thought was introduced by the Socinians, and taken up by the Syncretists in Germany, the Remonstrants in Holland, and the Jesuits in the Church of Rome. In the great life-and-death struggle of the eighteenth century it obtained great vogue among the defenders of supernatural religion, in their desperate efforts to save what was of even more importance,—just as a hard-pressed army may yield to the foe many an outpost which justly belongs to it, in the effort to save the citadel. In the nineteenth century it has retained a strong hold, especially upon apologetical writers, chiefly in the three forms which affirm respectively that only the *mysteries* of the faith are inspired, i. e. things undiscoverable by unaided reason,—that the Bible is inspired only in *matters of faith and practice*,—and that the Bible is inspired only in its *thoughts or concepts*, not in its words. But although this legacy from the rationalism of an evil time still makes its appearance in the pages of many theological writers, and has no doubt affected the faith of a considerable number of Christians, it has failed to supplant in either the creeds of the

¹ Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 42 (note).

church or the hearts of the people the church-doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible, i. e. the doctrine that the Bible is inspired not *in part* but *fully*, in all its elements alike,—things discoverable by reason as well as mysteries, matters of history and science as well as of faith and practice, words as well as thoughts.

(2) The second of the lowered views of inspiration may be called the Mystical view. Its characteristic conception is that the Christian man has something within himself,—call it enlightened reason, spiritual insight, the Christian consciousness, the witness of the Spirit, or call it what you will,—to the test of which every “external revelation” is to be subjected, and according to the decision of which are the contents of the Bible to be valued. Very varied forms have been taken by this conception; and more or less expression has been given to it, in one form or another, in every age. In its extremest manifestations, it has formerly tended to sever itself from the main stream of Christian thought and even to form separated sects. But in our own century, through the great genius of Schleiermacher it has broken in upon the church like a flood, and washed into every corner of the Protestant world. As a consequence, we find men everywhere who desire to acknowledge as from God only such Scripture as “finds them,”—who cast the clear objective enunciation of God’s will to the mercy of the currents of thought and feeling which sweep up and down in their own souls,—who “persist” sometimes, to use a sharp but sadly true phrase of Robert Alfred Vaughan’s, “in their conceited rejection of the light without until they have turned into darkness their light within.” We grieve over the inroads which this essentially naturalistic mode of thought has made in the Christian thinking of the day. But great and deplorable as they have been, they have not been so extensive as to supplant the church-doctrine of the absolute authority of the objective revelation of God in his Word, in either the creeds of the church, or the

hearts of the people. Despite these attempts to introduce lowered conceptions, the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, which looks upon them as an oracular book, in all its parts and elements, alike, of God, trustworthy in all its affirmations of every kind, remains to-day, as it has always been, the vital faith of the people of God, and the formal teaching of the organized church.

The more we contemplate this church-doctrine, the more pressing becomes the question of what account we are to give of it,—its origin and persistence. How shall we account for the immediate adoption of so developed a doctrine of inspiration in the very infancy of the church, and for the tenacious hold which the church has kept upon it through so many ages? The account is simple enough, and capable of inclusion in a single sentence: this is the doctrine of inspiration which was held by the writers of the New Testament and by Jesus as reported in the Gospels. It is this simple fact that has commended it to the church of all ages as the true doctrine; and in it we may surely recognize an even more impressive fact than that of the existence of a stable, abiding church-doctrine standing over against the many theories of the day,—the fact, namely, that this church-doctrine of inspiration was the Bible doctrine before it was the church-doctrine, and is the church-doctrine only because it is the Bible doctrine. It is upon this fact that we should now fix our attention.

In the limited space at our disposal we need not attempt anything like a detailed proof that the church-doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible is the Bible's own doctrine of inspiration. And this especially for three very obvious reasons:—

First, because it cannot be necessary to prove this to ourselves. We have the Bible in our hands, and we are accustomed to read it. It is enough for us to ask ourselves

how the apostles and our Lord, as represented in its pages, conceived of what they called "the Scriptures," for the answer to come at once to our minds. As readers of the New Testament, we know that to the men of the New Testament "the Scriptures" were the Word of God which could not be broken, i. e. whose every word was trustworthy; and that a simple "It is written" was therefore to them the end of all strife. The proof of this is pervasive and level to the apprehension of every reader. It would be an insult to our intelligence were we to presume that we had not observed it, or could not apprehend its meaning.

Secondly, it is not necessary to prove that the New Testament regards "Scripture" as the mere Word of God, in the highest and most rigid sense, to modern biblical scholarship. Among untrammelled students of the Bible, it is practically a matter of common consent that the writers of the New Testament books looked upon what they called "Scripture" as divinely safeguarded in even its verbal expression, and as divinely trustworthy in all its parts, in all its elements, and in all its affirmations of whatever kind. This is, of course, the judgment of all those who have adopted this doctrine as their own, because they apprehend it to be the biblical doctrine. It is also the judgment of all those who can bring themselves to refuse a doctrine which they yet perceive to be a biblical doctrine. Whether we appeal, among men of this class, to such students of a more evangelical tendency, as Tholuck, Rothe, Farrar, Sanday, or to such extremer writers as Riehm, Reuss, Pfeiderer, Keunen, they will agree in telling us that the high doctrine of inspiration which we have called the church-doctrine was held by the writers of the New Testament. This is common ground between believing and unbelieving students of the Bible, and needs, therefore, no new demonstration in the forum of scholarship. Let us pause here, therefore, only long enough to allow Hermann Schultz, surely a fair example of the "advanced" school, to

tell us what is the conclusion in this matter of the strictest and coldest exegetical science. "The Book of the Law," he tells us, "seemed already to the later poets of the Old Testament, the 'Word of God.' The post-canonical books of Israel regard the Law and the Prophets in this manner. And for the men of the New Testament, the Holy Scriptures of their people are already God's word in which God himself speaks." This view, which looked upon the scriptural books as verbally inspired, he adds, was the ruling one in the time of Christ, was shared by all the New Testament men, and by Christ himself, as a pious conception, and was expressly taught by the more scholastic writers among them.¹ It is hardly necessary to prove what is so frankly confessed.

The *third* reason why it is not necessary to occupy our time with a formal proof that the Bible does teach this doctrine, arises from the circumstance that even those who seek to rid themselves of the pressure of this fact upon them, are observed to be unable to prosecute their argument without an implied admission of it as a fact. This is true, for example, of Dr. Sanday's endeavors to meet the appeal of the church to our Lord's authority in defence of the doctrine of plenary inspiration.² He admits that the one support which has been sought by the church of all ages for its high doctrine has been the "extent to which it was recognized in the sayings of Christ himself." As over against this he begins by suggesting "that, whatever view our Lord himself entertained as to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the record of his words has certainly come down to us through the medium of persons who shared the current view on the subject." This surely amounts to a full admission that the writers of the New Testament at least, held and taught the obnoxious doctrine. He ends with the remark that "when deductions have been made . . . there still remains evidence enough

¹ Hermann Schultz, Grundriss d. Evang. Dogmatik, p. 7.

² Inspiration, p. 393 seq.

that our Lord, while on earth *did* use the common language of his contemporaries in regard to the Old Testament." This surely amounts to a full admission that Christ as well as his reporters taught the obnoxious doctrine.

This will be found to be a typical case. Every attempt to escape from the authority of the New Testament enunciation of the doctrine of plenary inspiration, in the nature of the case begins by admitting that this is, in very fact, the New Testament doctrine. Shall we follow Dr. Sanday, and appeal from the apostles to Christ, and then call in the idea of *kenosis*, and affirm that in the days of his flesh, Christ did not speak out of the fulness and purity of his divine knowledge, but on becoming man had shrunk to man's capacity, and in such matters as this was limited in his conceptions by the knowledge and opinions current in his day and generation? In so saying, we admit, as has already been pointed out, not only that the apostles taught this high doctrine of inspiration, but also that Christ too, in whatever humiliation he did it, yet actually taught the same. Shall we then take refuge in the idea of *accommodation*, and explain that, in so speaking of the Scriptures, Christ and his apostles did not intend to teach the doctrine of inspiration implicated, but merely adopted, as a matter of convenience, the current language, as to Scripture, of the time? In so speaking, also, we admit that the actual language of Christ and his apostles expresses that high view of inspiration which was confessedly the current view of the day—whether as a matter of convenience or as a matter of truth, the Christian consciousness may be safely left to decide. Shall we then remind ourselves that Jesus himself committed nothing to writing, and appeal to the uncertainties which are accustomed to attend the record of teaching at second-hand? Thus, too, we allow that the words of Christ as transmitted to us do teach the obnoxious doctrine. Are we, then, to fall back upon the observation that the doctrine of plenary inspiration is not taught with

equal plainness in every part of the Bible, but becomes clear only in the later Old Testament books, and is not explicitly enunciated except in the more scholastic of the New Testament books? In this, too, we admit that it is taught in the Scriptures; while the fact that it is taught not all at once, but with progressive clearness and fulness, is accordant with the nature of the Bible as a book written in the process of the ages and progressively developing the truth. Then, shall we affirm that our doctrine of inspiration is not to be derived solely from the teachings of the Bible, but from its teachings and phenomena in conjunction; and so call in what we deem the phenomena of the Bible to modify its teaching? Do we not see that the very suggestion of this process admits that the teaching of the Bible, when taken alone, i. e., in its purity and just as it is, gives us the unwelcome doctrine? Shall we, then, take counsel of desperation and assert that all appeal to the teaching of the Scriptures themselves in testimony to their own inspiration is an argument in a circle, appealing to their inspiration to validate their inspiration? Even this desperately illogical shift to be rid of the scriptural doctrine of inspiration, obviously involves the confession that this is the scriptural doctrine. No, the issue is not, What does the Bible teach? but, Is what the Bible teaches true? And it is amazing that any or all of such expedients can blind the eyes of any one to the stringency of this issue.

Even a detailed attempt to explain away the texts which teach the doctrine of the plenary inspiration and unvarying truth of Scripture, involves the admission that in their obvious meaning such texts teach the doctrine which it is sought to explain away. And think of explaining away the texts which inculcate the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures! The effort to do so is founded upon an inexplicably odd misapprehension—the misapprehension that the Bible witnesses to its plenary inspiration only in a text here and there: texts of exceptional clearness alone probably being

in mind,—such as our Saviour's declaration that the Scriptures cannot be broken; or Paul's, that every scripture is inspired of God; or Peter's, that the men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Such texts, no doubt, do teach the doctrine of plenary inspiration, and are sadly in need of explaining away at the hands of those who will not believe this doctrine. As, indeed, we may learn from Dr. Sanday's treatment of one of them, that in which our Lord declares that the Scriptures cannot be broken. Dr. Sanday can only speak of this as "a passage of peculiar strangeness and difficulty;" "because," he tells us, "it seems to mean that the *dicta* of Scripture, even where we should naturally take them as figurative, must be true." Needless to say that the only "strangeness and difficulty" in the text arises from the unwillingness of the commentator to approach the Scriptures with the simple trust in their detailed divine trustworthiness and authority which characterized all our Lord's dealings with them.

But no grosser misconception could be conceived than that the Scriptures bear witness to their own plenary inspiration in these outstanding texts alone. These are but the culminating passages of a pervasive testimony to the divine character of Scripture, which fills the whole New Testament; and which includes not only such direct assertions of divinity and infallibility for Scripture as these, but, along with them, an endless variety of expressions of confidence in, and phenomena of use of, Scripture which are irresistible in their teaching when it is once fairly apprehended. The induction must be broad enough to embrace, and give their full weight to, a great variety of such facts as these: the lofty titles which are given to Scripture, and by which it is cited, such as "Scripture," "the Scriptures," even that almost awful title, "the Oracles of God"; the significant *formulæ* by which it is quoted, "It is written," "It is spoken," "It says," "God says"; such modes of adducing it as betray that to the writer

"Scripture says" is equivalent to "God says," and even its narrative parts are conceived as direct utterances of God; the attribution to Scripture, as such, of divine qualities and acts, as in such phrases as "the Scriptures foresaw"; the ascription of the Scriptures, in whole or in their several parts as occasionally adduced, to the Holy Spirit as their author, while the human writers are treated as merely his *media* of expression; the reverence and trust shown, and the significance and authority ascribed, to the very words of Scripture; and the general attitude of entire subjection to every declaration of Scripture of whatever kind, which characterizes every line of the New Testament. The effort to explain away the Bible's witness to its plenary inspiration reminds one of a man standing safely in his laboratory and elaborately expounding—possibly by the aid of diagrams and mathematical *formulae*—how every stone in an avalanche has a defined pathway and may easily be dodged by one of some presence of mind. We may fancy such an elaborate trifler's triumph as he would analyze the avalanche into its constituent stones, and demonstrate of stone after stone that its pathway is definite, limited, and may easily be avoided. But avalanches, unfortunately, do not come upon us, stone by stone, one at a time, courteously leaving us opportunity to withdraw from the pathway of each in turn: but all at once, in a roaring mass of destruction. Just so we may explain away a text or two which teach plenary inspiration, to our own closet satisfaction, dealing with them each without reference to its relation to the others: but these texts of ours, again, unfortunately do not come upon us in this artificial isolation; neither are they few in number. There are scores, hundreds, of them: and they come bursting upon us in one solid mass. Explain them away? We should have to explain away the whole New Testament. What a pity it is that we cannot see and feel the avalanche of texts beneath which we may lie hopelessly buried, as clearly as we may see and feel an

avalanche of stones! Let us, however, but open our eyes to the variety and pervasiveness of the New Testament witness to its high estimate of Scripture, and we shall no longer wonder that modern scholarship finds itself compelled to allow that the Christian church has read her records correctly, and that the church doctrine of inspiration is simply a transcript of the biblical doctrine; nor shall we any longer wonder that the church, receiving these Scriptures as her authoritative teacher of doctrine, adopted, in the very beginnings of her life, the doctrine of plenary inspiration, and has held it with a tenacity that knows no wavering, until the present hour.

But, we may be reminded, the church has not held with such tenacity to all doctrines taught in the Bible. How are we to account, then, for the singular constancy of its confession of the Bible's doctrine of inspiration? The account to be given is again simple, and capable of being expressed in a single sentence. It is due to an instinctive feeling in the church, that the trustworthiness of the Scriptures lies at the foundation of trust in the Christian system of doctrine, and is therefore fundamental to the Christian hope and life. It is due to the church's instinct that the validity of her teaching of doctrine as the truth of God,—to the Christian's instinct that the validity of his hope in the several promises of the gospel,—rests on the trustworthiness of the Bible as a record of God's dealings and purposes with men.

Individuals may call in question the soundness of these instinctive judgments. And, indeed, there is a sense in which it would not be true to say that the truth of Christian teaching and the foundations of faith are suspended upon the doctrine of plenary inspiration, or upon any doctrine of inspiration whatever. They rest rather upon the previous fact of revelation: and it is important to keep ourselves reminded that the supernatural origin and contents of Christianity, not only may be vindicated apart from any question of the inspira-

tion of the record, but, in point of fact, always are vindicated prior to any question of the inspiration of the record. We cannot raise the question whether God has given us an absolutely trustworthy record of the supernatural facts and teachings of Christianity, before we are assured that there are supernatural facts and teachings to be recorded. The fact that Christianity is a supernatural religion and the nature of Christianity as a supernatural religion, are matters of history; and are independent of any, and of every, theory of inspiration.

But this line of remark is of more importance to the Christian apologist than to the Christian believer, as such; and the instinct of the church that the validity of her teaching, and the instinct of the Christian that the validity of his hope, are bound up with the trustworthiness of the Bible, is a perfectly sound one. This for three reasons:—

First, because the average Christian man is not and cannot be a fully furnished historical scholar. If faith in Christ is to be always and only the product of a thorough historical investigation into the origins of Christianity, there would certainly be few who could venture to preach Christ and him crucified with entire confidence; there would certainly be few who would be able to trust their all to him with entire security. The Christian scholar desires, and, thank God, is able to supply, a thoroughly trustworthy historical vindication of supernatural Christianity. But the Christian teacher desires, and, thank God, is able to lay his hands upon, a thoroughly trustworthy record of supernatural Christianity; and the Christian man requires, and, thank God, has, a thoroughly trustworthy Bible to which he can go directly and at once in every time of need. Though, then, in the abstract, we may say that the condition of the validity of the Christian teaching and of the Christian hope, is no more than the fact of the supernaturalism of Christianity, historically vindicated; practically we must say that the condition of the per-

sistence of Christianity as a religion for the people, is the entire trustworthiness of the Scriptures as the record of the supernatural revelation which Christianity is.

Secondly, the merely historical vindication of the supernatural origin and contents of Christianity, while thorough and complete for Christianity as a whole, and for all the main facts and doctrines which enter into it, does not by itself supply a firm basis of trust for all the details of teaching and all the items of promise upon which the Christian man would fain lean. Christianity would be given to us; but it would be given to us, not in the exact form or in all the fulness with which God gave it to his needy children through his servants, the prophets, and through his Son and his apostles; but with the marks of human misapprehension, exaggeration, and minimizing upon it, and of whatever attrition may have been wrought upon it by its passage to us through the ages. That the church may have unsullied assurance in the details of its teaching,—that the Christian man may have unshaken confidence in the details of the promises to which he trusts,—they need, and they know that they need, a thoroughly trustworthy Word of God in which God himself speaks directly to them all the words of this life.

Thirdly, in the circumstances of the present case, we cannot fall back from trust in the Bible upon trust in the historical vindication of Christianity as a revelation from God, inasmuch as, since Christ and his apostles are historically shown to have taught the plenary inspiration of the Bible, the credit of the previous fact of revelation—even of the supreme revelation in Christ Jesus—is implicated in the truth of the doctrine of plenary inspiration. The historical vindication of Christianity as a revelation from God, vindicates as the truth of God all the contents of that revelation; and, among these contents, vindicates, as divinely true, the teaching of Christ and his apostles, that the Scriptures are the very Word of God, to be trusted as such in all the details of their teach-

ing and promises. The instinct of the church is perfectly sound, therefore, when she clings to the trustworthiness of the Bible, as lying at the foundation of her teaching and her faith.

Much less can she be shaken from this instinctive conviction by the representations of individual thinkers who go yet a step further, and, refusing to pin their faith either to the Bible or to history, affirm that "the essence of Christianity" is securely entrenched in the subjective feelings of man, either as such, or as Christian man taught by the Holy Ghost; and therefore that there is by no means needed an infallible objective rule of faith in order to propagate or preserve Christian truth in the world. It is unnecessary to say that "the essence of Christianity" as conceived by these individuals, includes little that is characteristic of Christian doctrine, life, or hope, as distinct from what is taught by other religions or philosophies. And it is perhaps equally unnecessary to remind ourselves that such individuals, having gone so far, tend to take a further step still, and to discard the records which they thus judge to be unnecessary. Thus, there may be found even men still professing historical Christianity, who reason themselves into the conclusion that "in the nature of the case, no external authority can possibly be absolute in regard to spiritual truth;"¹ just as men have been known to reason themselves into the conclusion that the external world has no objective reality and is naught but the projection of their own faculties. But as in the one case, so in the other, the common sense of men recoils from such subtleties; and it remains the profound persuasion of the Christian heart that without such an "external authority" as a thoroughly trustworthy Bible, the soul is left without sure ground for a proper knowledge of itself, its condition, and its need, or for a proper knowledge of God's provisions of mercy for it and his promises of grace to it,—without sure ground, in a word, for its

¹ Professor W. F. Adeney, *Faith and Criticism*, p. 90.

faith and hope. Adolphe Monod gives voice to no more than the common Christian conviction, when he declares that, "If faith has not for its basis a testimony of God to which we must submit, as to an authority exterior to our personal judgment, and independent of it, then faith is no faith."¹ "The more I study the Scriptures, the example of Christ, and of the apostles, and the history of my own heart," he adds, "the more I am convinced, that a testimony of God, placed without us and above us, exempt from all intermixture of sin and error which belong to a fallen race, and received with submission on the sole authority of God, is the true basis of faith."²

It is doubtless the profound and ineradicable conviction, so expressed, of the need of an infallible Bible, if men are to seek and find salvation in God's announced purpose of grace, and peace and comfort in his past dealings with his people, that has operated to keep the formulas of the churches and the hearts of the people of God, through so many ages, true to the Bible doctrine of plenary inspiration. In that doctrine men have found what their hearts have told them was the indispensable safeguard of a sure word of God to them,—a word of God to which they could resort with confidence in every time of need, to which they could appeal for guidance in every difficulty, for comfort in every sorrow, for instruction in every perplexity; on whose "Thus saith the Lord" they could safely rest all their aspirations and all their hopes. Such a Word of God, each one of us knows he needs,—not a Word of God that speaks to us only through the medium of our fellow-men, men of like passions and weaknesses with ourselves, so that we have to feel our way back to God's word through the church, through tradition, or through the apostles standing between us and God; but a Word of God in which God speaks directly to each of our souls. Such a

¹ Life of Adolphe Monod, p. 224.

² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Word of God, Christ and his apostles offer us, when they give us the Scriptures, not as man's report to us of what God says, but as the very Word of God itself, spoken by God himself through human lips and pens. Of such a precious possession, given to her by such hands, the church will not lightly permit herself to be deprived. Thus the church's sense of her need of an absolutely infallible Bible, has co-operated with her reverence for the teaching of the Bible to keep her true, in all ages, to the Bible doctrine of plenary inspiration.

What, indeed, would the church be—what would we, as Christian men, be—without our inspired Bible? Many of us have, no doubt, read Jean Paul Richter's vision of a dead Christ, and have shuddered at his pictures of the woe of a world from which its Christ has been stolen away. It would be a theme worthy of some like genius to portray for us the vision of a dead Bible,—the vision of what this world of ours would be, had there been no living Word of God cast into its troubled waters with its voice of power, crying, "Peace! Be still!" What does this Christian world of ours not owe to this Bible! And to this Bible conceived, not as a part of the world's literature,—the literary product of the earliest years of the church; not as a book in which, by searching, we may find God and perchance somewhat of God's will: but as the very Word of God, instinct with divine life from the "In the beginning" of Genesis to the "Amen" of the Apocalypse,—breathed into by God, and breathing out God to every devout reader. It is because men have so thought of it that it has proved a leaven to leaven the whole lump of the world. We do not half realize what we owe to this book, thus trusted by men. We can never fully realize it. For we can never even in thought unravel from this complex web of modern civilization, all the threads from the Bible which have been woven into it, throughout the whole past, and now enter into its very fabric. And, thank God, much less can we ever untwine them in fact, and separate our modern life from all those Bi-

ble influences by which alone it is blessed, and sweetened, and made a life which men may live. Dr. Gardiner Spring published, years ago, a series of lectures in which he sought to take some account of the world's obligations to the Bible, —tracing in turn the services it has rendered to religion, to morals, to social institutions, to civil and religious liberty, to the freedom of slaves, to the emancipation of woman and the sweetening of domestic life, to public and private beneficence, to literary and scientific progress, and the like.¹ And Adolphe Monod, in his own inimitable style, has done something to awaken us as individuals to what we owe to a fully trusted Bible, in the development of our character and religious life.² In such matters, however, we can trust our imaginations better than our words, to remind us of the immensity of our debt.

Let it suffice to say that to a plerarily inspired Bible humbly trusted as such, we actually, and as a matter of fact, owe all that has blessed our lives with hopes of an immortality of bliss, and with the present fruition of the love of God in Christ. This is not an exaggeration. We may say that without a Bible we might have had Christ and all that he stands for to our souls. Let us not say that this might not have been possible. But neither let us forget that, in point of fact, it is to the Bible that we owe it that we know Christ and are found in him. And may it not be fairly doubted whether you and I,—however it may have been with others,—would have had Christ had there been no Bible? We must not at any rate forget those nineteen Christian centuries which stretch between us and Christ, whose Christian light we would do much to blot out and sink in a dreadful darkness if we could blot out the Bible. Even with the Bible, and all that had come from the Bible to form Christian lives

¹ Gardiner Spring, *Obligations of the World to the Bible*. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855.)

² Adolphe Monod, *L'Inspiration prouvéé par ses Œuvres*.

and inform a Christian literature, after a millennium and a half the darkness had grown so deep that a Reformation was necessary if Christian truth was to persist,—a Luther was necessary, raised up by God to rediscover the Bible and give it back to man. Suppose there had been no Bible for Luther to rediscover, and on the lines of which to refound the church,—and no Bible in the hearts of God's saints and in the pages of Christian literature, persisting through those darker ages, to prepare a Luther to rediscover it? Though Christ had come into the world and had lived and died for us, might it not be to us,—you and me, I mean, who are not learned historians but simple men and women,—might it not be to us as though he had not been? Or, if some faint echo of a Son of God offering salvation to men could still be faintly heard even by such dull ears as ours, sounding down the ages, who would have ears to catch the fulness of the message of free grace which he brought into the world? who could assure our doubting souls that it was not all a pleasant dream? who could cleanse the message from the ever-gathering corruptions of the multiplying years? No: whatever might possibly have been had there been no Bible, it is actually to the Bible that you and I owe it that we have a Christ,—a Christ to love, to trust and to follow, a Christ without us the ground of our salvation, a Christ within us the hope of glory.

Our effort has been to bring clearly out what seem to be three very impressive facts regarding the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures,—the facts, namely, that this doctrine has always been, and is still, the church-doctrine of inspiration, as well the vital faith of the people of God as the formulated teaching of the official creeds; that it is undeniably the doctrine of inspiration held by Christ and his apostles, and commended to us as true by all the authority which we will allow to attach to their teaching; and that it is the foundation of our Christian thought and life, without which we could not,

or could only with difficulty, maintain the confidence of our faith and the surety of our hope. On such grounds as these is not this doctrine commended to us as true?

But, it may be said, there are difficulties in the way. Of course there are. There are difficulties in the way of believing anything. There are difficulties in the way of believing that God is, or that Jesus Christ is God's Son who came into the world to save sinners. There are difficulties in the way of believing that we ourselves really exist, or that any thing has real existence besides ourselves. When men give their undivided attention to these difficulties, they may become, and they have become, so perplexed in mind, that they have felt unable to believe that God is, or that they themselves exist, or that there is any external world without themselves. It would be a strange thing if it might not so fare with plenary inspiration also. Difficulties? Of course there are difficulties. It is nothing to the purpose to point out this fact. Dr. J. Oswald Dykes says with admirable truth: "If men must have a reconciliation for all conflicting truths before they will believe any; if they must see how the promises of God are to be fulfilled before they will obey his commands; if duty is to hang upon the satisfying of the understanding, instead of the submission of the will,—then the greater number of us will find the road of faith and the road of duty blocked at the outset."¹ These wise words have their application also to our present subject. The question is not, whether the doctrine of plenary inspiration has difficulties to face. The question is, whether these difficulties are greater than the difficulty of believing that the whole church of God from the beginning has been deceived in her estimate of the Scriptures committed to her charge—are greater than the difficulty of believing that the whole college of the apostles, yes and Christ himself at their head, were themselves deceived as to the nature of those Scriptures which they gave the church as its precious pos-

¹ J. Oswald Dykes, *Abraham, etc.* (1877), p. 257.

session, and have deceived with them twenty Christian centuries, and are likely to deceive twenty more before our boasted advancing light has corrected their error,—are greater than the difficulty of believing that we have no sure foundation for our faith and no certain warrant for our trust in Christ for salvation. We believe this doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures primarily because it is the doctrine which Christ and his apostles believed, and which they have taught us. It may sometimes seem difficult to take our stand frankly by the side of Christ and his apostles. It will always be found safe.

ARTICLE VI.

THE PROBABILITY OF FREEDOM: A CRITIQUE
OF SPINOZA'S DEMONSTRATION OF
NECESSITY.

BY PROFESSOR E. D. ROE, JR., OBERLIN, OHIO.

I.—FUNDAMENTAL AND REQUISITE POSITIONS OF SPINOZA.

FIRSTLY in this article will be examined some of the chief positions of Spinoza, which are fundamental, and requisite to the maintenance of his doctrine of necessity, or at least induced him thereto. The classification of these positions is not supposed to be logically mutually exclusive, as then, e. g., the first would include the second, the second the third, and similarly with others; but it has been adopted for the practical purpose of more clearly extending the refutation of demonstrated necessity, to divers aspects of its assumption by Spinoza, before giving the refutation of all such demonstrations in general.

§ 1. *Mathematical form.*—If necessity prevail, and be capable of proof, i. e., of being known by reason, it must be known either immediately, as being self-evident, as an axiom, or by being capable of being expressed in propositions whose validity is certified by this, that they are referred to, as, upon analysis, exemplifying instances of self-evident axioms. In other words, if there be a knowledge of necessity, the form of such knowledge must be that of self-evident cognition, or of logical deduction based upon self-evident cognition, or deductive knowledge. If it is desired to make practical employment of this conclusion of reason, so as to evolve a system of necessity for knowledge, it is necessary only to seek such a form, and inform it with a proper content. That is,

we need seek none other than the form of mathematics, especially of pure, or ancient geometry, as contradistinguished from analytic, or modern geometry. Ancient geometry furnishes exactly such a form in its native and ideal purity. It comprises only definitions, and axioms, constructed by the subject, and these not arbitrarily, but according to reason, and propositions, and conclusions, which issue therefrom by deduction. All these cannot contain more than has been previously introduced into the definitions, and axioms. But they must contain as much, and, since the latter have been constructed by reason, and are in the subject, as general, the propositions must also be universal, and necessary to the same. Conversely, with a mathematical form, and proper content, we obtain necessity. In other words: Given, necessity; it must have been obtained by a mathematical form; or, given, a mathematical form, and necessity must be obtained. But this necessity of knowing, always depends upon the very definitions, and axioms, which have been constructed by the subject; they have been constructed by, and are in, the subject, else no universality could result for such a subject. With respect to ontology, such definitions, axioms, and conceptions are purely hypothetical. The mathematician does not by any means know that a straight line objectively exists. In Euclidean space, he may imagine, and define his notion of it as the shortest distance between two points,¹ which he has in mind. The two points, as well as the whole form of space, and the relation between the two points, as a modification of space, designated as distance, are entire in his mind. Whether they are also external to it, he does not know. But he does know, that they must be *at least entire within it*, else he would not know them as he does. From

¹ This is rather a synthetic proposition *a priori*, and for a definition, the following may better suffice: A straight line is the locus of a point which moves so that it does not change its direction at any point, how far soever it moves.

this it begins to grow evident, that the necessity of knowing of necessitarianism would depend upon the necessity of the will having been introduced into definitions, axioms, and conceptions by reason, so as to be evolved from them, but that, as regards ontology, such necessity of the will would be hypothetical. For, while the subject would know, at least, that such knowledge is in his mind, and is something to be sure, he would not know, that, externally to his mind, there were any will, much less, whether it were necessitated. In other words, in order to know the necessity of the will, one would have to do just what he would not. He must destroy its ontological existence, and convert it into an idea; but now he knows not of the ontological will, or of its necessity, but simply of an idea of an ontological will, and an idea of an ontological necessity, and so he must be more unhappy than before.

It is hoped that the foregoing will render plain the first objection to Spinoza, regarding the inapplicability of mathematical form to prove ontological realities. It is *not* the object of mathematics to *prove* that straight lines exist. Mathematical necessity of knowledge must necessarily be known to be subjective at least, otherwise it could not be known to be necessary. It may be objective, but this cannot be known; but it must be known, if there is to be a necessity of its knowledge, i. e., a demonstration. The process of affirming that to be known which is not known, is called an assumption. Wherever mathematics is applied, it *does not prove*, but merely *assumes*, the ontological existence of its determinations. That which mathematics *proves*, is *subjective*, and not *ontological*; when applied, its objects are *assumed*.

Therefore, if the "Ethics" is a case of applied mathematics, its ontological realities must be assumed. If it is a case of pure mathematics, it must be wholly subjective. Besides these two, pure and applied mathematics, no other is conceivable. Either case, therefore, is fatal to the proof of

the ontological necessity of the will by mathematical proof. Otherwise stated, the proof of the ontological necessity of the will by mathematics, is either subjective (and *no proof of the ontological fact*) (pure mathematics), or ASSUMED (and *no proof of the ontological fact*) (applied mathematics). If the "Ethics" is neither pure nor applied mathematics, it must be either pure or applied knowledge, with precisely, and for the same reasons, identical results. This shows that by the form of mathematics, the ontological necessity of the will cannot be demonstrated.

§ 2. *Definitions and axioms.*—But to proceed farther, it must next be shown, that, respecting the content, Spinoza has failed to demonstrate a necessary knowledge of *even the idea* of ontological necessity, because the definitions, and axioms, upon which such demonstration is supposed to repose, are not constructed according to reason, so as to satisfy the formal criterion of self-evidency, i. e., are not immediately obligatory upon reason. Though it is not said that definitions are self-evident in mathematics, the definition nevertheless does not differ for different mathematicians; e. g., Euclidean straightness must be conceived by all alike, though it may not be explained by all in very identical words. This agreement of definition arises from the subjective construction of the same by, or according to, reason, whence its universality. Every one is not obliged to conceive of "substance," as he conceives of it, or of a "free cause," or of God. But the definition must be according to reason, so as to oblige itself upon *every reason*, if it is to form a constituent part of a demonstration, which, to be a demonstration, must be universal, and necessary. Again, as to the axioms, it may be questioned, whether they are all self-evident. There can be no question that one, and that the most important one, is an entire assumption, viz., that "a true idea must correspond with its ideate or object." Also that "the knowledge of an effect depends on, and involves the knowledge of a cause," does not

appear to be self-evident. This being the case, even any subjective necessity of knowledge of an idea of the ontological necessity of the will, which depends on them, becomes an assumption.

§ 3. *Definition of cause.*—In particular, the conception of cause, which Spinoza employs, is a source of necessitarianism. For a cause, to him, is that which comprehends (by knowledge) the effect. It is the reason of being, the *causa essendi*, whence the effect is unconditionally necessitated to be what it is. He does not recognize the notion of a *transcendent* cause, where the effect is supposed to be external to the cause. According to him, the son must, for knowledge, be comprehended in the father, and both in God, and then, since the ratio of things is the same as that of ideas, the son as a thing ought also to be in the father as a thing. However he could have managed to get outside of his father, is a great mystery. But it is insisted, that reason is not obliged with universality, to accept this conception (of Spinoza's) of cause, as the only conception of a cause. Hence its exclusive employment by Spinoza is an assumption, and the conclusions resulting therefrom are assumptions.

§ 4. *Parallelism of ideas with things.*—Since one is obliged to conceive of everything in nature as necessarily caused, whether it be so or not; and since Spinoza would declare, that to every idea there corresponds an object as conceived; and since the ratio of ideas is the same as that of things, the following theorem is easily obtained:—

The ratio of will to will is necessity, i. e., the will is necessitated. For, by hypothesis, the following proportion¹ is given:—

¹ What Spinoza means by a philosophic ratio is simply in general, relation. Thus the ratio of one event of volition, say will_m, to another such event, say will_n, is, as he would wish to prove, necessity; that is, the relation between the two events is one of necessity, or they are connected by the way of necessity. In mathematics, a proportion is defined as an equality of ratios.

$\frac{\text{idea}_m}{\text{idea}_n} = \frac{\text{thing}_m}{\text{thing}_n} = \text{necessity. But } \text{will}_m = \text{idea}_m.$

Therefore $\frac{\text{will}_m}{\text{will}_n} = \frac{\text{idea}_m}{\text{idea}_n} = \frac{\text{thing}_m}{\text{thing}_n} = \text{necessity. Q. E. D.}$

Now here are three assumptions:—

(1) That to every idea corresponds an object as conceived (§ 1).

(2) That $\frac{\text{idea}_m}{\text{idea}_n} = \frac{\text{thing}_m}{\text{thing}_n}$ (§ 1).

(3) That $\text{will}_m = \text{idea}_m$ (§ 5), whence, necessity, as so demonstrated, is compelled to retire from the sphere of pure mathematics, till a more convenient season.

§ 5. *Identity of will and intellect.*—That ontological will=idea, is an assumption, which also appears from § 1. If Spinoza wishes to deny ontological will, so as to declare will=idea, he cannot do it, for there must be an ontological will corresponding to the idea thereof, i. e., a thing, since to every idea there corresponds an object, and, as will=idea, therefore for him, there must be an ontological will. That the idea of a will=idea, is an analytical proposition; whence by proving the subjective necessity of the idea of such a will, which it is denied he has done, he could assume the objective necessity of an ontological will, which would accordingly be mere assumption. But this is not what he means. By will=idea he means, the particular volition contained in an idea is identical with that idea. Now that ideas are necessarily determined, depends upon the definitions of substance, God, a free cause, and the assumption of an infinite series of necessarily determined ideas, the totality of which is therefore assumption. To the proof that will is identical with idea, it must be objected:—

(1) What is proved, if it be proved, is proved only of a particular idea,¹ and in mathematics conclusion is never made to a general proof from a particular, even though that particular “be selected at random,” but a general proof is ob-

¹ Ethics, Pt. ii. prop. xlix.

tained only by a general proof, i. e., by making the conceptions with which the reasoning is commenced, general at the start. Selecting some particular hyperbola at random, and proving certain properties of it, is not the criterion of generality of proof for hyperbolas. Imagine a mathematician, who should publish demonstrations for all conic sections, founded on the principle of "selecting a few particular" conic sections, "at random"!

(2) Having ostensibly selected the idea "at random," Spinoza's hand takes hold of a speculative idea, very much, one is tempted to suspect, as the polite Frenchman at the table, who surveys with one *coup d'œil* the plate of oranges before him, and as soon as his eye has sighted the best one, and having made sure of his aim, he turns his head to utter a *bon mot* to his friend, while he nonchalantly puts forth his hand, and takes it with unerring precision, but without exciting the least suspicion; which is very unlike his crude but more honest American cousin, who, upon the presentation of the plate, immediately darts forth his hand, hesitates, wavers, and fluctuates, accompanying the mental process with the motions of his hand, and not removing his eyes and attention from the oranges until he has completed the requisite process of thought, and brought the best one home; then he speaks his "good word" to his friend, to divert the latter's attention from what he has done. There is nothing like gracefulness, and skill. Now Spinoza selects one of the nicest speculative ideas¹ on the plate, a speculative idea being best, in fact quite necessary for his purpose, inasmuch as in it, *in itself, no practical action* is involved, and therefore *none of that* which his opponents understand to be will, and would consequently like to call to his notice. They would like to

¹ Ethics, Pt. ii. prop. xlix. The case "selected at random" by Spinoza is the proposition, that the three interior angles of a plane triangle are together equal to two right angles, where triangularity *necessitates* the proposition, and conversely.

choose "at random" some "*practical action*," in the experience of life, and have him explain the same. A pure speculative idea, by hypothesis, involves *no practical action at all*. It is a pure thought. Certainly it is *necessary* to think it, if it is according to reason, as is Spinoza's example, and hence, if the synthesis in thought is will, the will or synthesis is necessitated.

(3) But it must be objected once more, that this designation of synthesis in *a priori* cognition according to reason, as will, and the limitation of will to this is simply Spinoza's own definition, and, unless it be obligatory by reason upon all, is an assumption, and wherever it is concerned in a demonstration, such demonstration in so far as dependent upon it, must be an assumption.

(4) It must also be noticed, that Spinoza does not confine himself to this notion of will, but inconsistently employs the term in reference to *practical action*.

§ 6. *Absolute unity*.—The assumption of absolute unity seems for Spinoza to have involved necessity, though it does not seem that it necessarily should, i. e., it does not seem contradictory to reason, though it is incomprehensible to reason, that the will should be free while absolute unity exists. It is impossible for reason to obtain a conception of this, simply because reason is not the absolute; reason knows that it is limited, and that it does not know everything. And, where reason does not know, it certainly is unwarranted in affirming that the matter is contradictory to it. For, in order to know that a matter is contradictory to it, it must *know* that matter, and then it is warranted in affirming agreement, or contradiction with itself of the matter. But to know an absolute, or an absolute knowledge, would be to convert the absolute into itself, or its own knowledge, which it does not know to be quantitatively absolute. However it may know what an absolute, and what an absolute knowledge, is not, if itself is not the absolute. This matter is concerned with the

“divine foreknowledge,” as not contradicting reason; i. e., a finite will can be free to choose one or the other of two motives, and yet its determinations be so “foreknown” by God, that his course is “known to him from eternity,” and is consequently a unity to him, and unlimited, except as he limits himself. How he has limited himself, and yet the finite is not thereby determined, reason cannot conceive, because, in attempting it, reason is obliged to construct him (whence by the very construction it is not he, but a mere construction of reason), and determine all his knowledge according to its own, which, as just said, it cannot know to be absolute.

Reason can at most show that such an assumption, though incomprehensible, *is not contradictory to itself*, and therefore *can be a rational object of belief*. Reason, as being conditioned, furnishes necessarily a process (in, and concerning, determinations of time, and space), which (it is here offered as an hypothesis) is exactly the reverse of that which conditions it, else a condition is otherwise no condition. For in that one is conditioned, it is implied that another is capable of conditioning, and this other cannot be conditioned in the same particular as the conditioned, otherwise it is not the conditioning, but the conditioned. The conditioned therefore cannot be, and be the conditioned one, but as being the conditioned by a conditioning one, which is capable of applying to the conditioned, and consequently itself free from, the condition of the conditioned one. Thus, if relative knowledge cognizes some phenomena successively, absolute knowledge cognizes all phenomena instantaneously. If relative knowledge proceeds from particulars to synthesize a unity, absolute knowledge must proceed from a unity to analyze particulars. The process of the categories is, and must ever be, valid for us, as affording a relative result (but not for the process of absolute knowledge as affording an absolute datum), and must therefore afford perfectly valid grounds for practical action in reference to (such) relative knowledge. But

the process of the categories does not possess validity, as being the distinctive process of absolute knowledge, though the latter may comprehend them. Therefore, that knowledge (to reason) is only possible by the "synthesis of the manifold into the unity of apperception," or, that knowledge *a priori* (to reason), of a contingent event is impossible, is in no wise a condition of the distinctive process of absolute knowledge. The latter, *as conditioning reason, is free from the condition, which it applies to reason.* It proceeds by a process the reverse of that of reason.

Accordingly, it might be objected, this conclusion is valid: It is impossible to reason, that two and two should be otherwise than four, but to absolute knowledge, it is possible for it to be otherwise, e. g., five. This objection, it is replied, is manifestly irrelevant, since the two former propositions both concern the process, and not the result of reason, the first stating the only process (synthesis, through successive determinations in time) by means of which it is possible for reason to know anything; the second stating what is obviously simply a consequence of the subjection of reason to this process, viz., that reason cannot perform a synthesis until each of the determinations in time of that synthesis is fulfilled, or presented in intuition. The latter proposition, as it is presented, concerns, however, a result of reason, and not the process by which it was attained, and essentially the correctness of that result, which, to employ a term that would be proper with reference to absolute knowledge, is a datum of absolute knowledge. For there is no difference with regard to our practical aspect to this result, datum, or truth, if it be declared that $2 + 2 = 4$, or that $4 = 2 + 2$. However, the former represents the necessary process in the attaining, as Kant has so exquisitely shown, and is the result of the process, of reason, while the latter is the datum (at once), and represents the process of absolute knowledge. Reason cannot know four units, except by the successive synthesis of

four units in time. It cannot know that $2+2=4$, except by the successive synthesis of two units successively, with the successive synthesis of two other units in time ($(1+1)+(1+1)=4$). One is one time, one moment, one unit of time, one determination of time, or one condition of time. Four is four times, four moments, four units of time, four determinations of time, or four conditions of time. Absolute knowledge would instantly perceive four units, and the analysis of two constituent units, with two other constituent units of four units; ($4=(1+1)+(1+1)$) i. e., the absolute would perceive that four conditions altogether involve four single conditions, or two of two double conditions, nor could the absolute perceive that four conditions are equal to five single conditions of the same kind, or that two of two double conditions, which are equal to four conditions, are equal to five conditions, or that $2+2=5$, for *then they would not be four conditions for reason, but five conditions*, as is shown by the equation. Hence $2+2$ is not 5, but $2+2+1=5$. This is mathematically expressed by saying that absolute knowledge could not perceive that four units are equal to five units of the same standard of unity.

The question as to whether $2+2$ may not equal 5, is finally equivalent to asking the question, if a condition *is applied*, may it not be that it is not applied? and that another one is applied in its stead? Which is not far short for witticism of the inquiry of the middle ages, as to "chimeras dining on second intentions in a vacuum," only the inquirers here seem to be unconscious of the little pleasantry contained in their question.

The whole form of time is a condition; particular determinations of time are particular conditions. $2+2=4$, expresses the condition for intelligence that is not absolute, of *going through four units of time*, before arriving at four units. Only the absolute is free from the condition of time, therefore for all intelligent beings, the conditions which he

applies, must be the conditions which he applies. Hence for all intelligence whatsoever, absolute or relative, $2 + 2 = 4$.

$2 + 2 = 4$, and $4 = 2 + 2$, are identical then with respect to our practical aspect toward them, but the reversal of their respective terms, theoretically characterizes that reversal in methods, which distinguish finite and infinite; relative and absolute knowledge; reason and God. Absolute knowledge is only possible, by the analysis of the unity of intuition into the manifold of apperception, and knowledge (to absolute knowledge) *a priori* (or what would be *a priori* from the standpoint of reason), of a contingent event is possible. The very process by which reason is conditioned by the conditioning (absolute knowledge), renders it impossible for reason to know, except by synthesis, and therefore, except by moments of determination in time; consequently the impossibility of reason knowing *a priori*, whether or not a contingent event will occur at a determinate time. For, the process, synthesis, to which reason is inexorably subjected, cannot be performed with absolute certainty, until the event does, or does not, transpire at that determinate time. On the other hand, absolute knowledge, being with reference to no limitations of time, and space, free from the necessity of acting on the condition, which it applies to reason, possessing an analysis of absolute knowledge, intuits the event entirely *a priori*.

Thus it appears that relative and absolute knowledge are identical as regards their result, so far as reason has actually attained a result, but opposite as regards their distinctive process. Though each knows the process, as process, of the other, what is distinctive in one as process is only subsidiary in the other. Relative knowledge is as valid, at least in the sphere of pure mathematics and pure metaphysics, to the extent to which it proceeds, as absolute knowledge. The only difference is that relative knowledge is still relative, i. e., in extent; it is limited by absolute knowledge. Indeed

the difference is only a difference in the quantity and in the process of each. The process of the categories is not valid for the process of absolute knowledge. The results of each are identical, the difference being only one of quantity, and not of quality.

Herein then consists an explanation of the antinomy of the supposed contradiction between relative and absolute knowledge, the contradiction being one, not of results, but of processes. By this exposition, one is taught to distinguish between that which contradicts the process of reason, and that which contradicts the result of reason. That which contradicts (proceeds in a manner opposite to) the process of reason, does not therefore necessarily contradict the result of reason. Nothing is more familiar than the same result being obtained by entirely opposite processes. Conversely the lower result of reason does not contradict the higher, and *now* incomprehensible result of the opposite process, when it refers to a time which is yet future for reason. The instructor may understand the whole of the calculus, and he can express results which the reason of his pupil does not comprehend at all. But for that very reason, the pupil *does not know*, whether these results contradict his reason or not. He must go on making the syntheses in time, until, *at a future time*, he arrives at the judgments expressed by his instructor. Then he *can know*, whether or not they contradict his reason.

By the deficiency of this distinction, much reproach has been cast upon the doctrine of the "divine foreknowledge." It has been asserted without much discernment, that this doctrine is contradictory to reason. Whereas, the exposition here presented, shows that *a priori*, at least, it is in no proper sense contradictory to the result of reason, since reason, by its own hypothesis, *has no result upon the matter*. Consequently it cannot declare that the result of the higher process is contradictory to its own, having none of its own to contradict. The most that reason can affirm *a priori*, is en-

tire nescience concerning the fact, and the fact can only become contradictory to reason, *a posteriori*.

§ 7. *Theological necessity*.—Spinoza finds farther reason for necessity, in what may be termed theological necessity. He claims:—

God is not free in the libertarian significance:—

(1) Because he would thereby have no power over a portion of the objects over which he has power.

(2) Because final cause would impute imperfection, and want to him.

(3) Because God might then change his decrees.

It may be replied:—

(1) *In the necessarian signification of choice*, God would have no power over the objects which he should not create. But evidently the result of an argument is \circ , which first imputes necessity to freedom, in order then to affirm that freedom has no freedom, but only necessity. By the libertarian signification of choice *is not meant necessity*, but power to realize either one or the other, i. e., *power over both*.

(2) God in so far as he is finite, ought to be imperfect and in want. Final cause derives much of its significance, perhaps it cannot be said all of its significance, from time, to which the finite is necessarily subject. But the conditions of God as finite must not be imposed upon God as infinite. From its subjection to the form of time, the finite is in want. It sees an object in the future yet unpossessed. But finite categories must not be imputed to God as infinite. Being not subject to time or space, he possesses the object, and if the finite is in an attitude of want, God from whom time, and space, and consequently the conditions of deficiency, are removed, cannot at least be subject to deficiency, whatever his attitude may be. It cannot make the last first, and the first last, for last and first only possess significance with respect to time.

(3) Here again Spinoza appears to be imputing neces-

sity to libertarianism, and then libertarianism to necessity, and then declaring that the necessity so obtained differs from the pure and perfect necessity with which he commenced, so as to be very incongruous. In fact, it now deviates so much from the given standard necessity, perfect by assumption, that it is very far from the path of rectitude, all of which kind of argument is also = 0.

II.—IMPOSSIBILITY OF SPECULATIVE PROOF OF EITHER HYPOTHESIS OF NECESSITY, OR FREEDOM.

In the "Vocation of Man," Fichte has shown this, in that we do not immediately know the will as an ontological reality. What we do know, is the idea of the will, which is composed according to a law of thought. A reality corresponding to such composition may exist, but it evidently cannot be known, though the subjective idea is possessed, and known. By this he saw himself delivered from the terrors of an iron-bound necessity, imposed upon him from without by nature. For all necessity, and all nature, similarly to the ego, is, at least, one's own creation. Whence one cannot know that he is in reality, subject to an external necessity. Similarly he cannot know that he is in reality free. It is believed that the same has been shown, in the first section of the first division of this article, or at least now to make that refutation applicable to the freedom of the will, it is only necessary to substitute the freedom of the will for its necessity. And in order to make that refutation general, as to the impossibility of demonstration of ontological realities in general, it is only necessary to consider the effect of knowing any ontological reality. In order to know any ontological reality, its ontological reality must be destroyed, and the very reality must become converted into a pure idea, i. e., no ontological reality can be known.

Reason having here reached the limit of its powers, and having made this humble confession, in what follows, it will

be considered what it farther becomes human reason modestly to attempt, in view of its position. A criterion of probability will be sought, and an endeavor will be made to construct it according to principles of reason.

III.—CRITERION OF PROBABILITY.

That will be called impossible which is contradictory to reason, and that possible which does not contradict reason, e. g., either necessity, or freedom is possible. An endeavor must be made to avoid confounding what is incomprehensible, with what is contradictory to reason. This is really the distinction of possible, and impossible. But that will be called probable which best enables speculative reason to be harmonized with practical reason. In that, faith will be exercised, i. e., it will be *practically* trusted, that that is, which is not *speculatively* known to be; i. e., its ontological existence will be practically assumed.

IV.—CONSIDERATIONS IN FAVOR OF THE PROBABILITY OF THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL.

The remainder of this article will be devoted to exhibiting the practical application of the preceding criterion to some of the chief data, for which a satisfactory hypothesis is desired.

§ 1. *Moral obligation.*—By freedom is not meant absolute freedom to do anything, but freedom of choice according to, or against, a universal law, contained *a priori* at least in reason, and it is believed here also externally to reason, a law which reason therefore at least imposes upon itself. In other words, the concept of duty and freedom is only possible under the concept of autonomy, and not of heteronomy, at least. This law presupposes the freedom of the will, for without its freedom, (1) oughtness, (2) responsibility, and (3) repentance, would possess no significance. Every one, as the necessarians admit, acts under the idea of freedom. Their

hypothesis to explain this is, that the subject acts under illusion (necessary illusion of course). But here an hypothesis is required to explain the hypothesis. *Why if necessity is the truth, is the subject necessitated to believe falsity?* A very strange *truth* it is, which *necessitates* itself to be *disbelieved!* It would look as if this is a *reductio ad absurdum*, and so it *practically* is, by the application of the criterion of probability. The hypothesis of freedom, it is held, here satisfies, and harmonizes best, practical and speculative reason. Otherwise what a fantastic spectacle is presented to us! Men are compelled to believe themselves free, to hold themselves responsible, to weep over their sins, to cry out to the powers above for forgiveness, when the powers above are coldly smiling to themselves, and saying: "Foolish, deluded mortals, you; sport and jest of our determinism; we have created you to live a life of illusion. We buffet you about in the dust as we please. There is no such thing as the God of love, mercy, and forgiveness, in whom you believe. There is no universe of love, of moral and of speculative beauty, and order. What is reason? Bah! Reason is an illusion. What is your destiny? That is none of your business. Yes! We are mad, as you are necessitated, in your whimsiness, to think of madness, harsh, unfeeling, and frigid. Ha! Ha! Poor mortals! But we will torture you though." And whack! come down the blows of the lash of fatalism upon the poor mortal, who groans and writhes under them, condemning himself for the whole, and praying piteously for forgiveness.

Yes, from the very nature of reason, this is *possible* according to reason, but *not probable*. And we shall not believe in an insane, but in a sane universe. If oughtness, responsibility, and repentance are illusions, then morality, virtue, chastity, and purity must depart. And if men wish to indulge in respectable or gilded iniquity, which is the most undermining to society, let them indulge. They should simply know that they cannot help it, and not care anything

about it. They ought to (must, in a mechanical sense) do so, if the motives are strong enough.

§ 2. *Avoidance of pessimism and gnosticism.*—But now after all to put a more charitable interpretation on the doctrine of necessity, and behold the *goodness* of God as displayed in it. If necessity prevail, whatever happens is best. Let it be considered from the standpoint of Spinoza's system. If, e. g., God as finite quarrels with God as finite, mangles and murders God as finite, it is the very best thing that can possibly be done under the circumstances, and the man who does it, is, of course, as perfect as God can make him; and in order to take delight in the matter, we have only to recognize the goodness of God in the whole affair. But alas! we cannot take delight in it, we cannot recognize any goodness in it at all. Judgments arise in theoretical reason that "these things ought not so to be," that it ought not so to have been at all. Also these judgments are right because necessitated. But they contradict the judgment that the murder is right. Hence, as is shown by Professor James, our only alternatives are pessimism, gnosticism,¹ or the hypothesis of freedom, virtue, chastity, purity, duty, and holiness. It must be confessed that the criterion of probability will decide for the latter.

¹ As Professor James styles it, viz., "justifying the murder by the goose flesh it excites in us," as a means of intensifying our consciousness of the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," in which case the end of destiny is to obtain a knowledge of evil by the loss of good, and sensualism is to become the means for its attainment, while all morality, right and wrong, responsibility and retributive justice, disappear. "Once dismiss," says Professor James, in describing the consequences of gnosticism, "the notion that certain duties are good in themselves, and that we are here to do them, no matter how we feel about them; once consecrate the opposite notion that our performances and violations of duty are for a common purpose, the attainment of subjective knowledge, and feeling, and that the deepening of this is the chief end of our lives, and at what point on the downward slope are we to stop? In theology subjectivism [gnosticism] develops as its 'left wing' antinomianism. In literature its 'left wing' is romanticism. And in practical life, it is either a nerveless sentimentality, or a sensualism without bounds."

§ 3. *Immortality and God.*—If the moral law require fulfilment, it must be possible to fulfil it. What are the conditions requisite for its fulfilment? They are, as Kant has shown us,—

(1) The freedom of the will.

(2) But as perfection is required, and is unattainable in a finite time, an infinite time, or immortality, is required.

(3) As a voucher and agent to fulfil the volitions of the finite will, God, who wills that the volitions of the finite will shall be realized, is required.

And all of these satisfy the demands of the criterion of probability, and offer, it is believed, a system for the exercise of harmonious and rational faith.

ARTICLE VII.

THE OUTLOOK FOR ISLAM.

BY THE REV. D. L. LEONARD, OBERLIN, OHIO.

IF asked to name the three organized religious forces which constitute the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the prince of evil upon earth, the mightiest antagonists of Christianity, with which the fight for mastery bids fair to be fiercest and longest, one need not hesitate to answer, Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and Confucianism. And the system founded by the Arabian "prophet" is full as likely as either of the other two to endure for centuries, and maintain to the end a sturdy and desperate resistance to the gospel. Compared with the struggle certain to be required to conquer this triad of errors and iniquities, how insignificant the task of evangelizing all the world besides, including Japan, the Islands of the Sea, and even Africa with its measureless mass of degradation and savagery.

The relations existing between the Cross and the Crescent are peculiar and most intimate. These two forms of faith and practice had their origin in Southwestern Asia in regions adjacent and as closely connected as Palestine and Arabia, while their founders and early propagators were close kindred of the great Semitic race. At many points they have not a little in common, holding certain great names in highest honor and reverence, cherishing the same religious traditions, and even agreeing upon a few fundamental doctrines. Nor does it approach to slander to affirm that, in a general way, Islam is largely but a gross heretical perversion of the gospel. Still further, these two antagonistic systems have

dwelt side by side from the first, engaged in strife unceasing and irrepressible, with victory inclining sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. More than once, and for generations together, it has looked as though the Moslem would prove himself more than a match for the Christian, and would master the whole civilized world. It was six centuries after the ministry of Jesus ended before Mohammed began to teach, and three centuries after the Roman Empire by imperial proclamation had been made Christian. But immediately, through the cogent persuasion of the sword, his ideas and the acknowledgment of his claims began to spread like wild-fire in every direction, until his dominion extended from the Caspian on the east to the Atlantic on the west.

Egypt was invaded by the fiery zealots of Islam as early as 641, nor was any force available able to withstand their impetuous onset. Before the end of the century the Arabs were in supreme power upon the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean. In 711 they crossed to Spain, and soon were masters in that peninsula. In 731 they pierced the Pyrenees, though only to meet with most humiliating and overwhelming defeat at Tours the next year under the crushing blows of Charles the Hammer. On that joyful day for Christendom the threatening tide of Moslem conquest reached its flood in Western Europe, though eight dreary centuries were destined to roll away before complete deliverance was vouchsafed to Spain. Meantime in the East the soul of the Prophet was "marching on." Jerusalem and Damascus accepted the Koran under compulsion as early as 637. Within that generation the Abassides had laid the solid foundations of glory and power upon the Tigris, with Bagdad as the seat of empire, with the distant Oxus as the eastern border, and with Haroun al Rashid among famous caliphs. About 1000 A. D. the Afghan conqueror, Mahmoud of Ghanzi, pierced the Khyber Pass with his legions, made no less than twelve campaigns in the valleys of the Indus and the Gan-

ges, and thus established Mohammedan dominion in that vast peninsula, which reached its culmination under the Great Mogul, Aurangzeb (1658–1707). When the Holy City fell into Moslem hands a terrible life-and-death struggle commenced with the Eastern Empire, which with occasional truces lasted eight hundred years, and ended with the capture of Constantinople in 1453, and the annihilation of the Christian party in the momentous and protracted duel between religions. The advent of the semi-savage Turks upon the scene added to the fierceness of the conflict and, through the Crusades resulting, involved all the foremost nations of Europe. The Bosphorus was crossed by these redoubtable foes of the Cross as early as 1360. With incredible ardor and enterprise they continued to press westward and northward, adding one province after another to their domain, their fleets meantime sweeping the Mediterranean, and filled all Christendom with terror; nor was an effectual check administered to their ambition, until their fleet was well-nigh annihilated by Don John of Austria in 1571 at Lepanto, and much more in 1683, when the hosts of Mohammed IV. were utterly routed by John Sobieski under the walls of Vienna. This irreparable disaster to Moslem schemes was to Eastern Europe what the similar one at Tours had been to Western Europe nearly a thousand years before. For two centuries, as a military power, and as against Christian nations, Mohammedanism has kept itself wholly in the attitude of defence. But abundance of vitality and aggressive force still survive. In various extensive regions its propaganda is in vigorous and successful operation, and in the main is content to resort to weapons less material than the sword.

When the Crescent had triumphed everywhere in North Africa from the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, the faithful presently turned their faces toward the Sahara, unappalled by the spectacle of its dread wastes. From that day to this, as traders and slave-stealers, in caravans they have

been continually crossing the desert back and forth, as well as entering the interior from the Red Sea, and wherever they have gone acting always as fervid emissaries of their faith. And at length it has come to this, that the creed and practice of the Koran largely prevail on the West Coast, in the Niger basin and the region around Lake Chad, and throughout the entire Soudan; that is, over a broad area which stretches across the continent, nearly 5000 miles, from Cape Verde to Cape Guardafui, and where the bulk of the population of Africa is massed. The Congo Free State contains thousands who pray facing towards Mecca, though the equator may be taken as approximately the southern limit of Islam, and it must be remembered that as we leave the Sahara behind and approach this line, faith and obedience are more and more only a veneer, or a mere varnish, and more and more the original fetishism of the savage tribes asserts itself. On the eastern side mountainous Abyssinia stands an impregnable fortress, but beyond it in the valley of the Upper Nile, and in the region of the great lakes, Mohammedanism is present in power, as the activity of the Arab slave-stealers and the recent troubles in Uganda abundantly testify. Long before the Portuguese made their advent upon the East Coast, Moslem settlements existed at Zanzibar and Mozambique, and are to be found to-day within the limits of Cape Colony.

It was in the early centuries that venturesome Arab merchants found their way through the Straits of Malacca and to the seaports of the Celestial Empire for the purpose of trade and settlement, while others of the faithful, bent on the same errand, pushed their journey over mountains and deserts, fixing themselves in the western and northern portions. Not less than 200,000 are said to dwell in Peking, they form a large fraction of the population in several of the principal cities, and in two or three provinces are so numerous as to aim at political control. In Kan-suh, in 1855-72, they were strong enough to maintain a rebellion which was

only put down at immense cost of life and treasure. Several excellent authorities estimate the Moslems in China at 30,000,000, though others would diminish this number by at least one-half. In early days also the followers of the false prophet made their appearance in the Malay Peninsula, and since have spread throughout the East Indies and the Spanish islands in the same waters, and constitute a large element which steadily increases by conversion. One-half of the 22,000,000 of Java are set down as Mohammedans, 2,000,000 in Sumatra and 4,000,000 in the Philippines, and from this remote region every year thousands make devout pilgrimage to Mecca.

It requires a vivid imagination to grasp the amazing territorial spread of Islam. Excepting Christianity, no other religion can compare with it for area covered. Consider these figures as helping to a mastery of the stupendous fact. "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," is a confession of faith often on the lips of thousands at every point from Senegambia across the entire enormous breadth of the Eastern Hemisphere, through 140 degrees of longitude, 9000 miles, to the Yellow Sea, and from the Great Wall and the Black Sea almost to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope; that is, from forty degrees north latitude to thirty south, a distance of 5000 miles! The teachings of the Koran are a factor in the religious life of the southern half of Asia scarcely second to any other for potency, while over at least three-fifths of Africa their influence is unapproached by that of any other man or book. In endeavoring to gain a knowledge of the number of Moslems we are compelled to depend mainly upon estimates, since, outside of India, census tables are not to be had. And it is in reference to the Dark Continent, whose populous interior is so little known, that the guesses of the statisticians differ most widely. Thus, Dr. C. N. Cust is of the opinion that more than half the population of Africa is Mohammedan, while others conclude that one-third is more

likely to be the correct statement of the existing proportion. The following table is offered as furnishing at least an approach to the probable facts in the case:—

India	57,000,000.
Turkey in Asia.....	22,000,000.
Malaysia.....	20,000,000.
China.....	15,000,000.
Persia.....	8,000,000.
Russia in Asia.....	7,000,000.
Afghanistan.....	4,000,000.
Total, Asia.....	133,000,000.
Central Africa.....	50,000,000.
Northern Africa.....	15,000,000.
Scattering.....	5,000,000.
Total, Africa.....	70,000,000.
Russia.....	2,600,000.
Turkey in Europe.....	2,200,000.
Bulgaria.....	670,000.
Other States.....	600,000.
Total, Europe.....	6,000,000.
Total Mohammedans.....	209,000,000.
Total Hindus.....	208,000,000.
Total Confucianists... ..	350,000,000.
Total Christians.....	400,000,000.

It has already appeared that, as to territorial extent and political power, Islam has long since passed its palmy days. Serious losses have been suffered, and for generations steady decline has been in progress, until the Sultan especially is the "sick man" indeed. Early in this century Greece gained her independence, and since then various other important provinces lying upon the northern and western border have been lost. The "unspeakable Turk" exists in Europe only upon sufferance, and is liable almost any day to be utterly expelled. Arabia was never thoroughly conquered, the bulk of the population in the interior care little for the mandates of the ruler on the Bosphorus, and only the parts adjacent to the Red Sea can be considered subject to his rule. Egypt practically threw off the Turkish yoke under the lead of Me-

hemet Ali some fifty years since, and now British influence is supreme upon the Nile. Algeria is a French dependency, and all the signs of the times unite to make it evident that ere long European "protectorates" and "spheres of influence" will include every region and tribe from Cape Blanco to Cape Town. Still further, England is firmly enthroned as successor to the Great Mogul in the magnificent peninsula which holds much the largest united mass of Moslems in the world, while in the charming region of the Spice Islands the Netherlands sway the sceptre. Only four considerable countries—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Morocco—can be named, which in the strict sense are to be classed as Mohammedan, and these together cover but a paltry 2,000,000 square miles, which also are largely desert.

But if we turn to statistics of population, or to the religious aspects of the case, there is far less to inspire courage and hope. No past generation ever contained so many followers of the false prophet as are alive to-day. Not only are they constantly increasing under the operation of natural causes, but in India under the *pax Britannica* they multiply more rapidly, and, especially in the East Indies and Central Africa, conversions are continually occurring. Furthermore, abundance of vitality, and vigor, and aggressive energy still survive in this pernicious system. Islam remains the same proud, haughty, and uncompromising foe as aforesaid. The "infidel" is still regarded with a mixture of hatred and contempt. As yet Christianity has accomplished little towards recovering the precious possessions which, twelve long centuries since, by bloody violence were wrested from her grasp. No serious inroads have been made, no distinguished victories have been won. All the sacred places of our faith continue in alien and hostile hands. The Mohammedan heart is flinty and obdurate almost beyond any other. In spite of divers solemn pledges and edicts, under which perfect impunity is secured to all who would change their religious faith,

it yet remains that to all intents and purposes to dare to become a "Christian dog" is to sign one's death-warrant. Within a few months in Persia, with a liberal-minded Shah as ruler, a solemn warning has been given to the missionaries that expulsion from the realm will be the penalty for endeavoring to evangelize a "true believer." Fanaticism which is easily stirred to frenzy, and mob violence, and murder, is present in almost any thoroughly Moslem community. Cairo is the seat of a great university with a numerous company of "teachers," and some 10,000 "students" who are gathered from all quarters near and remote, are drilled mercilessly in all the precepts and performances of their faith, and then, overflowing with ardor and reckless zeal, are sent north, south, east, or west, to make proselytes and gain Paradise. Either Buddhism, or Brahmanism, or Confucianism, or even fetishism when coupled with grossest savagery, is easier to meet and master than this marvellous compound of truth and most subtle and mischievous error.

But even the religious aspect of things is not altogether discouraging. To this great threatening storm-cloud there is a silver lining. Several considerations are worthy of mention. It has already been suggested that divers hostile and irresistible political influences are making havoc of numerous ideas and methods which are fundamental to Islam. According to the Koranic conception, church and state, or religion and civil government, are one and inseparable, distinctions with scarcely a difference, only dissimilar forms of the same substance. Once it was so that the faithful everywhere were under the stern and pitiless rule of the sword. But in these degenerate days it has come to pass that a majority of Mohammedans are subject to Christian rulers, while not even in Turkey can the dread potentate do at all as he would with his own. Of Russia he stands in mortal fear, while upon England and other European powers he depends for support, without which his dominion would speedily sink to irretrievable

ruin. It is worth while to take particular note how generally this religion has passed altogether out from under the civil jurisdiction of its adherents. Some 70,000,000 Moslems are amenable to British law, 20,000,000 more yield to the mastery of the Netherlands, 9,500,000 to that of Russia, 4,000,000 to France, as many to Spain, and enough in addition to Portugal, etc., to make an aggregate of upwards of 100,000,000. After these there are about 50,000,000 whose rulers are either pagan, like China, or else are only semi-Mohammedan. Not more than 50,000,000 remain for the dominion of the orthodox Sultan, Shah, Ameer, and the like, and all these magnates are now sadly "cabin'd, cribb'd, and confin'd." In particular, it will be seen that to the Anglo-Saxon has fallen the lion's share of the vast possessions bequeathed by the famous Arabian reformer and seer. The Rev. H. H. Jessup¹ reminds us that, "widely extended as is the Mohammedan religion, it is completely encircled by Anglo-Saxon, Christian, political and civil influence."

In this connection it cannot but be counted a most remarkable providence that, far back at the very beginning, this mightiest force for the destruction of Islam began to be fashioned. How strange that when the future prophet was a lad of fifteen (596), Augustine and his forty monks crossed over into Britain, bent on the conversion of the pagan Saxons. While in the East Omar and Othman, Saladin, Solyman and the others, were engaged in smiting the infidels hip and thigh, and essaying to compel the universal acceptance of their creed, in a little island at the extreme northwest of creation a nation was slowly "mewing its mighty youth," and coming to a consciousness of its tremendous mission. Not to multiply parallels, Mahmoud of Ghanzi died about the time William of Normandy was born, and soon after the latter gained the battle of Hastings the Turks conquered Asia Minor. Elizabeth was a contemporary of Akbar, and while his successors were

¹ The Mohammedan Missionary Problem, p. 78.

enlarging the bounds of their empire in Bengal and the Decan, the East India Company, all unconscious of its destiny, was busy opening factories about Bombay and Madras, and on the Hoogley. William III. came to the throne of England while Aurangzebe was at the summit of his glory and power, while it was in the utter chaos which attended the dissolution of his empire that Clive, Hastings, and Dalhousie found their peerless opportunity to found a British Empire in the Orient—rather it was thus that the necessity was thrust upon them of annexing province after province until, from the Indus to the Irawadi, from the “Home of Snow” to Cape Comorin, the whole land was possessed. And it was far more from this same force of circumstances, than from settled public policy, or deep-laid plan, that England times by the score has meddled effectually with Mohammedanism, by turns restraining and impelling, rebuking, threatening and chastising. As in the Crimean war, and in Egypt within a decade. Or take, as a fine illustration, the noble and weighty doings of Stratford de Redcliffe in Constantinople, 1805–52. Macaulay affirmed that “English valor, and English intelligence, have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth of the confidence which is produced by the ‘Yea, yea,’ and ‘Nay, nay,’ of a British envoy.” And Mr. Jessup declares¹ that “this advantage the English enjoy to-day to a tenfold greater degree. Wherever an Englishman or an American may travel among Mohammedans (for they call both Angliz, as having the same language and religion) he will be received throughout the Turkish Empire with a friendly welcome and hospitality.” And further: “Another fact which has increased the confidence of Mohammedans in Syria in the Angliz has been the residence among them of that noblest style and stamp of man, the British Christian merchant. More potent

¹ Missionary Problem, p. 81.

than the sermons or the tracts of missionaries has been the silent influence of this class, who in the temptations of trade, the crookedness, duplicity, and corruptness of native merchants and officials, have maintained their integrity untarnished, until the highest and most sacred oath a Moslem can swear, even above the oath by the beard of the Prophet, is *by the word of an Englishman!*"

But, in the inquiry concerning the outlook for Islam, how about the results of direct evangelizing work? In any considerable measure has the gospel proved itself to be the power of God in the overthrow of this arch-enemy of righteousness throughout the Orient? Two or three forms of statement will give the substance of a satisfactory reply. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that this is a most stony and barren field, the difficulties are peculiar, manifold, numerous, and exceeding great, and hence too much must not be expected. Though in recent years in almost every land barriers to the entrance of Christianity have removed in a most wondrous way, so that open doors are abundant, yet here is a vast realm which remains barred against the gospel, and at least at most points is intangible and inaccessible. For example, the Soudan with its 50,000,000 is yet *terra incognita*, and, when explored and entered, the deadly climate must be endured. As for the four countries which are strictly Mohammedan, there to reject the Koran and accept the Word of God is to become rebel, traitor, outcast, outlaw, all in one; is to endure the loss of friends and goods, if not also of life. Or, if the law does not inflict imprisonment or capital punishment, the populace is certain to make life intolerable. The Turk is cruel and implacable, and the Arab, wild son of the desert, is extremely intolerant, and in his religious prejudices most intense and passionate. In India a large fraction of the faithful dwell in native states, whose rulers are Moslems, and where British restraint is limited and only partially felt. Everywhere polygamy and slavery are allowed, as well as di-

vers fleshly lusts dear to the natural heart. Moreover, for twelve hundred years Islam has been in most intimate contact with forms of Christianity exceedingly corrupt, and utterly lacking in spiritual power. The various sects, semi-idolatrous, and with morals shamefully low, are ready on the instant to fly at each other's throats. Therefore it is not strange that the followers of the prophet hold the religion of Jesus in horror and loathing.

Such as these are some of the appalling obstacles which hedge up the way of entrance into Moslem countries and Moslem hearts. Hence it was only natural that the churches should be slow and hesitating in entering upon this herculean task. Besides, almost from the date of the Hegira deadly war had been waged between the two religions. The Arab and the Turk had displayed such vigor and dreadful determination, that the Christian world had long been satisfied to be simply let alone, and to be safe. To kill, rather than convert, was the ingrained impulse. Islam was a synonym for all that is abominable, and accursed. In 1818 the American Board sent its pioneers to the Levant, began work in Beirut in 1823, and in 1831 entered Constantinople. The Persian mission was founded in 1833. European Turkey was unoccupied until 1858. Four years earlier the American United Presbyterians had established themselves upon the Nile. In 1870 the Syrian and Persian missions were turned over to the Presbyterian Church. The English Church Missionary Society is represented both in Persia and Palestine. With this several other organizations are joined in evangelizing the Holy Land. The assault upon Arabia has been begun within a decade, and both from the west at Aden, and from the east at Busrah, Bahrein, and Muscat. Two or three societies are blazing the way in Northern Africa. Finally, on the border at Peshawar and Quetta eager eyes are watching, and longing hearts are waiting, to behold the signal which tells that

Afghanistan is open to the message of salvation. The bulk of these beginnings belong to the last fifty years.

So brief a period has passed that large results cannot be with reason expected. The time of harvest is not yet, and scarcely even that of sowing. It is rather the day for felling forests and gathering out the stones, for ploughing and harrowing the soil. Hitherto the task has been mainly preliminary and preparatory. By an "accident" at first the pure gospel was carried to the corrupt Oriental churches, and ever since, from the necessities of the lamentable case, has been addressed directly only to them. Not Moslems, but Armenians, Nestorians, Syrians, Greeks, and Copts, have been urgently called to repentance, faith, and a godly life. Nor is there scarcely room for a doubt that, in the long run, no wiser course of proceeding could have been devised, even in a campaign aimed at the overthrow of Islam. The ruling races must first witness the now unimagined and convincing spectacle of the Christianity of Jesus and the apostles lived out every day in the lives of those who call themselves by his name. In the sphere of activity thus limited the results are really remarkable. Let these few figures tell a fragment of the story: In the Turkish Empire including Egypt and in Persia 591 missionaries of both sexes are found and 2167 native helpers. The organized churches number 243, the communicants 24,617, and the native Christians upwards of 93,000. Of colleges there are six, two of them of especial excellence, and of other schools 1002, with 49,000 pupils. The Arabic translation of the Bible is to be named among the mightiest forces at work for the redemption of the Orient. This is to some 70,000,000 their native tongue, the sacred language of the Koran, which every intelligent Mussulman can read. And besides all this, in Western Asia a few scores of Moslems have actually been won to Christ, and several hundreds in India. Dr. Imad-ud-din, himself one of the number, has recently published the names of one hundred

and seventeen men of distinction who accept the crucified One as Saviour and Lord, of whom seventeen are clergymen. In the Dutch East Indies several thousands have recently been baptized. Perhaps most significant of all, as a secondary result of missionary toil, in a multitude of ways Occidental ideas, and convictions, and customs, and modes of living, have made their advent throughout the East, are acting everywhere like leaven, and are certain to hasten the overthrow of Islam. The printing-press is active, and His Serene Highness is urging forward a system of public schools!

On the whole the omens are excellent: they offer much to cheer, to kindle courage and hope. It is not at all unreasonable to expect marvellous things to come to pass in the not distant future. There is abundant occasion to pray with the utmost fervor of heroic faith, Thy kingdom come, with solicitude and longing fixed on the millions held in this thralldom so woeful. Oh for a nineteenth century counterpart of Peter the Hermit, to rally the Lord's hosts to enter upon a truly Christian crusade against Islam, with not an hour of truce allowed until again in Jerusalem, and Bethlehem, and Nazareth, and throughout all Bible lands, the Son of God is held in supreme honor, and the kingdom of heaven is fully restored!

ARTICLE VIII.

"IF ONE LOVE ME, HE WILL KEEP MY WORD."

BY HOWARD OSGOOD, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

LOVE and gratitude are the dominant motives of the redeemed of Christ. They have known their sin and their utter inability to overcome it. They have trusted Christ's word, "Come unto me, and I will give you rest." In Christ they have found pardon and peace with God, and their hearts well up in love and gratitude "unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood." "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." "We love, because he first loved us." This grateful love is the active principle of faith, for "in Christ Jesus" nothing avails "but faith working through love." And this love is manifest only when it keeps the commands, the teaching, the words of him who redeems the soul, our Lord and our God. "If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments." "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." "If a man love me, he will keep my word." "He that loveth me not, keepeth not my words: and the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's who sent me."

They who know that they have been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, that they were bought with a price, have found liberty and peace in becoming, with Moses and Paul, Christ's bond-servants. To know Christ more intimately, to think with Christ, to feel with Christ, to speak the truth with Christ, to do Christ's will,—that is the hunger and thirst, as it is also the education, of those who serve their

Redeemer, not for hire but freely, not in order to be saved, but because they have been saved.

Nothing is more important at the present day, for him who makes Christ his model and his aim, than to ascertain by all the means in his power the view which Christ took of the written word of God. There are so many discordant voices, so many utterly contradictory teachings, so many "say unto us, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Here," that the only refuge is to study for ourselves the plain teachings of Christ, and follow as we see that he believed and taught. The four Gospels are the only reports we have of the teachings of Jesus Christ, and, believing those Gospels to be true and accurate accounts, there is no difficulty in learning from them Christ's treatment of, and teaching concerning that written word of God, which was before him as it is before us now, the Old Testament.

The minds of some believers in Christ as the Saviour have been strangely obscured and troubled by the teaching of a few learned men, that Christ voluntarily limited himself and consented to be finite in knowledge while here on earth; and therefore his teaching is only human and, as human, short of perfection. But the extent of the knowledge of Jesus Christ as man has, by his own testimony, nothing to do with the perfect truth of his teaching. For he repeatedly denies that he can do anything of himself,—“The Son can do nothing of himself”; “I can of myself do nothing”; “I do nothing of myself”;¹—or, that his teaching is his,—“My teaching is not mine, but his that sent me”; “I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things”; “I spake not from myself, but the Father who sent me, he hath given me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak; . . . the things therefore which I speak, even as the Father hath said unto me, so I speak”; “the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father

¹ John v. 19, 30; viii. 28.

abiding in me doeth his works"; "the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's who sent me"; "the words which thou gavest me I have given unto them"; "I have given them thy word";¹—or, that he came of himself,—“I came forth and am come from God; for neither have I come of myself, but he sent me”; “I am not come of myself, but he that sent me is true”;²—or, that he came to do his own will,—“I am come down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me”; “I seek not mine own will, but the will of him that sent me”; “My meat is to do the will of him that sent me”; “nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.”³

On the contrary, Christ teaches, in places too numerous to quote, that he was sent into the world by his Father,⁴ and that he taught only what he had heard from his Father,—“he that sent me is true; and the things which I heard from him, these speak I unto the world”; “A man that hath told you the truth, which I heard from God”; “all things that I have heard from my Father I have made known unto you”;⁵—what he had seen with his Father,—“I speak the things which I have seen with my Father”; “The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing”; “we bear witness of that we have seen”; “what he hath seen and heard, of that he beareth witness”;⁶—and what his Father taught and commanded him to say,—“I can do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things”; “the Father who sent me, he hath given me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak.”⁷

So that, in the most positive way, by denial and by affirmation, Christ makes his Father the immediate author of all his words and teaching. According to Christ's repeated,

¹ John vii. 16; viii. 28; xii. 49, 50; xiv. 10, 24; xvii. 8, 14.

² John viii. 42; vii. 28.

³ John vi. 38; v. 30; iv. 34; Matt. xxvi. 39.

⁴ Mark ix. 37; Luke iv. 18, 43; ix. 48; x. 16; John v. 23–38, and often.

⁵ John viii. 26, 40; xv. 15. ⁶ John viii. 38; v. 19; iii. 11, 32.

⁷ John viii. 28; xii. 49, 50.

plain words, to receive and believe him and his words is to receive and believe God the Father and his words,¹ and to refuse to receive and believe him and his words is to refuse to receive and believe God and his words.²

Christ's description of his relation (in teaching) to the Father is the complete description of the God-inspired prophet. The prophet is sent by God on his special mission to deliver the message or words God teaches and commands him to speak; so all the Old Testament prophets assert of themselves. And the New Testament, in exact accord with the Saviour's denials and affirmations concerning himself, declares that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit." Christ calls himself a prophet,³ and it is as a prophet, speaking as God teaches and commands him, that he not only interprets, against the learned men of his day, God's words and deeds in the far past,⁴ but from the beginning to the end of his public life he constantly exercises the predictive office of the prophet, and foretells the future of himself on earth,⁵ the future of this world,⁶ events in the future world,⁷ and the eternal purposes of God.⁸ The distinct foretellings of Christ number over fifty.

All his teaching pulses with yearning care that his disciples should know and live in the truth. "No lie is of the truth." He stamps his whole teaching with this solemn at-

¹ Matt. x. 40; Mark ix. 37; Luke ix. 48; John v. 24, 38; vi. 29, 40; x. 38; xii. 44.

² Luke x. 16; John xii. 47-50; xiv. 24.

³ Luke xiii. 33; Matt. xiii. 57 and elsewhere.

⁴ Matt. v. 18-48; x. 15; xi. 20-24; xii. 40; xv. 1-9; xix. 4-8; xxi. 42; xxii. 29-32, 37-45; xxiv. 15, 37-39, and very often.

⁵ John i. 51; ii. 19; iii. 14; Matt. xii. 40; xvi. 21; Mark viii. 31; Luke ix. 22; Matt. xx. 18, 19; Luke xviii. 31-33; Matt. xxvi. 12; John xii. 7; xiii. 18, 19, 26; Matt. xxvi. 31; Luke xxiii. 29, 30.

⁶ John iv. 21; Matt. v. 18; xxiii. 35, 36; Luke xix. 43, 44

⁷ John v. 28; Matt. vii. 22; viii. 11, 12.

⁸ Matt. xii. 32; x. 15; xix. 28, 29.

testation: "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." He assures his followers that he is "the Truth"; that he "tells the truth" which he "heard from his Father"; that they shall be taught by the "Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father"; that they can pursue the path that leads to certainty of the truth: "My teaching is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or *whether* I speak from myself." This certainty and freedom shall be theirs on one condition: "If ye abide in my word, *then'* are ye truly my disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." But mere teaching was not enough for that heart of truth and love. Before the fiery altar, on which he was that day to be laid, he prays for his disciples through all time, in words which are, "as it were, great drops of blood"; "Sanctify them in thy truth: thy word is truth." Nor was this enough. He lays these disciples on the Lamb of that supreme, final sacrifice with this petition: "for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth."

When, therefore, Christ interprets the Scriptures, or makes assertions concerning them, his words, by his testimony, are the very words God taught and commanded him to speak; his teaching, in every respect, is God the Father's teaching; his interpretations of Scripture are God's interpretations; to refuse to receive and believe them is to refuse to receive and believe what God the Father says about his own word. Men may receive or men may reject, but the testimony of Christ on the authorship and character of his teaching is so abundant and plain that it cannot be mistaken.

By the united testimony of Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament, the Old Testament we now have was the only book received as the book of God, the word of God, by the Jews in the first century of our era. None of these, the

only contemporary authorities, include the apocryphal writings in the sacred books. The Old Testament was the only Scriptures, writings of God known to the Saviour, for the New Testament was not written during his life on earth. His attitude towards these writings is one of the most striking facts in his life. Their words were ever on his lips. He knew them so intimately that he always chose the most fitting passages to illustrate his teaching. From their sentences, or events recorded by them, he taught the deepest doctrines that fell from his lips. And when he ascends up to what has been called the most perfect expression of Christian love, the loftiest reach of universal morality, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them," he is careful to impress upon his disciples in Galilee that this is the fundamental teaching of the Old Testament, "for this is the law and the prophets." When he teaches the Pharisees in the temple in Jerusalem that the greatest commandments of God are love to God and to our neighbors, he declares that this is also the essential doctrine of "the whole law and the prophets." He claimed to teach the same morality and the same love to God and man that is taught by the Old Testament.

To Christ, God was the author of these writings. He taught that God created man as it is reported in Gen. i. 1-31, and God spoke the words in Gen. ii. 24; that God's appearance to Moses in the bush was a historical fact, and God spoke the words recorded in Ex. iii. 6; that God's greatest commandment is found in Deut. vi., and the other greatest commandment is found in Lev. xix. 18, while the series of commandments, based on these greatest, are in Ex. xx. Christ takes a verse of a minor psalm, calling it "the law," "the word of God," "the Scripture," and ranges it with his own deity (John x. 34, 35). He takes another verse of one of the shortest psalms and sets it as the testimony of the Holy Spirit to his deity by the mouth of David.

These proofs that the Saviour held and taught that God was the author of the Old Testament extend over all his more than one hundred quotations and references to it. In his instructions to his disciples, or in his discussions with his fierce and learned opponents, the supreme proof he adduces of all his statements is, "It is written," "Have ye never read." For Christ the plain teaching of the Old Testament was the all-sufficient proof of the mind and will of God on the point involved, and beyond that there was nothing more to be said, for if one rejected that word he rejected the counsel of God.

To Christ the Old Testament was crowded with foretellings of himself, of events in his age, and of the future yet distant. These foretellings of himself, fulfilled by him, were used by him as unanswerable proof that God was the author of them, for God alone can with certainty foretell the future. Moses, he says, wrote of him, and Moses' writings were then before the people to read and search them to prove that Moses wrote of him; but if they would not believe Moses' writings, they could not believe Christ's words.¹ Christ says that "David himself" wrote of him;² that the psalms, titled as well as untitled, tell of him;³ that Isaiah wrote of him and of his enemies, and that Isaiah's foretellings were fulfilled in himself and in his enemies;⁴ that "Daniel the prophet" foretold the abomination of desolation to come into Jerusalem, and Christ makes Daniel's prediction his own;⁵ that Zechariah foretells Christ's death and the dispersion of his disciples;⁶ and that Malachi foretold the coming and teaching of John the Baptist.⁷

It is in entire accord with this whole teaching that Christ at different times takes single words of the Old Testament,

¹ John v. 39-47. ² Matt. xxii. 43f.; Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42.

³ John x. 34; xiii. 18; xv. 25; xix. 28-30; Matt. xxi. 16, 42; xxiii. 39.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 14, 15; xv. 7-9; Luke iv. 18, 19; xxii. 37.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14. ⁶ Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark xiv. 27.

⁷ Matt. xi. 10; Luke vii. 27.

and uses them as proof of his most important teachings; "gods" (John x. 34), "God" (Matt. xxii. 31), "Lord" (Matt. xxii. 45). And he has no hesitation in teaching, at different times and to various audiences, in Galilee and Perea, "Till heaven and earth pass away one jot or one tittle [the smallest letter or the smallest part of a letter] shall in no wise pass from the law; till all things be accomplished."¹

Another evidence of Christ's attitude to these writings is his use of them for his own support in trial. His only defence against the arch-tempter in the wilderness is to quote against him the words, by which man lives, that proceed "out of the mouth of God." He is calm and at peace in full view of sufferings of soul beyond all power of words to express, because they were the will of his Father, foretold by the prophets, and the Father was ever with him.² In the midst of soul-sufferings so dreadful that the sun's light failed, "the earth did quake," and darkness covered the scene, he rests his breaking heart, and commends it in peace to God, in the few words of three psalms.³ And, on rising from the grave, he hastens to comfort and strengthen his despairing disciples by "beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself"; and "he opened their mind that they might understand the Scriptures" (Luke xxiv. 27, 45). This, with the gift of the Holy Spirit (John xx. 22), was the supreme blessing from him, who, "having loved his own who were in the world, loved them unto the end."

In view of the proclaimed results of some criticism of the present day, it is needful to mark that Christ believed and taught as true the facts, whether natural or miraculous, narrated in the Pentateuch. He taught that God created man "male and female";⁴ that God spoke the words contained in Gen. ii. 24;⁵

¹ Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17. ² Luke xviii. 31-33; John xvi. 32.

³ Matt. xxvii. 46; John xix. 28; Luke xxiii. 46.

⁴ Gen. i. 27; Matt. xix. 4.

⁵ Matt. xix. 5.

that the devil was a murderer and liar from the beginning;¹ that Abel was a righteous man, a prophet, his blood was shed;² that the Flood was a historical event and destroyed all but those in the ark.³ He taught that Abraham lived, and his descendants were still on the earth; that Abraham saw Christ's day and was glad, and was a true servant of God;⁴ that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did live, that God was their God, and that they were still living in Christ's day;⁵ that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were in the kingdom of heaven;⁶ that circumcision was not "of Moses, but of the fathers";⁷ that Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by "fire and brimstone from heaven," that Lot escaped, but Lot's wife was a warning;⁸ that the miracle of Jacob's ladder was to be repeated upon the Son of man.⁹

The Saviour taught that God spoke the words recorded in Ex. iii. 6;¹⁰ that God gave the manna;¹¹ that there was a law of Moses concerning circumcision;¹² that God and Moses spoke the words in Ex. xx. 12;¹³ that the words of Ex. xx. 12-17 are God's commandments;¹⁴ that God and Moses spoke the words in Ex. xxi. 17;¹⁵ that Moses gave them the law;¹⁶ that Moses gave the law of the leper;¹⁷ that the second greatest command of God is in Lev. xix. 18;¹⁸ that the law against

¹ Gen. iii. 4, 5; John viii. 44.

² Gen. iv. 8, 10; Luke xi. 51; Matt. xxiii. 35.

³ Gen. vi-ix; Matt. xxiv. 38; Luke xvii. 26, 27.

⁴ Gen. xii.-xxv.; John viii. 37-58; Luke xiii. 16; xix. 9.

⁵ Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37.

⁶ Matt. viii. 11; Luke xiii. 28; xvi. 22-31.

⁷ Gen. xvii. 10f.; John vii. 22.

⁸ Gen. xix. 24-26; Matt. x. 15; xi. 23, 24; Luke x. 12; xvii. 29, 31, 32.

⁹ Gen. xxviii. 12; John i. 51.

¹⁰ Matt. xxii. 31, 32; Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37.

¹¹ Ex. xvi. 4, 15; John vi. 32. ¹² Ex. xvi. 23-30; John vii. 22, 23.

¹³ Matt. xv. 4; Mark vii. 10.

¹⁴ Matt. xix. 18, 19; Mark x. 19; Luke xviii. 20.

¹⁵ Matt. xv. 4; Mark vii. 10. ¹⁶ Ex. xx. ff.; John vii. 19.

¹⁷ Lev. xiv. 2; Matt. viii. 4; Mark i. 44; Luke v. 14.

¹⁸ Matt. xxii. 39; Mark xii. 21; Luke x. 27.

eating the showbread was imperative in David's day;¹ that the fathers of the Jews died in the wilderness;² that Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness;³ that the greatest of God's commands is found in Deut. vi. 4, 5;⁴ that words that "proceeded out of the mouth of God" are found in Deut. vi. 13, 16; viii. 3;⁵ that Moses wrote the law contained in Deut. xxiv. 1.⁶

Christ's quotations are from all the so-called documents of the Pentateuch.

From the so-called Priest Code ("P") he quotes: Gen. i. 27; vii. 7, 13; xvii. 10; Ex. xvi. 15, 23-30; Lev. xiv. 2; xix. 18; xxiv. 5-9; Num. xxviii. 9, 10; xxxv. 30.

From "J": Gen. ii. 24; iii. 4, 5; iv. 8, 10; vi.-ix.; xii.-xxv.; xix. 24-26; Ex. xvi. 4, 23-30.

From "E": Gen. xxviii. 12; Ex. iii. 6; xx. 12-17; xxi. 17; Num. xxi. 8, 9.

From "D," "D¹," or "D²": Deut. vi. 4, 5, 13, 16; viii. 3; xvii. 6; xix. 15; xxiv. 1.

Christ makes no distinction in the validity of these passages. The greatest of all God's commandments is found by Christ in "D¹?" or "D²?" The second, "like unto it," is found by Christ in the "Priest Code." Christ says that God spoke the words of Gen. ii. 24 in "J," and God spoke the words in Ex. iii. 6, and God gave the commandments in Ex. xx. 12-17 in "E."

What is called in some quarters the "higher criticism" of the Old Testament, by others, "scientific criticism," "historical criticism," "modern criticism," has taken possession of all the holders of chairs in Old Testament literature in the Protestant universities of Europe, of many similar teachers in

¹ Lev. xxiv. 9; Matt. xii. 3, 4.

² Num. xiv. 29, 32; Deut. ii. 14; John vi. 49, 58.

³ Num. xxi. 8, 9; John iii. 14, 15. ⁴ Matt. xxii. 37; Mark xii. 29, 30.

⁵ Matt. iv. 4-10; Luke iv. 4-12. ⁶ Mark x. 5; Matt. v. 31; xix. 8.

England, and of some few in America. This criticism and its results are commended to Christians, as the highest result of modern biblical science, on the strength of this accord in Europe, and the speedy acceptance of these results by all enlightened and aggressive Christians is firmly prophesied. Each herald of this coming "scientific position" towards the Bible, gives us his own version of what this criticism means and what are its results. But if we are not to be dazed by misleading names, but would know accurately what are the results of this criticism, what it really means, we must ask the leaders, men who know what they mean and mean what they say; who strive to be consistent with themselves and do not cry out, when their own words are quoted by fair opponents, that they are misunderstood. These men speak so plainly that there is no possibility of a fair-minded man misunderstanding them. What do all these leaders agree is the result of their criticism of the Old Testament?

Want of space compels that the answer be given as to only one of the so-called documents of the Pentateuch. That document shall be the Priest Code,¹ because it is the very heart of the Pentateuch, covering its history in great part and all of its legislation, as will be seen by the following synopsis² of that code given by Cornill, which, with minor variations, agrees with the synopsis of other writers:—

Gen. i. 1-ii. 4a.	Gen. xii. 4b, 5.
v. 1-21, 22*, 23, 24*, 25-27, 28*, 30-32.	xiii. 6, 11b, 12a.
vi. 9-22.	xvi. 1a, 3, 15, 16.
vii. 6, 11, 13-16a, 17a*, 18-21, 23b? 24.	xvii. 1-27.
viii. 1-2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19.	xix. 29.
ix. 1-17, 28, 29.	xxi. 1b, 2b-5.
x. 1-7, 20, 22-23, 31, 32.	xxiii. 1-20.
xi. 10-27, 31, 32.	xxv. 7-11a, 12-17, 19, 20, 26b.
	xxvi. 34, 35.
	xxviii. 1-9.

¹ P is used to designate the Priest Code in the following pages.

² a, b, = the verse before or after the athnach.

* = worked over.

† = belongs essentially to P.

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| <p>Gen. xxix. 24, 28b, 29.
xxx. 22a.
xxxii. 18*.
xxxiii. 18a*.
xxxv. 6a, 9-13, 15, 22b-29.
xxxvi. 1, 5b-8, 40-43.
xxxvii. 1, 2a.</p> <p>Exod. i. 1-5, 7*, 13, 14*.
ii. 23*, 24, 25.
vi.† 1-30.
vii. 1-13, 19, 20a*, 21b, 22.
viii. 1-3, 11a-15.
ix. 8-12.
xi. 9, 10.
xii. 1-20, 28, 37*, 43-51.
xiii. 1, 2.
xiv. 1-4, 8, 9b, 10b, 15*, 16-18, 21-23†, 26, 27a, 28*, 29.</p> <p>Lev. i. 1-xxvii. 34 [i. e., the whole book].</p> <p>Num. i. 1-x. 28.
xiii. 1-17a, 21, 25, 26a*, 32*.
xiv. 1a, 2*, 3, 4? 5-7, 10, 26-38†.
xv. 1-41.
xvi.† 1-35.</p> | <p>Gen. xli. 46-48?
xlvi. 6, 7, 8-27?
xlvii. 5, 6a. LXX 7-11, 27b, 28.
xlviii. 3-6.
xlix. 1a, 28b-32, 33†.
l. 12, 13.</p> <p>Exod. xvi. 1-3, 6, 7, 9-18†, 19*, 20, 22a-24, 32-35a.
xvii. 1a.
xix. 1*?, 2a.
xxiv. 15b-18a.
xxv. 1.-xxxi. 18a.
xxxiv. 29-35?
xxxv. 1-xl. 38.</p> <p>Num. xvii. 1.-xx. 13†, 22*, 23-29.
xxi. 10, 11*.
xxii. 1.
xxv. 6-xxxii. 54.
xxxii. 1-5†, 16-32†.
xxxiii. 1-49? 50-xxxvi. 13.</p> |
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Our authorities shall be Kuenen, Wellhausen, Dillmann, Reuss, Stade, Cornill, Holzinger, Smend, Piepenbring, Riehm, Kittel, Schultz, Westphal, König, Marti. No one, I think, who knows the history of this criticism will deny that these men have been, and are, its eminent and learned leaders. What they say of the Priest Code is certainly the voice of that criticism. Only a small fraction of their statements can be quoted.

The greatest of all these critics, Kuenen, shall answer first, and give an explanation of constantly recurring terms.¹ "We shall use the word legend . . . for every narrative which is not trustworthy, but is nevertheless given us as his-

¹ The Bible for Learners. By Oort, Hooykaas and Kuenen, Boston, 1878, p. 8.

tory. By this trait it is distinguished from the fable, the hearers or readers of which are warned beforehand, as it were, that the story is invented. In this sense the legend includes the myth. . . . As a rule the words legend and myth as well as saga are used for one another, and in a different way by almost every writer on this subject."¹

On P, "The Bible for Learners" says, p. 36, of Gen. i. 1-31, "This legend"; p. 64, of Gen. v., "Invented by the writer himself"; p. 65, "We can no longer accept his statements as true"; p. 76, of the Flood, "We cannot give any high position to the legend itself"; p. 242, "Legend plays a greater part than history itself in the accounts we possess of him" [Moses]; p. 5, "In the eyes of the writers [of the whole Bible] everything was subordinate to their object, so that they often sacrificed what we consider very important interests to it, historical truth, for example. As a rule they concerned themselves very little with the question whether what they narrated really happened so or not. . . . This is why the Old and New Testaments are so full of legends."

KUENEN, *Hexateuch*, 1886:—

P. 173, "Of the examples, by which previously the unhistorical character of the Hexateuch was proved, those which speak most strongly are now seen to be derived from P." "It is in P that the absolutely unhistorical representation of Israel's settlement in the Trans-jordanic district and of the division of Canaan by lot is most fully developed." "He [P] shows little care for the reality, and subordinates his-

¹ "Dr. Oort is responsible for the portion which deals with the Old Testament; but his work has always been submitted, before publication, to the careful examination of Dr. Hooykaas, and Dr. Kuenen. By this means the chance of any inaccuracies finding their way into the book has been made as small as possible."—Translator's Preface.

"He [Kuenen] had also a share in the composition of 'The Bible for Learners,' a work which, though all its positions are not to be commended, gives the biblical history and literature in general accordance with modern critical results, in a very striking and attractive way."—Toy, *The New World*, March 1892, p. 80.

torical probability to considerations of quite another order"; p. 43, "The Exodus, the wandering, the passage of the Jordan, and the settlement in Canaan, as they are described in the Hexateuch, are simply impossible"; p. 46, "The representation of all this [the Exodus] in the Hexateuch is absurd"; p. 192, "The representation of the Mosaic times and of the settlement in Canaan which the Hexateuch gives us is, as a whole, contradicted by the veritable history"; p. 295, "Fictitious genealogies . . . the priestly lawgiver sought his end by the employment of similar means"; p. 301, "P's genealogies are as unhistorical and artificial as those of the chronicler"; p. 478 [Onderzoek], "The historico-legislative fable of P."

KNAPPERT, *The Religion of Israel*,¹ Roberts, Boston, 1878:—

P. 21, "The great majority of the writers of the Old Testament have no other source of information than simple tradition." "Narratives of this sort are called sagas or legends"; p. 22, "When a prophet or priest related something about bygone times . . . he never hesitated to modify what he knew of the past, and he did not think twice about touching it up from his own imagination, simply that it might be more conducive to the end he had in view and chime in better with his opinion. . . . Our own notions of honor and good faith would never permit all this"; p. 25, "The Old Testament is rich alike in legends and myths. We may take as examples the stories of the first human pair, the Fall, Cain and Abel, the Deluge, the tower of Babel, God's appearance to Abraham, and Jacob's wrestling. These stories have no historical foundation whatever"; p. 27, "Israel . . . constructed myths and gave play to its imagination about the creation of the universe . . . others were invented by the

¹ "An abridged statement of the views of Kuënen and others of the latest school of Old Testament criticism."—Toy, *Hist. of Rel. of Israel*, 1882, p. 22.

authors themselves"; p. 41, "Of the circumstances which may have accompanied the Exodus we have no knowledge whatever"; p. 51, "The description given of both these [Ark and Tabernacle] in the Pentateuch is utterly incorrect"; p. 187, "Some events, elsewhere recorded [in P], are touched up in the priestly spirit, and others are entirely invented." "It does not trouble our author in the least that he is here utterly at variance with history"; p. 160, "Writing in the name of some celebrated character of antiquity is not, according to our notions, a moral proceeding."

WELLHAUSEN, *Hist. of Israel*, 1878:—

P. 38, "Totally transforms the past"; p. 40, it transforms the past after the pattern of itself"; p. 169, "it dresses itself up in archaistic fashion"; p. 41, "The historical sphere created out of its own premises is nowhere to be found in actual history"; p. 170, "It is full of historical fictions"; p. 438, "a fictitious product"; p. 333, "the audacity of its numbers is not proportioned to their trustworthiness"; p. 334, "all confidence in it is lost"; p. 331, "it is hard to give an idea of its pedantry"; "its incredible insipidity"; p. 332, "it reaches the acme of its dearth of ideas in Num. vii.;" pp. 339-342, all these characteristics are shown in Gen. i. 1-ii. 4, where it reveals "its horrid scheming," "its insipid contemplation of nature"; p. 336, "indescribable pedantry of language accompanies the intellectual pedantry."

Hist. of Israel, Black, Edinburgh, 1885:—

P. 39, "The historical sphere, created by itself, is nowhere to be found within actual history. Thus it holds itself in the air by its own waistband." "The tabernacle rests on a historical fiction. In truth, it is proved"; p. 342, "The dislocation of the narrative by these monstrous growths of legislative matter is not to be imputed to the editor; it is the work of the unedited Priest Code itself, and is certainly intolerable"; p. 347, Lifeless itself, it [P] has driven the life out

of Moses and out of the people, nay, out of the very Deity."

DILLMANN, *Numbers, Joshua, and Deuteronomy*, 1886:—

P. 595, The Hexateuch is not "an authentic picture of the legislation of Moses"; p. 650, "Where he had no historical accounts he sketches freely an imaginary picture, e. g., Noah's ark, course of the Flood, tabernacle (after the manner of a movable holy tent, richly furnished), the order of the camp and march (in geometrical divisions . . .), the determination of the boundaries of the tribes by lot under Joshua, the numbers of each tribe in Moses' day, the quantity of manna that fell, etc." "They are not to be taken historically"; p. 655, "The oral saga within which falls all the history given by P"; "P knew and used the North-Israelite book of sagas."

Genesis, 1892:—

P. 2, Gen. i. 1-31, "not the result of a prophetic vision"; p. 13, "no historical reality in the physical development."

REUSS, *Hist. . . . of the Old Test.*, 1881:—

P. 465, "For the author [P] the chief matter was not religion and morals, but the altar and its servants." "Instead of purity of heart, purity of the skin and of plates is the more important"; p. 467, "History . . . is created by fantasy [in P] and according to a preconceived theory." "A bald fiction is the tabernacle, the camp and the arranged parade march in the desert, the large numbers of the pretended census . . . and many other things that exceed by far the old sagas, and are really not sagas of the early days but dreams of an impoverished generation."

STADE, *Hist. of People of Israel*, 1887:—

P. 17, "P . . . presents a working over of the old saga material"; p. 62, "the saga material of P"; p. 71, "this section contradicts all we know of Hebrew antiquity. Its ideas agree with those of the author of P."

CORNILL, *Introd. to O. T.*, 1891:—

P. 67, "We have in P less the work of a single individual than of a whole school, and that this school arose in Babylonia is not chance"; p. 56, P contains "contradictions and inconceivable things"; p. 57, "Num. xxvi. . . . a genealogy dressed up with additions after the manner of Chronicles"; (p. 272, "All historical value must be denied to him"; p. 275, "A narrator whose untrustworthiness is proved," i. e., chronicler); p. 58, "An action puzzled out theoretically and a mechanical spinning out of the idea of sacrifice"; p. 59, "Num. xvi. . . . a transformation with a purpose"; p. 63, "The tabernacle . . . is merely a carrying back of the Deuteronomic central sanctuary, that is, the temple of Solomon, into the time of Moses, after it had been made movable through a waste of wit not to be despised"; p. 272, "The old historical books and the Pentateuch exclude each the other. Either the representation of the historical books is true, and then the Pentateuch cannot be the foundation of Mosaism and of the religion of Israel; or, the Pentateuchal laws are from Moses, and then the representation of the historical books cannot be true."

HOLZINGER, *Introd. to Hexateuch*, 1893:—

P. 361, P is "a learned treatment of the saga material"; p. 362, "the fiction of antiquity is not entirely carried out"; p. 368, "bald pedantic learning"; p. 371, "the most numerous and worst impossibilities in the Hexateuch are from this source"; "the whole chronology of the earliest history is worthless"; p. 374, "its name-lists are bare-faced inventions"; p. 381, "gross, sheer mechanically enlarged miracles"; p. 389, "its historical presuppositions of the giving of the law are whimsies that force a smile"; p. 494, "the old idea of inspiration is impossible with Graf's [i. e., this] hypothesis."

This criticism has also brought forth two volumes of History of Old Testament religion or Old Testament theology, and we will hear their decision on P.

SMEND, *Hist. of O. T. Religion*, 1893:—

P. 70, "That representation [priests, worship, ritual] of P is a very transparent fiction"; p. 71, "the false history of that representation is very plain"; "it seems almost a silly trick when P makes the Sabbath a duty because God rested on that day"; p. 86, "prophetic inspiration, in the Hebrew idea, did not mean anything peculiar"; p. 140, "the Israelites received the Sabbath from the Canaanites"; p. 12, "The narratives of Genesis are wholly saga"; p. 13, "the representation of the Pent. proves itself not historical"; "the law-giver of the Pent. certainly was not Moses. . . . The narration of the time of Moses is saga"; p. 457, "A heathen myth is the substance of Gen. i., a product of Babylonian science"; p. 138, "the want of truth in the sagas about worship in Genesis is patent"; p. 98, "the life of Abraham is unthinkable . . . and false . . ."; p. 300, "there was no covenant of God with Abraham. That was the invention of a later age and dated back."

PIEPENBRING, *Theology of the O. T.*, New York, 1893:—

P. 133, "It represents God as the author of moral evil"; p. 283, "Those who consider this narrative [P] with historical discrimination can see in it only a fiction"; p. 288, "he [P] helped to stifle religious life in forms and led the religion of Israel into a wrong path"; p. 313, the author a "Levitical theorist"; p. 319, By P "formalism and legalism . . . got the upper hand and with it the claim to self-righteousness."

According to these writers, philologists and theologians, P, the heart of the Pentateuch, is legend, myth, saga, tradition, and not trustworthy (*glaubwürdig*, worthy of belief); a proved historical fiction, bald, transparent fiction, artifice, fantasy, false history, whimsies that force a smile, absurd, impossible, intolerable, contradictory and inconceivable, silly trick, unthinkable and false, bare-faced inventions, worthless, indescribable pedantry of language and thought, incredible

insipidity, stifles religious life, teaches self-righteousness, makes God the author of moral evil, driven the life out of God, not true, its writers sacrificed truth intentionally, all confidence in it is lost, not a moral proceeding.

Of course these writers never so contradict themselves as to imply that what they recognize as God had anything to do with the composition of such a document as they assert the Priest Code to be. According to their united testimony, man, and man alone, out of his own mind, created, evolved, invented the God of the Priest Code.

We have hitherto taken the witness of writers who never in any way in their writings acknowledge the supernatural. But now we will take the witness of writers who claim to believe in the supernatural.

RIEHM, *Introd. to O. T.*, 1889:—

Vol. i. p. 339, "Not only did they [the authors of the Pentateuch] compose the speeches of the actors, as freely as Thucydides or Livy, but they also gave themselves to more or less free reconstruction of the popular tradition"; p. 340, "In the earliest history we find ourselves on the ground of sacred saga"; "Either this history must have been given to the narrators by revelation, or by historical archives in addition to the popular saga. Neither is the fact"; "thus it is *a priori* probable that these narratives were taken from the popular saga. Their peculiar character makes on the unprejudiced mind the clear impression that they are not history but saga."

KITTEL, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, 1888:—

P. 151, "None of them [documents of Genesis] can be used as archives in the sense of a source of history giving exclusively historical facts"; p. 153, "to accord historical character to the words of Genesis, or to one of its sources, would be contrary to the form of narrative"; p. 215, "The detailed account by P of a costly tabernacle cannot well be historical."

SCHULTZ, *O. T. Theol.*, Edinburgh, 1892:—

Vol. i. p. 62, "No original authorities for the period before Moses have come down to us. We can do nothing more than draw inferences from the national legends we have, and from any fragments of myth and of ancient customs that remain"; p. 73, "The work of a priest who, undeterred by the existence of sanctuaries in Israel, has presented us with his ideal of sacred customs in the form of a history"; p. 132, "For the latest writers of the Pentateuch it was an accepted fact that all the religious knowledge and all the sacred institutions of Israel that were in actual existence down to the time of Ezra, had been received from God by Moses. . . . This view is not that of Israel's early reminiscences, and no historical inquirer of the present day will advocate it."

WESTPHAL, *Revue Chrétienne*, 1892:—

P. 430, "It [P] could not engender and maintain in the soul individual piety, the need of pardon and conversion, personal communion with God, which is the very foundation of revealed religion. [Hence certainly not from God.] With its ceremonies and its casuistry, its confusion of the spiritual with the temporal, of the church with the nation, its obedience to priests and its tendency to hold as righteous him who conformed to the demands of the ritual, it ran the risk of leading astray and of materializing religious thought, of taking the form for the essence, and of encouraging the growth of the two great adversaries of revelation, pride and fanaticism." "The day when clericalism [P] was organized the fall commenced." "The prayer of the Pharisee . . . is the prayer of the self-righteous," i. e., the necessary effect of P.

KÖNIG, *Introd. to O. T.*, 1893:—

P. 228, "In this division of the Pentateuch [P] older materials reached their present extension only after a long process of tradition."

MARTI, *Influence of the Results of the Latest O. T. Investigations*, 1894:—

P. 48, "The tenet of inspiration . . . is to be considered as discarded when it is recognized how the several books of the Old Testament arose."

These writers who believe in the supernatural tell us that the Priest Code, which professes to be nothing but a history, is not history or historical, but saga, legend, myth and tradition; it was not, as it professes to have been, revealed by God to Moses, for it is nothing but an ideal sketch, opposed to patent facts, in the form of history, written by a priest a thousand years after Moses, and in its teachings it is contrary to the foundation of revealed religion; it was neither founded on archives nor given by inspiration.

There is another point on which both sides of these critics agree. The narrative of the fall of man in Eden is pure legend, myth, saga, and not worthy of belief; but the historical fall of man was in the composition and introduction of P.¹

What these critics say of P, as to its being myth, saga, legend, they say with greater emphasis of the other so-called documents of the Pentateuch, "J," "E," and of "D," "D¹," "D²," whose history is taken from "J" and whose reported speeches of Moses are pure fiction. As fair and honest men they go further. They tell us, what we can easily prove for ourselves, that all the other writers of the Old Testament, historians, prophets, and psalmists, believed and taught the same history we find in the Pentateuch, and thus we can measure the worth of their testimony, since that history is false and incredible.²

The teaching of Christ and the teaching of these critics concerning the Old Testament are plainly put before intelligent readers. The facts on both sides are clear and unmis-

¹ Piepenbring, p. 288ff; Westphal *l. c.*, and all the others quoted.

² Smend, p. 66; Schultz, p. 132, etc.

takable. Those who are acquainted with the works of Kuenen know that I can appeal with entire confidence to his numerous statements for his agreement in the absolute contradiction here set forth between the teaching of Christ and the teaching of this criticism; and that it is simply impossible to follow Christ's teaching as contained in the New Testament and receive this criticism. Kuenen never obscured that issue. He asserts that it is possible to save the character of Christ as an honest and intelligent teacher only by refusing to receive the New Testament account of him as anything more than myth or legend.

It is not possible on any theory to avoid the real issue. If this criticism is true, Christ was the greatest of false prophets and deceivers. If Christ taught God's truth, this criticism is absolutely false.

ARTICLE IX.
SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

OUR CREED.

As the author of these notes is a stranger to the readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, it may not be amiss to give a short statement of his creed in sociological matters. The first article in this number will reveal it more or less clearly, but a few points may be stated more explicitly. He believes in a more equitable distribution of the product than at present prevails, but he emphatically denies that the best way to secure it is by revolution. The world is growing better and not worse. Improvement can and will come along the lines anticipated by our best economic writers. Monopolies and trusts must go; patent laws must be so amended as to prevent the object for which patents are granted from being subverted to monopoly interests; natural monopolies, or non-competitive industries, must be gradually assumed by the state and run in the interests of the people; a graduated tax must be levied upon property left by will, so as to encourage benevolence and wider bequests. The unjust and unequal mounds of property will be dissipated by time, as the newness of the country and the infancy of our industries have largely been the occasion of them. The writer believes earnestly and sincerely in every effort that is wise and lawful, made in this day, to uplift the downtrodden and discouraged. He welcomes the Institutional Church; the Settlement plans so nobly carried out by Jane Addams and others. He believes in that true friendship for humanity that aids by demanding respect for law and property rights, and also by genuine assistance in time of need.

For labor organizations that are formed for all lawful purposes the writer has only the warmest words of encouragement and sympathy; but whenever any use violence and defy established authority he would enforce the law first and offer assistance afterward.

For those earnest and well-meaning clergymen and newspapers that are abusing the churches for their failure to solve quickly the vexatious problems of to-day, the writer has the same feelings that he has for the ignorant who use violent means to gain quickly their ends. And when such especially, simply scold and abuse without giving any substantial aid or pointing out any particulars where reforms would be beneficial, the writer believes their zeal is not according to knowledge. The nostrums for society's ills are numerous, and some of them would be amus-

ing if they were not trifling with matters vital and serious. Some new form of government that has never been tried successfully anywhere is a common panacea proposed by well-meaning but theoretical sentimentalists. A new form of taxation, as the doctrines of George for example, or the manual training school, which is a valuable but partial cure, is urged by the specialist.

The truth is, we are suffering as a nation from unrestricted immigration which never should accompany high protection; from lack of ability on the part of our statesmen, who are too largely political demagogues, to cope with foreign nations in their financial warfare on this and other silver-producing countries; from the prevailing passion to accumulate money to the neglect of such important matters as good citizenship and education, which is characteristic of a new nation in its earlier stages of development; and from the dazzling and misleading effects of the sudden and unprecedented material prosperity leading to a disregard of the laws of economy such as prevail and are elements of strength in the older countries. This prosperity is a source of peril although it has come to the American people by reason of their great inventive skill, their undaunted courage, their limitless resources, resulting in abundant confidence in themselves and in their form of government. Another cause is the tendency of new labor-saving machinery to produce friction until labor adjusts itself to the new conditions. Most important of all, and resulting partly from all the other causes, is the unprecedented growth of monopolies and trusts laying their hands upon the throats of the common people, and with which, as yet, our statutes seem unable to cope.

For such a complication of evils no single remedy is sufficient, and when offered as such, is only suggestive of the quack.

But Christianity, as a life if not as a creed, is the deepest love, because it is the highest ideal, of the true American heart, and its precepts will be heard and followed. We spell God and gold nearly the same, but God comes first and has a capital. The American people love justice and fair play and our great saving power is the middle class, who, after all, are nearest to God, for they strive not, as the wealthy, unduly for material wealth and prosperity; nor, as the lawless and ignorant, for the overthrow of established authority and the reign of anarchy. The saloon, demagogism, and ignorance are the worst foes of the American people. Education and time will surely cure all diseases, but the cause of the lowest classes must find a warm and loving heart and a listening ear among the middle and upper classes. No reform must be derided because it is new, nor must we trust to old methods entirely because they have done good duty in the past and are sanctified by age. But to destroy without being able to build better is not Christian or wise.

PULLMAN.

THE statement of facts given to the public by George M. Pullman, the president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, was evidently made for the purpose of allaying the prejudices of the American people for his refusal to arbitrate the question in dispute with his employes. The statement is evasive and misleading. The question to arbitrate was not really one of wages, but was as to the truth or falsity of his statement—that he was losing money on the work he was doing. His refusal was, therefore, a confession of weakness. Not a small part of his work was repairs on cars, for which he charged time plus his profit. On this he was making money. Hard times cannot materially affect repairs on cars. If these repairs were on his own cars the dividend declared since the dispute arose is an answer as to his ability to pay fair wages. He reduced wages but not rents, and permitted men to work long enough to pay their rent. Instances were in evidence where less than twenty cents came to men, after rent was paid, for the month's wages, out of which was to come food and clothing for the family. The slave in the South had better treatment than that, for his master furnished him with food and clothes from motives of self-interest.

Pullman admits that he is charging for rent three dollars per month per room for his tenements which were built at wholesale cost on swamp land upon which he is paying taxes as swamp land to-day.

He has elsewhere stated that such a rent charge nets him 3.85 per cent on his investment.

This would assume the cost of a six-room tenement, with the land, to be over \$5,600. But the architect, or anyone with the most limited experience in building, knows the absurdity of such a statement. Such houses cannot cost over \$1,000 to build, or \$1,500 at the most. The land is worth, even at enhanced prices, not over \$400. The income is clearly seen to be from ten to twenty per cent on the investment. This estimate is verified from the statement of a real estate agent in the vicinity who has similar houses to rent for two-thirds of Pullman's charges, and he is making not less than ten per cent on his investment.

Pullman's statement that the thirty-six millions of capital in the Palace Car Company was all subscribed and paid for in cash at par, is equally misleading. What part of this thirty-six millions was declared in dividends? It is an old trick of corporations to declare a stock dividend by making it a cash dividend with privilege of subscribing for the stock at par. These privileges sell at a premium.

There is nothing in Pullman's statement that is ingenuous. We are warranted in believing that he has charged, as part cost of making cars, many expenses that belong to the running of sleepers or to the renting of homes such as rent on his office building or salaries of his officers. The Pullman Palace Car Company has been protected by patents granted by the government; by the state militia and federal troops when its prop-

erty was endangered. It has had in its employ a man who gave his time to legislatures; it has evaded its taxes in every way; it is honeycombed with favoritism and rings within rings.

We are sure that the treatment of its employes is but one of the Pullman Company's failings. It is high time the stockholders investigated affairs. Pullman has somewhere acquired a very low estimate of human beings and of man's natural rights.

Charity ball boxes at \$500, gifts of statues to the public, and affirmations of integrity are poor substitutes for justice. The starved porters on the sleepers are turned over to the sympathies of the public for proper remuneration, when at the same moment Pullman is charging three prices to the same traveling public for the use of his cars. The whole system is over-reaching and un-American and should be regulated by law.

THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.

PROFESSOR E. W. BEMIS, of the Chicago University, has printed in pamphlet form an article on *Homestead* contributed by himself to the July number of the *Journal of Political Economy*, of which he is one of the editors. It is an assumed dispassionate view of that most passionate struggle.

Professor Bemis is by nature and training one of our fairest and best economic writers of the present day—broad in his sympathies, careful in his facts, and fair in his conclusions. If he errs at all, he prefers to err in his sympathies for the laboring classes, and, in this respect, he shows that spirit of good will and earnest desire to help the downtrodden which is so characteristic of him as a Christian scholar and gentleman.

When the writer of this review wrote his address delivered before the Sunset Club at Chicago, the committees from the Senate and House had not made their report, and he was obliged to look for his facts to the best sources he could find. So far as the statement of facts therein contained have been modified and corrected, the writer acknowledges to Professor Bemis his obligations.

The main facts, however, remain untouched. Professor Bemis admits that the mills were the best equipped in the United States, if not in the world; that this superior equipment, which was capital's contribution, forced competing mills to the wall and enabled the Carnegie Company to pay higher wages than any of its competitors; that it also was enabled by its superior capital to build homes for its workmen upon which no foreclosure had ever occurred; that of 3,800 employes, the wages of only 325 men were involved in that memorable struggle, and these men worked but eight hours a day, and that no wages of less than two dollars per day were involved. The reduction in wages at all, was in

pursuance of an agreement to follow the market price of Bessemer steel billets. The question of who should benefit by improved machinery was also involved.

These workmen, thus situated and paid, belonged to an association which numbered 24,000 members which was clearly a "strike" association. One-third of its members were foreigners who came here attracted by high wages and steady employment.

The Carnegie Company was afraid of this organization because of its tendency to use violence. Its theories were one thing and its practices another; and in this it differs not a whit from most labor organizations at the present time. The first great purpose of a labor organization is to hold men's places open until they are ready to return if they are ordered out on a strike. This, to be successful, involves attacks on the natural rights of man, life, liberty, property, and reputation.

This was precisely the case at Homestead. The lives of non-union men were in danger, and even the water they drank was poisoned; the property of the company was seized; the men who wanted to work were called "scabs" and other such abusive epithets, which is simply an attack on reputation; while the non-union men were deprived of liberty in every way, being afraid to go out of the works, even after the militia patrolled the streets.

The theory of most labor organizations is commendable, but their practices are often vicious. This has come to be so well known that even their leaders, in treating with employers, covertly threaten violence if certain demands are not complied with. This is usually done in the form of a "fear" that their men will use violence.

Professor Bemis knows and admits such an unfortunate state of affairs at Homestead, and does not approve of it; but we cannot escape the conviction that he is too amiable in view of such facts. He speaks of the "folly of violence," but what of its wickedness! Economic writers must not, in this day, lack the heroism of indignation and even fury at the attacks on organized government; and they are free to exercise the same qualities toward those who would grind the faces of the poor, but the truth must be spoken. Must we, as economic writers, become so judicial and so "fair" that we cannot see whither we are drifting? No unprejudiced person should write of Homestead and not burn with indignation at the passions excited and aroused by the vicious and depraved leaders of the union workmen at that time. Murder, arson, riot, treason, insurrection—all that was devilish and beastly in human nature found expression there at that time. And for what? Can any thinking and reasonable man give a good reason? When we become so judicial that we cannot define and abhor crime it is time for us to ask if Christianity has any backbone, any moral tissue or fiber. But we would not thus too far judge Professor Bemis. He has made a careful statement of facts, and the inferences he leaves for his readers to draw. So far as we are

concerned, we prefer to state them in plain words, for in that way alone can the value of facts be estimated and understood. In economic truth we must hew to the line and let the chips fall where they will. Gibbon was said to be intentionally fair in his treatment of the fight between the lions and the Christians, but his sympathies were with the lions. We must be impartial, with no prejudices for or against capital or labor.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

IN the non-competitive industries, or natural monopolies, where the public is virtually the silent partner, compulsory arbitration is just and proper, and laws should be enacted making it possible.

Such are transportation companies, whether on land or water; corporations controlling the telegraph, telephone, electric light, gas, and water works. All such, whether under corporate ownership or under partnership or private control, involve the State as silent partner, in the very nature of the case. This comes about, not because the State has legalized a corporation, as in the competitive industries, which in law is only a person; but because the public granted the franchise, deeding away valuable public rights; because the natural monopoly can have no competition, and the public is therefore dependent upon it in a peculiar sense; because the monopoly depends upon the public for its support and patronage; and because the public is the greater sufferer in case of failure or stoppage, being affected the most intimately and quickly by any calamity. These broad grounds, in equity, give the public a voice in the monopoly, if for any reason the public is deprived of the benefits for which it deeded away its privileges and rights. The fact that the State simply granted rights to incorporate constitutes no ground for interference.

In all cases where the public is silent partner, employers must not permit the stoppage of the works or of traffic, the cutting off of the supply of water, or any infringement of the public rights, because of differences with its employes in the question of wages, hours of labor, or anything else.

Such questions must be submitted to arbitration, and statutes requiring it are eminently proper and just. A refusal to arbitrate should be the forfeiture of the property to the State, to be run by the State until the legal owners are willing to abide by the law which makes them simply trustees in possession and acting for the owners and the State so long as they serve faithfully the interests of both parties and do not subvert the public good to the interests of the other partner,—the capital invested in the enterprise.

The penalty for seeking to accumulate, by taking the public in as silent partner, should be the willingness to settle, by arbitration, all matters affecting the public.

It should be made obligatory upon employes, also, who seek employment in corporations or works of such a public character, that they shall not conspire to injure the public by concerted action in the matter of strikes, and much less, if they voluntarily quit work, shall they threaten, intimidate, or in any manner interfere with others who would fill their places. The attack on reputation by the use of vile epithets such as "scab" is as much a form of violence as the attack on life and property, and should be punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both.

But, since an employer stakes his property, in an agreement to abide by arbitration, and the workman has nothing but his body to offer as a pledge of good faith, and especially since an unwilling worker is undesirable to the employer, a month's wages should be retained by the employer to be forfeited by the employe in case of violation of agreement.

But in competitive and private industries such a law would clearly be unconstitutional, as it would infringe the natural rights of man. Freedom of contract must be maintained, and compulsory arbitration is a contradiction of terms. It is compelling a man to make a contract and continue business against his will, which is clearly an act of tyranny.

A law thus operative could bind the employer but not the employe, for the latter has nothing but his body to pledge, as has been said before, as a guarantee of good faith; and to seize the body because a man preferred not to work when he was not compelled by necessity, would be the highest tyranny. An arbitration law that could thus bind the employer but not the employe would be a one-sided affair. Furthermore, unwilling service by employer or employe would easily find a way to defeat the decision of any arbitration tribunal.

Therefore, Pullman as President of the company running cars for public use should be compelled to arbitrate; but Pullman as President of the works making cars to sell can never be made by law to run his works if, in his judgment, it is unprofitable to do so. The former is a case in which the public is partner, and the latter is not. To compel arbitration in the former case adequate laws can be enacted, but to accomplish the latter, would require an amendment to the constitution, and even then such laws would be practically inoperative because of their tyrannous nature. It would quickly result in the withdrawal of capital from all manufacturing industries.

LO, THE IDEAL CITIZEN.

THE new standards of excellence by which the coming man is to be judged, will bring Lo, the poor Indian, to the front as an ideal citizen of to-day. The Indian is not shut in by the restrictions of civilization. The forest is his to roam where he will, and he can do as he pleases, whether he pleases to do right or not. This is the anarchist's idea of liberty. The

Indian knows no law of habeas corpus except as he skulks stealthily behind an imaginary foe, kills him, and proceeds to scalp him. Knowing no forms of court procedure, he is in no danger of contempt of court. In these particulars he is not unlike Debs, the ideal hero and citizen of the lawless, ignorant, designing, and sentimental. The conventionalities of society, the Indian knows nothing about, and cares less for their observance. His clothing is reduced to the minimum in quantity even if it be at the maximum in color. So long as his squaw will keep him in food and the government will keep him in blankets, he is contented and happy. Thus, he has Thoreau's idea of reducing want to a minimum. He takes no thought for the morrow, and in that follows Tolstoi's plan of doing literally what Christ commands. He will divide with his neighbor according to the loftiest ideal of the communist, and never question whether neighbor is benefited or injured thereby. In this he is truly "altruistic," judged by the standards of many economic writers of to-day. Such heathenish traits as prudence, forethought, thrift, ambition, enterprise, the desire to acquire, own, and bequeath,—in fact the sense of property,—are foreign to his nature. Such unchristian forces have never enslaved him and have no part in forming his noble manhood. He is simply a child of nature, with no ambition to succeed or overcome beyond his fellows. No cast-iron rules of self-denial vex his righteous soul. He is not only willing to be nothing, he is unwilling to be anything. In this particular he has emptied himself of himself and is in a very humble, lowly, and receptive state of mind. That Indian who bought a corner lot, began to acquire, gave up his whiskey and tobacco, started a bank account, and really had an ambition to be somebody and succeed in the world had simply contracted a white man's disease,—he had been converted.

Some old-fashioned thinkers have imagined that the noble red man is a slave to his own passions, his ignorance, his animal nature; that he has never conquered space or time; that he is hemmed in and limited by his own notions of freedom, and that he lacks but the inspiring forces of Christianity to civilize him and set him free. Such thinkers imagine that if Christ should set him free he would be free indeed. They have an idea that liberty is freedom only to do right and not permission to act as one pleases, unless he pleases to act in obedience to the highest laws that man is capable of discerning. They imagine that freedom of conscience is not a dead conscience but one made alive and quickened, operative because obeyed; that liberty of the press is freedom to speak the truth in love; that true liberty is therefore the child of bondage and born of obedience to law.

But these old-fashioned notions of man and the proper way for him to overcome heredity and environment must take a back seat. They are a back number. The new idea for the new era and the new century, with many modern writers, finds no use for the notions of civil and religious liberty bequeathed to us by the Pilgrims on the Mayflower; wrested from

the Indians by heroic self-denial, hardships and suffering; struggling for utterance through the weary years of the Revolution and the civil war, and finally overcoming, forming a standard of excellence which Christianity through its universities of learning and churches have emphasized and enforced. These must all go because the sentimentalist in economics and the demagogue in politics have so decreed. Not that these old-fashioned thinkers believed that our civilization was already perfect and had no unjust laws of distribution which in the natural and proper way would be rectified, such as statutes against unjust acquisition and rapacious monopolies and trusts founded and nourished by greed. These statutes they would enforce by the moral sense of a long-suffering community, but their old-fashioned ways were too slow. The way to make Pullman do right is to destroy the lives and property of all who patronize his cars.

The Indian is revenged. He has returned and asks recognition as the ideal citizen in a free, democratic republic. Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die. Let us shout for Coxey, Debs, the demagogue and anarchy. The saloon and politics will hear their complaint, and, in the name of equality, liberty, and brotherhood, the demagogue will plead their cause. Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue, and the "claims of humanity" cover a multitude of sins. Otherwise the people would discover the cloven hoof and be alarmed.

ARTICLE X.

CRITICAL NOTES.

ON THE LAW OF FRINGES IN NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY XXII. 12 reads, "Thou shalt make thee fringes," etc., A. V. and R. V.; the latter, in the margin "twisted threads"; cf. Num. xv. 38-41.

I shall hope to show reasons for preferring here the marginal R. V. rendering, in the more definite sense of a cord or cords, i. e., corresponding not with the fringes (or as some think tassels) of Num. xv. 38, but with the cord (A. V. ribband) of blue which is the second element there. Not to mention the elaborate reason of edification, with hortatory adjunct, which in Numbers is appended, but omitted in Deuteronomy, where the hortatory element is ordinarily so powerful, the wording of the two passages differs widely, having, except the single word *kanaph* (wing, corner, extremity), no element in common, and even this in divergent forms, Deuteronomy having the plural in תן, Numbers that in דן, under the regiminal form י. I have found no parallel of laws as between Deuteronomy and the earlier Pentateuch which, evidently dealing with the same subject, seems at first sight to contain—at any rate in the compass of a single verse—so much that is discordant. Even the word for clothing differs, being in Numbers *beged* in the plural form, in Deuteronomy the collective *kesuth*, used at Ex. xxi. 10 for all wearables; cf. xxii. 26 and Gen. xx. 16, in which it has the etymological sense of "covering."

The analysis may best begin on the side of Numbers as the fullest. Its word for "fringes" (ציצית) is used by Ezekiel for the prominent lock of hair by which he is lifted (Ezek. viii. 3). This rather suggests a tassel than a fringe. Assuming the garment a four-square piece of cloth, preciseness would require an answer to the question, Is *kanaph* the side or the angle? A fringe along each side, or a tassel at each angle, would seem, according as this question is answered, an equally suitable sense. Of course one would not exclude the other. The word פתיל (ribband A. V.) is certainly in Num. xix. 15 used for such a cord as would fasten the lid on a jar. Let us take it as 'cord.' That for bluish-purple, "blue" A. V., the well-known sacred color of the sanctuary, occurs over twenty times in Ex. xxv. *ad fin.* and six times in Numbers. It need not detain

us. I turn next to Deuteronomy, *l. c.* The word there for "fringes," A. V., occurs in 1 Kings vii. 17 for some decoration of the capital of a column (פְּרָדִים). The four volutes in an Ionic capital are sometimes taken to represent curling masses of hair, and, led by this, we might perhaps approach the תַּצֵּץ of Numbers through the sense borne by it in Ezekiel, *l. c.* But Gesenius gives a verb *gadal* in Syriac and Arabic=twist or weave; and if the analogy to a lock of hair holds at all, it would be rather through its admitting of being twisted into a rope. In short, the suggestion of the etymology which the versions, as I shall further show, favor, is that פְּרָדִים of Deuteronomy rather represents the בְּתִילָה, "cord," of Numbers than its תַּצֵּץ. What the exact position of the cord was to the fringe or tassel, is an obscure question. But, assuming a fringe made in the most natural manner, by leaving the ends of the thrums of warp, or woof, or both, an edging of cord would be easily run along above them and would help to keep the fringe from further fraying. One may notice in passing that the phrase of Numbers, "for your generations," denotes a permanent feature, not liable to change with the arbitrary phases of fashion.

I proceed to the LXX and Vulgate, in which the κράσπεδα and the στρεπτά of the LXX, *fimbrias* and *funiculos* of Vulg., are the leading words, and cannot easily be made equivalent to each other.

The LXX translators probably had the costume as worn by Alexandrian Jews, at the period, before their eyes as they wrote, which gives a special value to their testimony. It is as follows:—

NUM. xv. 38.

κράσπεδα ἐπὶ τὰ πτερόγια τῶν ἱματίων
 . . . καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν
 πτερυγίων κλωῶσμα ὑακίνθινον.

The Vulg. phrases are:—

Fimbrias per angulos palliorum
 . . . in eis vittas hyacinthinas.

DEUT XXII. 12.

στρεπτά . . . ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασ-
 πέδων τῶν περιβολῶν σου, ἃ εἶν περι-
 βάλῃ.

Funiculos in fimbriis . . . per
quatuor angulos pallii tui quo
operieris.

Now we find in Zech. viii. 23 κράσπεδον in LXX, used for "the skirt" (of a Jew), where again the Hebrew is *kanaph*, of which the plural is read in Numbers and Deuteronomy here and in Numbers the singular also. And of course in the New Testament we are familiar with it in the same sense. (Matt. ix. 20, *et al.*) This suggests that κράσπεδον of the LXX in Deuteronomy also means, not the bare skirt, but one with the fringe or tassel on it¹ which Numbers prescribes. Then by understanding the στρεπτά, "twists," of Deuteronomy (or precisely στρεπτόν, "twist") as the κλωῶσμα of Numbers, which is confirmed by the Alex. LXX read-

¹ As we speak of "the colors," i. e., flags with colors upon them.

ing this same word κλώσμα (Judg. xvi. 9) where the Vat. has στρέμμα, "twisted thing" (A. V. "thread")—we adjust the two passages in harmony. In Numbers the elements are given analytically: (1) the ἱμάτιον, "garment"; (2) its πτερύγιον, "extremity"; (3) on this the κράσπεδον, "fringe"; (4) on this the κλώσμα, "cord" ("ribband" A. V.). But in Deuteronomy the language is popular, and takes the κράσπεδον as=(2) and (3) of Numbers; and στρεπτά, as all scholars are aware (as if sympathizing with the purpose and spirit of Deuteronomy), is far more a word in popular use than the rare κλώσμα. In short, we harmonize Numbers and Deuteronomy (as does the LXX) by regarding a phrase of Numbers that directing the "fringe," as read into Deuteronomy. In other words, Numbers is intelligible by itself, but Deuteronomy only by the aid of Numbers. No scholar can expect a stronger presumption in favor of Numbers being the earlier and Deuteronomy the later precept. Render therefore *gedilim*, "cords." This dependence being once understood, the key-word *kenaphoth*, or rather *kan'photh* (reg.) in Deuteronomy has the effect of virtually referring us to Numbers for the details—"blue" in particular—and for the symbolical reasons why.

For the plural of *kanaph* Deuteronomy, as shown above, has the feminine form, Numbers the masculine. That feminine form is part of a favorite phrase (Job, Isa.) for "the four regions ["corners" A. V.] of the earth." As there the feminine marks that abstract sense, so here it probably marks the logical "second intention" with which the word is used, viz., for the skirts with the fringes included.

The question between tassel at the corner and fringe along the side, seems settled by Zech. viii. 23. One can hardly imagine ten men holding on to four tassels at the corners; whereas the edges would give them hold-fast enough. The classical use of κράσπεδον also favors the edge as meant, e. g., in a fragment of Euripides, *σχεδὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς κρισπέδοις Εὐρωπίας*,¹ where "the confines [edges] of Europe" is the sense. Classical students may also recall the parallel of the "tasselled ægis" of Pallas in Homer,² to which some mystical meaning seems to have attached. The vases show it as a sort of tippet fringed along the edge.

Of course Moses addresses in Deuteronomy a popular audience. They would know well enough what he meant because current familiar usage would interpret his words. They would need no reference, express or tacit, to an earlier record. But for us Numbers is the interpreter of Deuteronomy in this, as in earlier instance of Priestly Dues. Therefore the theory that Deuteronomy was independent of, and anterior to, the "middle Pentateuch" does not account for the facts, which in these, and it might be shown in other, instances, suggest the dependence of Deuteronomy on Numbers and on Leviticus.

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¹ Frag. 382, ed. Nauck. ² Iliad, V. 738, *et al.*

II.

JUDAISM IN RECENT LITERATURE.

THERE are three notable books on Judaism, each of which deserves a word of comment and of commendation. The author of the first work is favorably known through his writings, and his position of Professor at the Hebrew Union College; the second volume is by many Hebrew authors, of varying celebrity; and the third is by an unknown author. The first treats of the literature of past ages; the second, while dealing with history, treats also largely of present themes and opportunities; and the third is a plea in favor of the Jews, and intended to be read by the Jews and by others, and largely concerns the future.

Professor Mielziner's work¹ is divided into three parts, of which Part First contains the Introduction proper. We give its table of contents: I. The Mishna. Its Origin, Compilation, Division, and Language. Names and general contents of its sixty-three tracts; II. Works kindred to the Mishna:—Tosephta, Mechilta, Siphra, Siphri; fragmentary Baraitoth; III. The Authorities of the Mishna. Biographical sketches and characteristics of the principal Tanaim; IV. The Expounders of the Mishna. Biographical sketches and characteristics of the principal Amoraim; V. The Gemara. Classification of its contents into Halacha and Agada; VI. Complications of the Palestinean and of the Babylonian Talmud; VII. Apocryphal Appendices to the Talmud; VIII. Commentaries on the Talmud; IX. Epitomes and Codifications of the Talmud; X. Manuscripts and Printed Editions; XI. Auxiliaries to the Study of the Talmud; XII. Translations into Latin and Modern Languages; XIII. Bibliography of Modern Works and Monographs on Talmudical Subjects; XIV. Opinions on the Value of the Talmud.

Part Second is devoted to Talmudical Hermeneutics, and Part Third to Talmudical Terminology and Methodology. All, of whatever faith, who have occasion to devote careful study to the Talmud, will be aided by this work.

The second book worthy of mention² contains the papers read at the Jewish Denominational Congress, the Jewish Women's Congress, and the Jewish Presentation at the Parliament of Religions Proper. Among its more noteworthy papers are: The Theology of Judaism, by Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati; The Synagogue and the Church and their Mutual Relations, with Reference to their Ethical Teachings, by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, New York; The Ideals of Judaism, by Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch, Chicago; Judaism and the Modern State, by Rev. Dr. David

¹ Introduction to the Talmud. By M. Mielziner, Ph.D., Professor of Talmud at the Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati and Chicago: The Bloch Printing Co. 1894. (Pp. 291. 6¼x4.) \$2 50.

² Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1894. (Pp. 418. 7x4.) \$2.50.

Philipson, Cincinnati; Judaism and the Social Question, by Rev. Dr. H. Berkowitz, Philadelphia; The Ethics of the Talmud, by Rev. Dr. M. Mielziner, Cincinnati; The Post-Mendelssohnian Development of Jewish Doctrine, by Rev. Dr. G. Gottheil, New York; Judaism a Religion and not a Race, by Rev. Dr. A. Moses, Louisville; Position of Woman among the Jews, by Rev. Dr. M. Landsberg, Rochester, N. Y.; Genius of the Talmud, by Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, New York; The Doctrine of Immortality according to Judaism, by Rabbi Joseph Stolz, Chicago; Popular Errors about the Jews, by Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman, New York; The Function of Prayer according to Jewish Doctrine, by Rabbi I. S. Moses, Chicago; What Judaism has done for Woman, by Miss Henrietta Szold, Baltimore; Mission Work among Unenlightened Jews, by Mrs. Minnie Louis, New York.

Any student of modern Judaism will find this volume of special value.

The anonymous essay on "The Jewish Question"¹ readily excites and holds the interest of the reader. We should be glad to know who it is that adds, to a broad knowledge of the history of Mediæval Judaism, the power of wielding a facile and at times a trenchant pen. He can hardly be said to account for the prejudice against the Jews,—he rather utters a manly challenge, to those who entertain it, to give a reason for it. The history in the volume is confined to the period from Philo to modern times, with especial attention devoted to the Middle Ages. If the book contains an attempt at a solution of the Jewish question, it is a proposition to establish a Neo-Mosaic Church, from which the racial element is to be excluded, where the worship shall be pure monotheism, and the laws those of morality. It is not to be a Jewish, but a universal church, and would eventuate in ultimate racial extinction,—indeed, the author claims that the alleged racial distinctness, as exhibited in modern Occidental Jews, is largely mythical. This Neo-Mosaic Church would be nearly, in some aspects, like a large portion of the Unitarian faith,—indeed, the author thinks that it might become the one church with which many modern Unitarians could unite. The ritual of such a church might be based upon that of the Jewish Church to any desired degree, and the language would be that of the land in which the local organization found itself. Here, to our thinking, is a significant admission concerning a *sine qua non* of the new Church: "The elements of ethical and religious teaching which have become the property of civilized nations through the Middle Ages and modern times, including those of the New Testament—for instance, the sayings of Christ, in so far as they do not clash with pure monotheism—will have to be assimilated" (p. 47). We should like to see the experiment tried on precisely these lines. Let each member be permitted to eliminate from the say-

¹The Jewish Question and the Mission of the Jews. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1894. (Pp. 335. 5x2¾.) \$1.50.

ings of Christ whatever teachings are not consistent with pure monotheism,—if there be any such,—and let the residue be assimilated with all that may be elected from Judaism and other sources, and if the experiment be an honest effort, and not a mere fad, the result might be awaited with sympathetic interest by all Christians. But we venture one suggestion: with a pure monotheism, the Jews have maintained for ages faith in a coming Messiah. Might it not be well in the Neo-Mosaic Church to give recognition to the truth, if such there may be assumed to be, that underlies this perennial hope? Jesus, in certain important particulars, resembled (to say it no more strongly) the anticipated Messiah. If, now, his teachings must of necessity be assimilated by the new church, and given their relative importance in its teaching, might it not be well to indicate in the articles of faith in the new church, co-ordinate with its belief in monotheism, that the essence of what has been expected from the Messiah is recognized as having been discovered in Jesus? We do not assume the right to dictate in what form this faith should find expression, but we submit that, in deference to one of the cardinal articles of Jewish faith for more than twenty-five centuries at least, as well as in aid of clear thinking and progress in church fellowship, there should be some recognition of an undoubted truth. We hope that the book will be widely read by Christians and by Jews. It is a thoughtful contribution to the literature of the subject, and our Jewish brethren may not find its suggestions impracticable.

Boston, Mass.

W. E. BARTON.

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

FOREIGN MISSIONS AFTER A CENTURY. By Rev. James S. Dennis, D. D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1893. (Pp. 368. 7½x5.) \$2.50.

This volume is an important addition to the already quite extensive library of missionary and other religious works with which this publishing firm has within a few years greatly enriched English-speaking Christendom. And its appearance may well bring to mind how wondrously blessed beyond its predecessors is this generation, through the phenomenal activity of gifted pens and the printing-press. It cannot but be that such abundant wealth of information, and such stimulus to emotion, will quicken tremendously the hearts and consciences of the disciples of Jesus.

Perhaps no book of a similar character has been written for years to which a more flattering reception was accorded. Ever since its appearance it has been frequently mentioned by the religious periodicals and weekly journals. Numerous lengthy quotations have been made, but scarcely an adverse criticism could be named. Certainly no rival has risen this side of 1886, when Dr. A. T. Pierson's "Crisis of Missions" was issued. Nor is the reason far to seek. Multitudes are in eager search for facts concerning the spread of the kingdom in all the world. And here is a publication whose theme covers the entire century, and embraces all lands. The author glances at the evangelizing efforts of all the Protestant churches, and undertakes to sum up the achievements made from Carey's day to the present. Nor is it composed of a mere mass of promiscuous and undigested facts. These pages display not a little of literary excellence and rhetorical skill, though these are wholly consecrated to the ruling thought and purpose. He is evidently a man deeply in earnest, whose subject inspires and sways his whole being. The style is vigorous and all aglow. The reader is lifted at once to a lofty plane, nor to the very end is he lowered again to the level of the earthy.

These chapters were prepared originally to be given as a course of lectures "before the faculty and students of Princeton Theological Seminary, on the basis of the newly established Student's Lectureship on Missions, being the first course delivered on that foundation." It is one

of the significant signs of the times that such courses, after the general fashion of the Duff Lectureship in Scotland, are rapidly coming to be esteemed a part of the necessary furnishing of the theological seminaries in this country. The theme chosen, which the title proclaims, was especially appropriate, since the date was exactly a hundred years after the cobbler-founder of modern missions set forth from England to carry out his sublime determination to preach the gospel to every creature. In deciding how to handle the subject our author informs us that he asked himself this question: "If you were a student, what would you particularly like to hear about with respect to missions? What would you especially welcome in the line of information, or instruction, or practical contribution to your working capital as a minister?" The reply to that pertinent interrogation fills worthily the pages under view.

The opening chapter (or lecture) is entitled, "The Present-day Message of Foreign Missions to the Church." After some introductory paragraphs he personifies foreign missions, and undertakes to reproduce the conception of duty and privilege, and the exhortation which they bring. There are glowing words concerning the universal meaning of redemption, and God's purpose to train his church for wider service and larger usefulness. The church is summoned to contend for the spiritual dominion of the world; tidings are brought of abounding opportunity, of a personal, confidential revelation of special privilege; and a ringing note of encouragement is sounded.

The second chapter, on "The Present-day Meaning of the Macedonian Vision," is twice the length of any other, and is easily the *pièce de résistance* of the volume. The nearly one hundred pages, which constitute more than a quarter of the entire contents, are crowded with weightiest matters of fact presented in the writer's most stirring style. Here in particular are found thoughts that breathe and words that burn. Starting from that momentous incident in Paul's career which occurred at Troas, and taking a hint from the striking phraseology of the record, in a way most vivid and picturesque he holds up before our eyes the "Macedonian vision of to-day." The unevangelized nations, one after another in tremendous procession, are made to pass by while we survey their spiritual case so forlorn and full of woe. Or, we have a "telegram from Japan, a winged message from Korea, a weighty call from China, an appeal from the waiting Isles," and importunate petitions from India, Africa, the realms of Islam, and Catholic countries. The story is rapidly told of how the first heralds of the cross found the situation in each field, what progress has been made, and what remains to be done; and then, before we turn to consider the next, the cry is heard, Come over and help us! Statistics are here abundant, accurate, and down to date. Seldom if ever has a better bird's-eye view been given of the outlook for the kingdom in the lands of darkness.

The third chapter relates to "The Present-day Conflicts of the For-

eign Field," and such as: With a self-centered Christianity in the church at home; with rival and intrusive missions like Romanists, Oriental churches, and the high church party; misrepresentations from hostile travellers, sojourners, etc.; climate; ambitions of European governments, and the vices and greed of Europeans; opposition of heathen governments, and native prejudices, superstitions, etc. But even these conflicts are full of benefit.

The fourth chapter relates to "The Present-day Problems of Theory and Method in Missions"; that is, ideas as to the motive, object, necessity, and results of missionary toil; and the problems of finance, of co-operation, of method, and of native development.

The fifth chapter is devoted to a subject somewhat similar to the third, and bears the title, "The Present-day Controversies of Christianity with Opposing Religions."

The sixth and last chapter sets forth in fashion most inspiring, "The Present-day Summary of Success." And success in the largest sense, including good results material and spiritual, direct and indirect, near and remote; and whether secured by agencies in their character either evangelistic, educational, literary, medical, or industrial. One of the last and most impressive pages imagines the writer and the reader "seated in the gallery of some large American church, and looking on while a thousand souls, literally from all nations and kindreds and tribes and tongues and peoples, sit for the first time at the Lord's table"; and again in the afternoon while a second thousand are similarly engaged. The conclusion is evident that if on an average every week all the year around two thousand heathen souls are born from above into the kingdom of heaven, then Christian missions cannot be counted "a failure."

In an appendix of ten pages the author has supplied a "select bibliography of recent literature on missions, including volumes published since 1890." As indicating the interest abroad as touching the world's evangelization, it is gratifying to note that not less than three hundred works are named. An excellent index makes the book under review complete.

A HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES. By Williston Walker, Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. New York: The Christian Literature Company. 1894. (Pp. 451. 6x3¼.) \$2.50.

Each volume of the American Church History Series thus far has increased our appreciation of the value of the undertaking. The histories are prepared by representative men in the several denominations treated, with space proportioned to the age and size of the body. Thus far, the best volume in the series is the one which treats of the Congregational Churches. No other denomination has such a history in the United States; no other has so large a collection of historic material; and no other, so vital a relation to our democratic institutions. It may be

added, that no other denomination has been so fortunate in its historians. From Bradford's "Journal" and Mather's "Magnalia" down to the excellent work of Punchard and the stupendous collections of Dexter, the Congregational body has not lacked intelligent students of its own polity and literature and progress. The simultaneous appearance of two excellent histories of the Congregationalists, one by Rev. A. E. Dunning, successor of Dr. Dexter in the editorial chair of *The Congregationalist*, the other by Dr. Walker, who has already won his spurs with his scholarly "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," is matter for congratulation.

Professor Walker's book is the product of able and growing scholarship. He has gone well to the roots of things, and is master of his materials. To the student it would be a pleasure to find more frequent references to the sources indicated, but it is perhaps well, upon the whole, that the pages are not overburdened with references. Recent controversies are treated in a spirit at once courageous and catholic. The development of the Congregational idea is well interpreted, though it may be questioned whether the author has quite fully appreciated the significance and power of the spread of the denomination to the westward, and, since the war, in the South. The work throughout impresses one as concise, accurate, and serviceable. It is a credit to the denomination which it represents, both as to its past history and its present scholarship, and it is likely to stand as indicating the high-water mark in its series of denominational histories.

W. E. B.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA. By Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D. New York: J. A. Hill & Co. (Pp. 552.) \$2.75. Sold by subscription only.

Dr. Dunning stands at the gateways of knowledge in the Congregational denomination. His training and associations fit him peculiarly for writing such a work as the one just published. The mantle of Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter has, in a sense, fallen upon his shoulders, for he succeeds Dr. Dexter, not only as editor of *The Congregationalist*, but in all the affiliations and friendships which a paper so able and influential is sure to have. We would not overlook nor minimize the noble work of Dr. Leonard Bacon when we say that Dr. Dexter was concededly the most learned and able historian and advocate of the Congregational polity that the denomination has had.

Dr. Dunning's work is a popular one, and not an attempt at a critical or complete compendium of the denomination's literature or public men. It is broad in its scope, and shows, as well as can be done in one volume, the origin, belief, polity, growth, and work of Congregationalists in America. It is a straightforward and simple yet impressive narrative of the chief events and the principal actors in the history of Congregationalism,—a history closely interwoven with that of our national development and exerting intellectual and moral influences which have

ripened into power in the counsels of the nation at times most important and critical. Dr. Dunning has, therefore, paid just and glowing tribute to the great men who have been the founders and advocates of the Congregational denomination in America.

We could wish that the work might have been large enough to include the names of such men as Professor Cowles and his sixteen volumes of commentaries; and Professor Hiram Mead and his contribution to hymnody called "Manual of Praise," also a tribute to President Fairchild for his work on Moral Philosophy.

Dr. Dunning says that "Oberlin has *perhaps* laid aside some peculiarities which distinguished her earlier history"; and that "other views and aims which she still holds have ceased to be peculiar." President Fairchild, in his "Oberlin: A History of the Colony and College," has shown that while Oberlin in its early days did attract, like a powerful magnet, many freaks and isms; it also had men of great wisdom and spiritual power to guide it; and Oberlin never adopted any of the isms that gathered about it except such as have since come to be truth for the whole nation, like its anti-slavery opinions, for example. Oberlin had zeal, but it also had knowledge. In fact, Dr. Quint hits the truth in Chapter XXIV. of this same volume, in speaking of the first meeting of the National Council held in Oberlin November 15, 1871: "The place of meeting was happily chosen. The choice recognized the great work which Oberlin had done in our land. It signified the removal of past distrust. Well did Dr. Budington say in his opening address, 'We stand to-day upon the grave of buried prejudices.'"

Dr. Dunning has done his work well, and especially commendable are the chapters on The Unitarian Departure, and Organized Christian Work. No one can read this book and not feel inspired by the lives of self-denial, faith, and heroism of the founders of Congregationalism in America; and, if he belongs to the denomination, a worthy feeling of pride in its origin and development. The book is a great credit to the author, and to the denomination of which he is so distinguished and worthy a member.

Z. S. H.

THE PILGRIM PASTOR'S MANUAL. A Handbook of Services and Forms. By George M. Boynton, Secretary of the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society; author of "The Model Sunday-School." Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. 1894. (Pp. 235. 5½x3.) \$1.00.

This little book contains services for church dedication, admission of members, baptism, marriage, funerals, etc., with form of letters missive, rules of order for councils, and much other valuable matter. It is especially arranged for Congregational ministers, and contains the Creed of 1883 and the Burial Hill Declaration. The Scripture services are taken from the Revised Version, and all the matter is carefully arranged. It is far and away the best work of its kind that has appeared, and ought to be in the hands of every Congregational minister.

A HANDBOOK OF CONGREGATIONALISM. By Rev. Samuel N. Jackson, M. D. Toronto: Congregational Publishing Company. (Pp. 209. 5½x3¼.) \$1.00.

This little book, which represents our Canadian Congregational brethren, is a condensed history of the denomination, a treatise on church polity, a bibliography, a church manual, and contains an excellent chapter on ministerial ethics. It is intended both for pew and pulpit, and might easily become a *vade-mecum*. It ought to sell well among Canadian Congregationalists, and there is no reason why its sale should be confined to that side of the line which in constantly lessening degree separates the brethren of the States from those of Canada.

THE WITNESS TO IMMORTALITY IN LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LIFE. By George A. Gordon, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Pp. 310. 5½x3.) \$1.25.

This is in every way a helpful and inspiring book. It is, we believe, the first that Dr. Gordon has given to the world, and it is of interest for what it is in itself and what it promises. There is evidently more where this came from. Beginning with an introductory chapter, in which the method of the book is outlined, successive chapters are devoted to "The Conditions that make Faith Possible and Precious," as illustrated by the Hebrew prophets; "Faith and Feeling," as shown by the idea of immortality as employed by the poets, ancient and modern; "Faith and Reason," as exhibited in the philosophers' view of immortality; "The Apostle Paul and Immortality," and "Jesus Christ and Immortality." Following this chapter on "Faith and Fact" is a closing essay on the "Grounds of Faith To-day."

We do not know of any book in which these great themes are treated more honestly, studiously, and concisely. In the best sense of the term the book is popular, being designed to present to those who have not opportunity to make original investigations, the results of the world's best thought on eternal life. While the author seeks everywhere intimations of immortality, and regards them all as significant, it is to the risen Christ, after all, that he points for his demonstration. The author's faith and the spirit of the book are well stated in the closing sentence: "The bed-rock of the universe is the faithfulness of God, the foundation of all is the integrity of our Maker; and at our being's height we can do no other and no better than ground our trust upon the immutable promise confirmed by the oath of Him that cannot lie, and thus rest our hope of the life after death upon the truth of Christ and the honor of God."

THE PSALMS. By Alexander Maclaren, D. D. Vol. II. Psalms xxxix.-lxxxix. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. 1893. (Pp. 503. 6x3¼.) \$1.50.

An unusually careful examination of the contents of this, together with a second reading of the first volume, convince us that our favorable

notice of the first volume was none too cordial.¹ Every commentary on the Psalms has its necessary limitations, and these, to a large extent, are imposed upon the author of the present work by the character of the series of which it forms a part. The effort to make a popular exposition, of itself rules out much of the critical matter of interest to special students: but that the result need not be unscholarly, these volumes attest. In our opinion there is no work on the Psalms that combines so many desirable features. It is a good thing for the minister,—a happy medium between Hengstenberg and Cheyne, and often containing in fewer words the gist of what is best in Delitzsch or Perowne. It is unrivalled in its advantages as a family commentary, orthodox as Alexander, but up with the times; reverent as Spurgeon, but without the interminable bog of stuff, good, bad, and indifferent, in which the reader of "The Treasury of David" loses himself. Taken for what it purports to be, it is the most satisfactory work on the first three books of the Psalms that has come to our notice.

OLIVER CROMWELL: A History, Comprising a Narrative of his Life, with Extracts from his Letters and Speeches, and an Account of the Political, Religious, and Military Affairs of England during his Time. By Samuel Harden Church. 1894. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Pp. 524. 6½x4.) \$3.00.

Cromwell's stern command to the artist who had painted his portrait but omitted the wart upon his face,—“Paint me as I am,”—has not been an easy one for his biographers. Some have persisted in omitting the wart from his character; others, not a few, have magnified the wart until it obscures every other feature; and others still endeavor to transfigure it into an ornament. It is easier to prove Cromwell a fiend or a demigod than to do him that strict and impartial justice which he would have demanded. The success of Mr. Church in his attempt to do justice both to Cromwell and to Charles, amply justifies the addition of this to the extant *Lives* of the Protector.

The work is with propriety called a history, since it is more a study of the times than of the personality of Cromwell, yet of necessity a history of that time becomes a biography of at least two men, Cromwell and Charles I. The great merit of the book is that it does not attempt to sum up the character of either of these men in a single set of closely related attributes. Charles appears in such guise that his conduct may be understood,—hampered by his Parliament at the beginning of his reign, embarrassed in his relations with Spain by his broken engagement with the Infanta, and compromised in his relations with France and Rome by his passionately affectionate yet unhappy marriage with Henrietta Maria of France, amid all the contradictory events to which he gave his sanction, his theory that “sovereign and subject are clean different things” having repeatedly to compromise with or capitulate to Parliament, he is so depicted that the reader preserves for him something of

¹ Bib. Sac., Vol. 1. p. 557.

respect and sympathy which comes strongly to the front at the portrayal of the trial and the execution. The slaying of Charles the author considers the greatest political blunder of the age, resulting in an inevitable reaction. Cromwell emerges slowly from the obscurity of his early years in Parliament, not even at the time of the arrest of the five members being thought of as a leader, until destiny laid its hands upon his arm and led him to the fore. There is no attempt to soften the terrible features of Cromwell's method of warfare, and none to keep back the inference that toward the last Cromwell was not unmoved with ambition for the crown, but the reader is kept in mind, by a fair presentation of the facts rather than by deductions from them, that Cromwell was not at heart blood-thirsty, nor was ambition his chief motive.

The author is equally candid in the discussion of the religious problems involved. Even on points where the author's opinions are not followed, they will be respected. His labor has been conscientiously performed, and its results will live. After all deductions have been made, it will be clearer, as the centuries go by, that Cromwell fought nobly a necessary battle for the religious and civil liberties of England and her colonies. He has no monument in England, and can never have one with royal consent; but while other men's characters will be exhumed from their Westminster interment, and, like Cromwell's body, be dragged to Tyburn, his niche in the temple of fame will be among those who have chosen the three hundred men that lapped, and conquered with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.

ROGER WILLIAMS, THE PIONEER OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. By Oscar S. Straus, author of "The Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States." New York: The Century Company. 1894. (Pp. 257. 5½x3.) \$1.25.

Mr. Straus has written a readable book, and one that shows some careful study, but he has added nothing to our knowledge of Roger Williams or his times, nor has he given us any clearer interpretation of the events which made up the public life of Williams than was already in our possession. He has studied Dr. Dexter, and takes issue with him in some of his conclusions, but with less painstaking research than characterized Dexter's work. He fails to give the New England colonists credit for the degree of progress which already they had made, and the elements which, entering into their new and undeveloped life, prepared for further progress. To say of them that "They did not rise to the height of a principle, but were content to rest on the plane of their persecutors," is to exhibit deficient historic perspective, at the very least. The book is a plea for the proposition set forth in its sub-title, and in so far fails of its purpose. The claim in favor of Williams goes halting on one foot when the author admits that "In theology he was, perhaps, fully as narrow as Cotton Mather and the Puritans of his day"; it is lame from the start in the other, by reason of its failure to show that the ex-

cellences of Williams' teaching were exclusively his in any such sense as to entitle him to the title of "*The Pioneer of Religious Liberty.*" A pioneer, he certainly was, and deserves to be remembered as such, but the men among whom he lived, and from whom he differed, deserve the same title. They were not perfect, nor was he; he was as benevolently and exasperatingly meddling as they were righteously and foolishly conservative; but together they deserve our gratitude and esteem, as well as our charitable judgment.

HANDBOOK OF THE BIBLE. A Compendium of Facts and Curiosities. By Rev. William Turner. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1894. (Pp. 235. 5x3½.)

OUR BIBLE: How It Has Come to Us. By Rev. R. T. Talbot, M. A., Same publisher. (Pp. 128. 5x3.)

This "Handbook" of the Bible" is a compilation of facts and tables concerning the Bible, its authors, its versions, and many related topics. It is not intended for scholars, but will prove of service to readers with small libraries. Our only criticisms are, first, that the work is somewhat unstratified; and, second, that more care should have been exercised in the selection of some of its contents. The book quotes the mediæval "Pilate's death sentence of Jesus," with the statement, "There seems (*sic*) to be no historical doubts as to the authenticity of this" (p. 122). There is no excuse for so unscholarly a statement. The book as a whole, however, is a good one for students and Bible teachers.

The smaller work, by Canon Talbot, contains five essays on the different translations of the Bible into English, and is readable, accurate, and scholarly. We have only words of praise for it. It is well worth buying.

THE ASCENT OF MAN. By Henry Drummond, LL.D., F. R. S. E., F. G. S. New York: James Pott & Co. 1894. (Pp. 346. 5½x3¼.) \$2.00.

Professor Drummond's course of Lowell Lectures in Boston was listened to by large audiences, so large as to require the repetition of the lectures to accommodate the overflow, and the printed lectures have been watched for with unusual interest. We do not hesitate to say that this is Professor Drummond's best book thus far. One does not need to agree with all his conclusions, to enjoy and commend the work. It is not a dry discussion of evolution from the standpoint of comparative anatomy or embryology, but a survey of the work of evolution from the standpoint of ethical teleology. The rise of the order Mammalia is contemplated not simply as an advance in the physical structure, but as God's method of making mothers. The change from oviparous to viviparous reproduction, with the attendant function of lactation, is treated as the dawning of parental and filial affection. The struggle for life is treated of, but more is made of what Evolution has to say about "the struggle for the life of others." Throughout, the ethical aspect is kept in the foreground. The book is a new poem on creation.

The publication of a new Concordance is announced by the Congregational Publishing Society. Rev. J. B. R. Walker is the author. The price is \$2. A review will appear on receipt of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SOCIAL EVOLUTION.** By Benjamin Kidd. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894. (Pp. 348.) \$1.75.
- SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY.** By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
- SOCIALISM.** An Examination of its Nature, its Strength, and its Weakness, with Suggestions for Social Reform. By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1894. \$1.50.
- LOOKING WITHIN.** The Misleading Tendencies of "Looking Backward" made Manifest. By J. W. Roberts. New York: A. I. Barnes & Co.
- CHRISTIANITY PRACTICALLY APPLIED.** Discussions of the International Christian Conference held in Chicago, October 8-14, 1893. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co. Cloth, \$2.00.
- SOCIAL REFORM AND THE CHURCH.** By John R. Commons, with an introduction by Prof. Richard T. Ely. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1894.
- THE FIRST WORDS FROM GOD.** By Francis W. Upham, LL.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1894.
- CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHRIST.** A Study of Christian Evidences. By Bradford Paul Raymond, D.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1894.
- STUDIES IN ORIENTAL SOCIAL LIFE,** and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. By H. Clay Trumbull, author of "Kadesh-Barnea," "The Blood Covenant," etc. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. 1894. (Pp. 437. 5¼x3½.) \$2.50.
- THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE.** Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M. A., LL.D., editor of *The Expositor*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1894. (5¼x3¼.) \$1.50 per volume. *The Second Book of Kings.* By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. (Pp. xvi, 496.) *The Books of Chronicles.* By W. H. Bennett, M. A. (Pp. xii, 464.) *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.* By James Denney, B.D. (Pp. viii, 387.)
- OUTLINE ANALYSIS OF THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE.** By Prof. Barnard C. Taylor. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. (Pp. 191. 5x2¾.) 75 cents.
- THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.** By T. Harwood Pattison, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1894. (Pp. 281. 5¼x3¼.)
- THE HOLMAN NEW SELF-PRONOUNCING SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHER'S BIBLE.** With Helps. The text conformable to that of the Oxford Bible. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman & Co., Ltd. 1894. (Pp. 1264, 366. 7¼x4½.) In various bindings.

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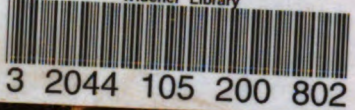
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